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~~TIMBUKTU, SOKOTO AND THE NIGER BASIN.~~

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TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES

IN

NORTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA.

INCLUDING ACCOUNTS OF

*TIMBUKTU, SÓKOTO, AND THE BASINS OF
~~THE~~ NIGER AND ~~THE~~ BENUE.*

BY

HENRY BARTH, PH.D., D.C.L.

With Full-page Illustrations and the Original Woodcut Illustrations.



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EDITORIAL NOTE.

THIS volume forms the second half of Barth's "Travels in Northern and Central Africa," thus completing the work. It will be found no less interesting than the first half, giving an account of Sókoto and Timbúktu, which is invaluable as a historic record. Great Britain has now a greatly increased influence and interest over the larger part of the Niger, as well as the Bénuwé and the surrounding districts, and this book gives a vivid picture of the remarkable civilisation found in full vigour in many parts of Central and Western Soudan.

G T. B

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TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES

IN

AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

SETTING OUT FOR BAGÍRMI—THE COUNTRY OF KÓTOKÓ.

I HAD returned to the town on the 1st of February, 1852; on the 4th of March I again set out on a journey to Bagírmí. However, I did not feel very confident as to the success of my enterprise. The Sultan of Bagírmí was reported as being absent from his capital on an expedition to the south-east of his dominions, but I was given to understand that there would be no great difficulty in addressing myself to the lieutenant-governor, whom he had left to represent him in his absence, in order to be allowed to join him, and to be thus enabled to explore those more southern regions which by myself I had no prospect of visiting. I introduced myself, accordingly, to the agent of that prince, who resides in Kúkawa. This man is a eunuch, who was made prisoner by the Kanúrí in the second battle of Ngála, and had risen to the dignity of *mestréma*, or first eunuch, of the Sultan of Bórnu. But although I made him a small present, he received me rather coolly, and did not inspire me with much confidence as to my ultimate success.

I had exhausted my means entirely, having been obliged to purchase at high prices, for credit, even the very small supply of presents which I was able to take with me. I had only two very indifferent servants, Mohammed ben Habíb and Mohammed ben Áhmed, both young lads from Fezzán, as limited in their intelligence as they were conceited in their pretensions as Moslemín, and not possessing the least knowledge of the country which we were about to visit.

The only animals I had for my conveyance were a horse and a she-camel. Hence I did not set out with that spirit of confidence which

ensures success ; but, having determined to return to Europe if new supplies did not very soon arrive, I resolved to make a last desperate attempt to accomplish something before I finally left the country. Mr Overveg accompanied me as far as Ngórnu, where we took up our quarters with my friend the kashélla Kótokó. Here, in my present destitute condition, I was greatly delighted at receiving, by private message from the vizici, a small parcel of coffee, and from the mállem Mohammed, a loaf of sugar. Such tokens of disinterested friendship are very gratifying to the traveller in a foreign land.

Friday, March 5 —At the beginning of the cotton-plantation I took leave of my European companion. He was to make an excursion, accompanied by Kótokó, along the shores of the lake towards Maduwari —the very place where, in the course of a few months, he was destined to succumb.

I had received from the mestréma a trooper as escort, but he was not the kind of man I should have liked. If phrenologists had taken his features as the general type of the Negro race, they would have felt themselves authorised in assigning to them a more intimate affinity with monkeys than with men, and his cheerless but self-conceited disposition was in perfect harmony with his exterior.

The waters of the lagoon had already considerably decreased, laying bare fine fresh pasture-grounds, on which numerous herds of cattle were grazing, while small pools of stagnant water, left behind by the retiring inundation, afforded some relief to the monotony of the plain. A great deal of cotton is cultivated on these fertile grounds, and an immense deal more might be cultivated. The people were busy in all directions in the labours of the field, while, on those grounds which were not cultivated, the luxuriant weed of the *Asclepias* was reassuming its ordinary domain. Scarcely a single tree was to be seen ; and only as we proceeded onwards a few specimens gradually appeared.

Thus we passed the village of Kúkiya, where we had taken up our first night's quarters on the expedition to Músgu. Here the deep sandy soil was at times enlivened by isolated clusters of the dúm-bush ; and people were digging, here and there, for the rush-nut (" hab el áziz " or " nefú," *Cyperus esculentus*), which I have mentioned on former occasions. A tract of indifferent cultivation was relieved by a fine field of wheat, belonging to several of the great men or kokańáwa of Kúkawa. Having here watered our horses, we wanted to make a halt during the heat of the day, at a hamlet belonging to Háj Ibrahim ; but we were rather inhospitably received, and stretched ourselves therefore under the shade of a caoutchouc-tree at some distance from the village. The tree was remarkable on account of a peculiar "sáfi" or charm, which testified to the many remains of pagan rites still lingering in these countries. It consisted of two earthen pots placed one upon the other, and filled with a peculiar substance, and was supposed to guarantee prolificness to the mares of the village. The ground being an ordinary resting-place for travellers, swarmed with insects, principally that large kind of "kari" common to the cattle in this country.

When we started again in the afternoon, we met a caravan, consist-

ing of camels and pack-oxen laden with Guinea corn, which one of our friend Lamino's people was taking to town from his master's plantation. At an early hour we reached Yédi, which we had also touched at on our expedition to Múngu. I intended to have taken up my quarters inside the town, but the streets were so narrow that I preferred encamping outside. A young Shúwa lad here offered his services to me. At the well where we had watered our horses he had rendered us gratuitous assistance, and I had given him a few needles in return. Being in want of a servant, I accepted his offer, and had strong reason in the course of my travels to be glad of having done so, for although in the beginning he caused me some trouble, and behaved at times rather awkwardly, he proved on the whole a very useful servant.

I was hospitably treated in the evening by a young man of the name of Degéji, who had accompanied Mr Overweg on his voyage on the lake. He was a barber and a musician, and rather a gay sort of person.

Saturday, March 6—We followed the direct route for Ngála. The country, open at the commencement, became gradually covered by the dúm-bush, and further on by middle-sized trees of various kinds. Besides the wife of my escort trooper, who was to pay a visit to her father in Bagírmí, and who was at least a degree better than her husband, a very cheerful man of the name of Kágo had attached himself to our little troop. He had been acquainted with the members of the former expedition, and was anxious to give me all possible information with regard to the qualities of the various trees and bushes which adorned the wilderness, especially the kári, karáwa, and látram. and on this occasion I learnt that a kind of disease, which would seem to be the stigma of a closely-packed civilisation, is not at all rare in these countries—it is here called "dun." Everything testifies to the richness of this country, which is now left to utter neglect. The population of the small villages which dot the landscape is mixed, consisting one half of Kanúri, and the other of Shúwa; and I was not a little surprised to find in one of them, which belongs to a man named Mállem Tálbay Sámi, Felláta or Fúlbe mixed with the Kanúri. Most of the Shúwa had already deserted their villages for temporary residences in other quarters.

At an early hour we halted in the village Kostári, the inhabitants of which had seen me on a former occasion. They seem to be very poor, which may however be attributed to their laziness. According to their own account, they were living almost entirely upon the waterfowl which frequent the shores of the lagoon in countless numbers; and indeed the whole village was full of wild geese and ducks. However, I succeeded in getting a little milk, some honey, and kréb, or kashá,—a kind of seed, probably identical with the *Poa Abyssinica*, but of which there are different species here in Bórnu there are principally two species, called "kashá ngórgo" and "kashá magáya," while in Wádáy there are three or four, called "denáng," "líhiyák," "shorók," and "tanfáfanáng," besides a collateral species called "felé."

It is very remarkable that, while the waters of the lake are fresh

most of the water which is obtained hereabouts, at a very short distance from its shore, is full of natron. The water of this place was so impregnated with that mineral, that it was scarcely drinkable, which was felt the more as the air was oppressive in the extreme, and I felt so exhausted at the commencement of my journey, and after a long stay in the town, that I was obliged to recruit my strength with a small remnant of *mastic* which I had with me. The heat was so intense that I felt very grateful when, later in the afternoon, a slight breeze sprung up. My poor animals, however, fared still worse than myself, being tormented by a large blood-sucking fly.

Major Denham travelled on this route, along the south side of the lake, but the road which he took is now entirely given up, on account of the insecurity of the country, and the place, or rather district, Kes-kári, mentioned by him, lying from three to four hours' march north-east from this place, is entirely deserted; we therefore followed a more southerly road.

The first object which attracted our attention here was a herd of wild hogs, an animal which I had very rarely seen in these regions, but which I afterwards found frequenting in great numbers the country bordering on the river Shári; it even seems to form a substantial part of the food of the natives, not excepting the Mohammedans.

While we were winding along the narrow path leading through the forest, the vegetation all at once exhibited an entirely new and very remarkable feature; for here, all on a sudden, I saw a group of perhaps ten or twelve large trees of arborescent *Euphorbiaceæ*. I have mentioned small specimens of euphorbia, on my journey through Dámerghú, and even in Háusa; but I had afterwards almost entirely lost sight of it in Negroland. Here, however, this plant grows to a height of certainly not less than from thirty to thirty-five feet, its succulent, luxuriant, cactus-like leaves contrasting in a very remarkable manner with the monotonous and dry vegetation of the mimosas around. There must be something very peculiar in the soil in this tract, for I never afterwards, in the whole of my travels, beheld the euphorbia attain to such an altitude, the greatest height which I saw it reach being twenty feet. This was in the country of Músgu, in an entirely isolated instance, and even on the journey to Bagirmi I did not meet with a single specimen of this plant, however small.

Proceeding through a part of the forest which exhibited a fresher appearance, and which was enlivened by a troop of horsemen whom we met, we reached the village of Dábuwa at five o'clock in the afternoon. Here we were hospitably received, in consequence of the persuasive manners of my cheerful companion Kágo, while the apish grimaces of the trooper who formed my official escort were quite disregarded. Poultry, milk, and Negro corn were given to us for our supper in the evening. In this place the people are not so badly off for water, the well measuring not more than five fathoms.

Sunday, March 7—When we started, we entered a very dense part of the forest ("karága tsílim," as the Kanúri say), with a rich variety of trees, but all of middle size, and not a single tamarind or

monkey-bread tree was to be seen. As we proceeded, however, the country became a little more open, the "karága tsílm" giving way to the "dirridé," or clear forest, and signs of cultivation were seen. Here I observed that the clayey soil, or "áuge," was intersected by small ridges, in order to retain the water, during the rainy season, for the cultivation of the *másakuwá*. Cotton also seemed to be cultivated to some extent. In this district, too, the villages contained a mixed population of *Shúwa* and *Kanúri*. The village *Gujári*, which we passed further on, was distinguished by an extensive pottery. Here the road was enlivened by a numerous caravan of pack-oxen laden with grain, on their way to *Dikowa*, the town described on my expedition to the *Músgu* country, for, as I have there stated, the cultivation of that place is almost entirely limited to cotton, while all the corn which is required for the consumption of the inhabitants is imported. The cotton is not carried by beasts of burden, but on the heads of the natives, and a little further on we met a numerous train of these people, whose appearance imparted some idea of industry. Passing on our road many patches of that black boggy soil, called "*firkí*" or "*áuge*," which I have described on a former occasion, we reached the small village of *Hókkum* at about half-past eight in the morning.

We had expressly chosen this road in order to avoid the wells of bitter water in the village *Jémage*, which lies on the southern road; but here we fared worse, for there was no water at all in the village, and we had to send to a great distance to get a small supply, the quality of which was anything but agreeable. This scarcity of water, however, seemed to arise only from the laziness of the inhabitants, for the wells are not more than three fathoms deep, and the floods of the lakes themselves occasionally approach so near that it has been found necessary to protect the village on its north side by a dyke. Here we passed the heat of the day in the shade of a *kórna*-tree, the fruit of which, being just ripe, in want of some better indulgence, we did not despise.

I was greatly surprised to observe here that salt is obtained by burning the dung of cattle. It is indeed very remarkable how the poorer people in Negroland endeavour to supply their want of this article, which in every stage of society has become such an essential ingredient of common diet.

About half an hour after starting in the afternoon, we reached a considerable watercourse, which, bordered by fine spreading trees, had a very pleasant appearance. It is called *Komádugu Imbulú*, or *Mbulú*. This watercourse was asserted by my companion *Kágo* to be entirely distinct from the *Yálowe*, or *komádugu* of *Dikowa*, and from the experience I had on my return-journey I think he was correct. The banks of the watercourse were twelve feet high; its breadth was from twenty to twenty-five yards; but the depth of the water was only a foot and a half. No current was then perceptible. The trees of the forest, after we left this watercourse, were of a greater variety, but all of rather stunted growth. We observed here great quantities of the grass called *kréb* or *kashá*, which I have before mentioned, and which constitutes a considerable part of the food of the poorer inhabitants. We passed

several towns in a state of the utmost decay and entirely deserted, and traversing a dense underwood, which we scarcely expected to see in the neighbourhood of a large town, reached at five o'clock the clay walls of Ngála.

The interior of this town has a very peculiar character, and nothing similar to it is seen in any part of Negoland, although the place at present is in a state of great decay, for all the ancient quarter of the town consists of clay houses, built on an imposing and elevated terrace. The palace of the governor is indeed something quite stupendous for these regions, having, with its immense substructure, and its large and towering walls, the appearance of a large citadel. We were quartered in the extensive mansion of the gedádo or delátu, in which Mr Tully died, but it, as well as the whole of the town, was in the utmost state of decay. The times of Merám, the beloved wife of the sheikh Mohammed el Amin el Kánemy, had gone by; and the wealth of Ngála had been consumed by the slaves of the present sheikh and his vizier. The once magnificent palace of Meram itself is nothing but a large, desolate heap of ruins.

The quarters, however, which were assigned to me were in a tolerable state of repair, consisting, as they did, of an upper story, which afforded me sufficient protection against the numbers of mosquitoes which infest the place. We remained here the following day, when I went to pay a visit to the governor at his residence, but I felt rather sorry for it, as the good impression which the imposing exterior of the palace had made upon me, was destroyed by the ruinous and desolate state of the interior. The whole province is now in a very neglected condition, such as would indicate that the ruler of the country himself acknowledged his incapability of defending his subjects against another inroad of the Wádáy.

The governor was not a very intelligent man; but it was he who first called my attention to the fact that the town of Ngála has its own peculiar idiom, quite distinct from the Kanúri, and I afterwards found that it is even different from the dialects of the other principal places in the province of Kótokó, though it is very closely related to the idioms spoken by the islanders of the Tsád (the so-called Búdduma, but whose real name is Yédiná) on the one side, and to that of the Músgu on the other. At some distance from Ngála is the town of Ndiffu, or Ndífú, which is said to have been one of the latest strongholds of the tribe of the Soy, or Sô, whom I have repeatedly mentioned in my historical sketch of the empire of Bórnu; and sundry remarkable ornaments are said to be dug up frequently in that place.

Tuesday, March 9.—I had seen scarcely any traces of cultivation on the western side of the town; and when we set out again I found as little on the other sides. Nevertheless the environs of Ngála, especially on the north-east side, are of great interest in the eyes of the Bórnu people, as having been the scene of two important battles fought with the Bagírmi, in the first of which, in the year of the Hejra 1233, the sultan Dúnama was slain; and my companions, who remembered all the incidents of that struggle, pointed out with patriotic

enthusiasm the various positions which each body of the combatants had occupied.

The country, however, became very monotonous, extending in an almost unbounded plain of black argillaceous soil of the description mentioned above, although after the rainy season, when the whole ground has become inundated, it is changed into one vast field of cultivation, producing that peculiar variety of sorghum or holcus which is called *másakuwá*, but at that season the whole of this country is scarcely passable for horses, and still less so for camels. Several small villages, inhabited by *Shúwa*, were to be seen at some distance to the south. We lost a great deal of time through having missed our way in a forest of small *mimosas* which surround this plain, till we at length reached a village called *Sittahe*, where we rested during the heat of the day. The village consists of two separate groups, one of which contains large conical huts for the rainy season, while the other is formed of light oblong dwellings adapted for the dry season, constructed entirely of mats. Here we were entertained by a *mállem* who had formerly possessed considerable property, but who had suffered greatly from the contributions levied upon him by the slaves of his liege lord. It is these impudent slaves of the court, who, having no interest in the welfare of the inhabitants, inflict so much evil on the country. With regard to the settlements of the Arabs in this district of *Kótokó*, I think that they are not more than two hundred years old. Most of these Arabs belong to the numerous tribe of the *Sálamát*.

In the afternoon, after travelling about four miles, we reached the town of *Rén*. This was formerly a considerable place, but it is now almost deserted, and the wall has fallen to ruins, the aspect of the place, however, is very picturesque,—beautiful and wide-spreading fig-trees shading the ruins of high, well-built clay houses. My quarters were better than I had expected,—an excellently-built hut, provided with all the comfort which such a building is capable of affording; but the comfortable repose which the neat appearance of my hut promised me was greatly disturbed by swarms of mosquitoes, that owe their existence to a large swamp at the northern side of the wall. The town of *Rén* was formerly the centre of a petty kingdom, but it is at present reduced to utter ruin. Its inhabitants have a peculiar dialect of their own. But although the governor was very eloquent in his description of the misery to which his people were at present reduced, yet he treated me very hospitably.

Wednesday, March 10—Leaving the swamp above mentioned on one side we pursued our march through a fertile and well-inhabited district full of open hamlets, while the cornfields were enlivened with numbers of *kórna*-trees, at present laden with fruit. I was pleased to see that the inhabitants of this district follow the same custom as the *Múgu* people, storing their provision of herbage for the dry season on the branches of the trees. All the inhabitants are Arabs, and belong to the tribe called *Welád Megébel*, whose chief is called *Ísa Áshe*; the name of the district is *Ranganá*. At a considerable distance towards the south there is a walled town called *Déma*, belonging to the sheikh *Abba*.

The Arabs are either cattle-breeders or corn-growers, but further on we saw some cotton under cultivation, after which we again entered upon firki ground, where my companion called my attention to a new variety of grass called "útutú," the seeds of which, besides the kréb above mentioned, constitute a great part of the food of the poorer people of this district.

Dense rows of fine tamarind-trees indicated the neighbourhood of a watercourse, which even at present was of some importance, being about thirty-five yards broad, and three feet nine inches in depth, but without a perceptible current, a small canoe, however, lying on its border, justified the opinion that occasionally it is not fordable, of which I myself received a proof on my return-journey, when I crossed it lower down, near Legári. This watercourse, which in the rainy season conveys towards the lake a considerable quantity of water, is called Komádugu Lebé. There was formerly a considerable town, called Suló, on the other side of the watercourse; but this at present is deserted, and its ruins are overgrown by thick forest. A little distance further on, the site of another ancient town testified to the former importance of this district. We were now approaching the largest town of Kótokó; but scarcely any signs of industry were to be seen, with the exception of a young plantation of cotton, and thick forest approached close to the wall of the town, which is very extensive, but fast falling to ruins.

The whole interior of the town of Áfadé is one vast heap of rubbish, from which only here and there a building in tolerable repair starts forth, the greatest ornament of the place at present being a most magnificent fig-tree of the species called "búske," identical, I think, with the tree called duwé by the Arabs near Timbúktu. I scarcely remember ever to have seen such a noble and luxuriant specimen of this family of the vegetable kingdom. Spreading its vast impenetrable canopy of the freshest and most beautiful green over a great part of the square in front of the lofty ruins of the governor's palace, it formed the chief lounging-place or "fagé" for the idle loiterers in this once industrious and wealthy town.

My quarters, in the upper story of a house, were very tolerable, and, besides being airy, afforded me a view over the nearest part of the town, from whence I had an opportunity of admiring the excellent quality of the clay with which these houses are built. Clay, indeed, seems to have entirely excluded, in ancient times, from the country of Kótokó the lighter buildings of reed and straw, and I observed that even many of the round huts were of considerable elevation, being furnished with a roof of clay, which formed a neat terrace surrounded by a low parapet.

There seems to have been a considerable degree of civilisation in former times in this little kingdom of Kótokó, or rather in this group of distinct principalities, the independent character of which is clearly shown by the great diversity of its dialects, which vary with every large town: viz Kílésem, Gulfé and Kúsun, Mákari and Máfaté, Áfadé, Rén, and Ngála. When we consider that this country is not mentioned

among the list of the Negro countries by Ébn Sáid (A.D. 1283) which is preserved by Ébn Khaldún*, where even the Kúrí are not forgotten, while it is evidently mentioned by Makrízi†, it appears that it rose into importance in the course of the fourteenth century. Although we are not able to explain fully the circumstances under which this happened, we may conclude that it was due in some degree to the struggle between the two powerful dynasties of Bórnu and Bulála.

As for the dialect of Áfadé, of which I made a short vocabulary, it appears to form a link between the idiom of the Yédiná, the islanders of the Tsád, on the one side, and the Músgu people on the other.

In the province of Áfadé a great proportion of the population consists of Shúwa, principally of the tribes E' Nejaíme, and Welád Abú Khodhair. The governor was absent just at the time, on a small expedition to chastise some of these people, who are very unsettled in their habits, and often refractory. Notwithstanding his absence, however, we were very hospitably treated, our supper consisting, besides a sheep, and numerous bowls of Negro corn, of a dish of well-dressed fish, very palatable, from the river Lebé, there was likewise no scarcity of milk.

Thursday, March 11.—It would certainly have been very interesting to have made a few days' stay here, in order to obtain a clearer insight into the peculiar characteristics of this province, but as the more distant object of my enterprise did not allow of a longer delay, I pursued my march. All these towns are very inconvenient for travellers, their gates not being large enough for loaded camels to pass through. When we had reached the great road, where the forest is interrupted by a little cultivation of cotton, I saw two beautiful specimens of that species of antelope which is here called "túgdim," of grey colour and very low in body, I think it is identical with, or nearly related to, the *Antelope annulipes*.

This was the only time I observed this species of antelope during my travels in Negroland. Great numbers of Guinea fowl, such as I had never observed before, enlivened the underwood further on, the ground consisting of a hard soil called by the natives kabé, and covered with only a scanty growth of stunted mimosas. I was much interested in observing here the red species of Negro corn, which seems not to be cultivated by the more civilised tribes of Negroland, but which forms the principal food of the pagan races towards the south. Having passed a Shúwa hamlet—berí Shúwabe,—the country became more diversified. A considerable pond, at present dry, and bordered by beautiful trees, spread out on our left, while our right was bordered by the ruins of a large town called Sú, a name which seems to be a remnant of the ancient tribe of the Só or Soy, which formerly ruled over the whole of this region as far as Kála. A poor old woman, incapacitated by age from reaching the market-town, was sitting in front of the ruined wall,

* Ébn Khaldun, texte Arabe, vol. i., p. 200; trad. S. Macguckin de Slane, vol. ii, p. 116.

† Makrízi, in Hamaker, Spec. Catal, p. 206.

offering to the passers-by the little cotton which she had been able to clean. The country is at present in such a state, principally owing to the turbulent spirit of the Shāwa Arabs, that even this road is regarded as unsafe, and we were therefore obliged to keep together, several inhabitants of Logón having attached themselves to my little caravan. The road divides here, the more considerable path leading to the town of Kúsuri, and the smaller southern one, which we followed, leading to Logón bírni, or Kárnak Lógone.

We passed two villages called Debábe Gezáva and Debábe Ngáya, but the latter of which still bears the very remarkable name of Krénik, and is stated by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood to have been the capital, or one of the capitals, of the once powerful tribe of the Soy. The exact period when this town was destroyed I could not ascertain, but probably it happened during the reign of the great Kanúri king Edris Alawóma, about the beginning of the seventeenth century. More recently this neighbourhood was saturated with the blood of numbers of Bórnu people, in the sanguinary struggle with their neighbours, the Bagírni or Bágírma; and it was in one of these conflicts, near the walled town of Miltam, about forty years ago (A. H. 1232), that the sheikh Mohammed el Kánemi lost his eldest and most-beloved son.

Having watered our animals at a shallow stream, spreading out in the meadow-ground, we continued our march, and about half an hour before noon had to cross a very difficult swamp, with boggy ground, where several of our people stuck fast. The whole of this region is subject to partial inundations, but it seems very remarkable that they do not attain their greatest height in, or at the end of, the rainy season, but several months later, and I found afterwards, when I traversed this country again towards the end of August, in the very height of the rainy season, that not only this but the other swamps were considerably lower than they were in March. This circumstance depends on the peculiar nature of the Tsád, which reaches its highest level in November, when all the waters carried down by the several rivers and torrents have spread over the whole surface of the lagoon, while the loss from evaporation is then much less than during the hot months.

Continuing through a very thick forest full of herds of wild hogs, which seem greatly to delight in these low, swampy, and densely overgrown grounds on either side of the (river) Shárfi, and having passed another swamp, and the forest at length clearing, we obtained a sight of the high clay walls of the town of Kála, starting forth from a beautiful grove of fig-trees, and overtopped by a very lofty, but slightly inclined solitary palm-tree.

CHAPTER II.

PROVINCE OF LOGÓN—LOGÓN BIRNI.

KÁLA is the first town of the territory of Logón or Lógone, the boundary of which we had crossed a short time before. Having entered the town through an extremely narrow gate, which scarcely allowed my bare and slender she-camel to pass through, after having taken from her back the whole load, I was struck with the very different aspect it exhibited from the regions we had just left, for while the dwellings testified to a certain degree of civilisation, the inhabitants themselves seemed to approach nearer to the pagans than to the Mohammedans. We had scarcely entered the town when we were surrounded by a troop of boys and young lads from seven to twelve years of age, tall and well built, and in a state of entire nudity, a thing hardly ever seen in the country of Bórnu, even with slaves. The type of their features, however, was very different from the general type observed in the Bórnu people, and seemed to indicate more intelligence and cunning. I have already observed, in the country of Músgu, how the state of the dwellings contrasts with the apparel, or rather the want of apparel, of the people themselves, but here it seemed more remarkable, for the dwellings in general did not consist of round conical huts, but of spacious oblong houses of clay, of considerable elevation. I was quartered in one of these structures, but found it rather close, and full of dust.

The town presented an appearance of the utmost decay, only a few dwellings remaining in the centre of it, and the only remarkable objects were two palm-trees, one of which I had already observed from without; and I now assured myself that they were not date-trees, but belonged to the fan-shaped group of palms. But they were not bifurcated, and seemed not to belong to the *Cucifera Thebaica*, nor were they identical with the deléb-palm. At any rate they were the tallest specimens which I ever remember to have seen of the fan-shaped tribe, their height appearing more extraordinary on account of the small tuft of leaves, which was confined to the very top. The town itself presenting no very interesting features, I went out in the afternoon, and lay down for an hour or two, in the shade of one of those beautiful fig-trees which, fed by a large and deep swamp, surround the town on all sides; but, the more pleasant was my day's repose, the more disagreeable was my night's rest, for, owing to these stagnant pools, the town is full of mosquitoes, and neither I myself nor any of my companions were able to get any sleep the whole of the ensuing night.

We therefore rose very early in the following morning, long before daybreak, and at four o'clock had already left the gate of the town behind us. There is still a great deal of cultivation of cotton to be seen, even in the present state of decay to which this province is reduced, but an immense deal more might be cultivated. Then followed fields of sorghum and further on, the lowing of cattle and the cackling of hens indicated the presence of a Shúwa village at some distance on

our left. Cultivated ground and forest alternately succeeded each other, the wild hog being seen in every direction, while numerous villages were lying about here and there, but at present all deserted, the inhabitants, who belong to the Shúwa, migrating during the dry season towards a large shallow watercourse in the south-west, where they find fresher pasture-grounds for their cattle. This watercourse or ngáljam is famous under several names, being called Bawish, Madéf, and Burbéde. We then passed on our left the town Úlluf, Húlluf, or Hélib, surrounded by a high clay wall, and almost hidden behind wide-spreading fig-trees, just as is the case with Kala. This town, the name of which is pronounced "Elf" by the Arabs, and of the origin of which they give very absurd accounts, is ill-famed for the presumed witchcraft and sorcery of its inhabitants, and this was the only reason which prevented my companions from staying here during the heat of the day.

We therefore continued our march; and, having passed another swamp, entered a well-cultivated district, where a great deal of sorghum was grown. I was however surprised at seeing the stacks of grain, or, as they are called in Kanúri, *bagga argúmbe*, still standing in the fields.

We encamped a little beyond the temporary village of Sheikh-el Khasés, close to an extensive sheet of water, under the shade of a beautiful tamarind-tree. This piece of water, as the people assured me, only dries up annually for a short time, when the rainy season again fills it. All these native Arabs, as I have already had occasion to remark, are very inhospitable; and the people here, where we had encamped, did not offer us any refreshment. However I succeeded in buying from them a little honey, for a few needles.

When we started again in the afternoon, we had great difficulty in avoiding the swamps. The country at times was well cultivated, producing, besides sorghum, a quantity of beans of the speckled kind; but I was not a little astonished to see, in the midst of the stubble-fields, young crops of that variety of sorghum called "*másakuwá*." This is a very rare sight in these countries in the month of March, as in general this winter corn is got in during December or January. We then entered a forest, and, following a winding path, reached the rather considerable village Múnke, which belongs to Logón, but is inhabited chiefly by Kanúri. Here I pitched my tent in the market-place, and was not a little pestered by numbers of inquisitive people.

Saturday, March 13—The country through which we passed as we drew nearer the capital of Logón was of a rich and fertile character, but insufficiently cultivated. Besides grain, there was a great deal of cotton, and numbers of trees of various species gave it a charming appearance, the beautifully rich foliage of several of them relieving entirely the monotony which is usual in these Central African forests. Amongst the underwood the *dúm-bush* was predominant, gradually, however, the "*harás*" or "*karáge*"-tree began to prevail. The pods of this tree, which contain the seeds, are not only much liked by camels, but also by monkeys and hogs, both of which seemed to be very numerous, and lived together in the greatest harmony. Numerous

holes of the earth-hog (*Orycteropus Ethiopiensis*) were likewise to be seen.

We met a number of native travellers and people going to market, who saluted us in a cheerful manner, and bore testimony to the fact that we were drawing near a larger place, and the neighbourhood of the town was still further indicated by women who had come out to gather wood for the supply of the market. Here I was agreeably surprised to see again my noble old acquaintance of the Músgu country, the deléb-palm or "uray." At first a single specimen appeared towering with its proud fan-like foliage over the numerous karáge-trees that still continued to retain their predominant position in the vegetable kingdom; but when the clayey soil gave way to sand, a large group met the eye, in close array, and full of fruit. It was, however, entirely limited to this locality, and I did not meet another specimen between this place and the town.

When we arrived in sight of the wall, my horseman changed his dress, and put on a new glittering black Núpe tobe, in order to make his entrance with greater *eclat*, while I was not a little pleased to meet again here some travelling companions of mine, in whose company I had crossed the Benuwé on my journey to Adamáwa, and who were once more on their way to the east. We then entered the capital of Logón—Logón Birni, or Kárnak Lóggon, as it is called by the Shúwa, or Kárnak Lógone or Lóggene, as it is called by the Kanúri. The town on this side (the north-western) has only one gate, and it was so narrow that we were obliged to unload the camel before we were able to pass through. The energy and activity of this place are naturally concentrated on the eastern side towards the river, where it has seven gates.

The interior of the town, where we entered it, had not a very animated appearance. The cottages, belonging evidently to the poorer classes of people, are in a wretched condition and the only animation which the scenery presented was due to a group of dúm-palms, towering over this poor quarter from the north side. The character of the place improved, however, as we advanced; the streets were tolerably large, and I was struck with the appearance of the principal street, or *dénda*, which is formed by the palace of the sultan or Míyará, towards the south, and the house of the Kephámma or Ibalaghván, towards the north.

The entrance to the palace of the sultan—the "*raána míyará*" in the *kélakú* Logón or language of Logón,—is towards the east, where there is an open square, shaded by a few trees; here I was obliged to wait a long time on horseback, while my quarters were getting ready, for etiquette did not allow me to dismount. The sun was very powerful, and my situation not exactly pleasant, but it afforded me some amusement to observe the flights of falcons and other birds, who were nestling in the top of a group of tall dúm-palms which towered above the walls of the mosque opposite the palace.

I had also the pleasure of recognising an old friend of Major Denham's, namely, Belál, the man who accompanied him as well on his

expedition to the Shāri as to Kānem. This man, whose real name was Mādi, and who was an extremely amiable and good-humoured personage, with a disposition akin to the character of Europeans, continued my friend during the remainder of my stay in Bornu. His errand here at present was to collect the annual tribute which the ruler of the country of Logón has to pay to the sheikh of Bornu.

The quarters assigned to me were situated in the upper story of the palace of the Ibálaghwan, which surprised me not a little by the superior and even grand style of its architecture. This very spacious palace consists of a number of wings inclosing small quadrangular courtvards, and having an upper story of extensive apartments. The only part which did not correspond with the magnificence of the rest of the building, was the staircase, which was rather dark and inconvenient. My own apartment was not less than thirty-five feet long, by fifteen wide, and as many high, and received sufficient light from two semicircular windows, which, of course, had no glass, but could be closed by means of a shutter of reed. The ceiling was gable-shaped—rather a remarkable phenomenon in these countries, it was filled out with thatchwork.

But not only were my quarters excellent, but the treatment I received also was hospitable in the extreme, for I had scarcely taken possession of my lodgings when a bowl of very excellent pudding made its appearance. The thievish propensities of the people of Logón are very remarkable: and the first intimation which I received of them was an official caution given to me to beware of the slaves of my house.

Having recruited my strength a little, I went with Kashélla Mādi to pay my compliments to the Ibálaghwan or Kēghamma. We found him in the apartment marked *a* in the ground-plan. At first he was invisible, sitting behind his matting curtain, "parpar," or "farfar," which the Háusa people, in humorous mood, call by the name of "munáfeki" (the sinner), and which is made of a fine species of reed-grass; but he soon allowed me to approach him. He was a tall, elderly man, of a cheerful disposition, and smiling countenance, with nothing in his behaviour to intimate that he was not a free-born man, and certainly his position was an eminent one, as he was the second person in this little kingdom, and held an office corresponding to that of a prime minister or vizier. His name is Herdége. Having made him a small present for himself, which was rather insignificant, but which, as it consisted of a quantity of articles, seemed to satisfy him, I showed him the present I intended to make to his master. Poor as I was at the time, and destitute of means, I had determined to give away my Turkish trousers, of very fine brown cloth, which I had scarcely ever worn, in order to pave my way in advance, for besides this article I had only some small trifles to give, such as shawls, knives, scissors, frankincense, and a few spices. The kēghamma having approved of my present, I immediately went with Mādi Belál to pay my respects to the sultan, or rather Míyará himself.

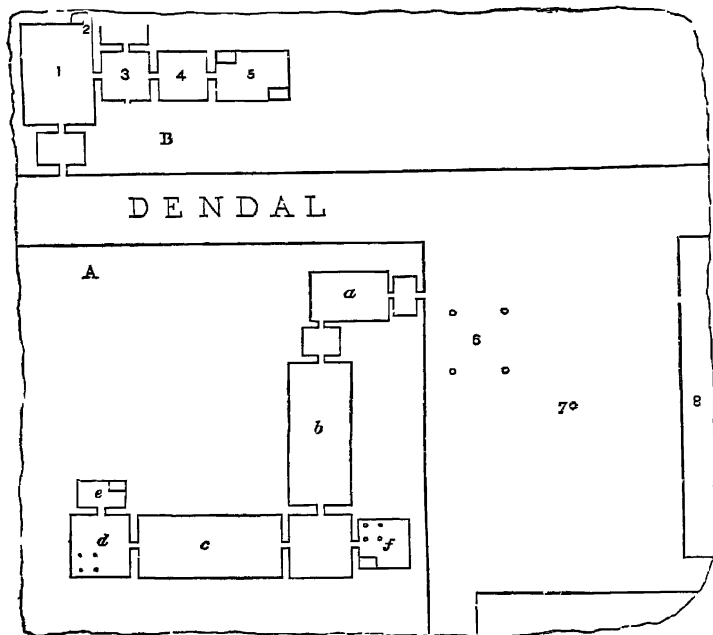
The palace of the sultan is a very extensive building surrounded by a wall fourteen feet in height, and corresponding to the height of the

house of the keghamma The public part of the building consists of very large courtyards, separated from each other by covered apartments. In the first courtyard, marked *a* on the ground-plan, in a sort of shed, the eunuchs (or, as the people of Logón say, the "bille-melâgem") were assembled. I was not a little surprised to find here two cannons of iron, certainly of not very good workmanship, and very old, but furnished with frames. Having waited here some time, till my arrival was announced, I proceeded to another antechamber, marked *b*, the whole of the building looking very neat and orderly. The courtyard probably measured not less than one hundred feet in length, by about thirty feet in width. Having then traversed another antechamber and courtyard of about the same dimensions, we reached the public court of audience, furnished with a raised platform, on which stood the royal throne,—a rough kind of seat covered with a baldachin of planks, and painted red. The sultan, however, at present, was not here, but was sitting in his private room *c*, behind a matting curtain, and I was desired to address him without seeing him. I therefore paid him my compliments, addressing Kashélla Mádi in Kanún, and he interpreting what I said into the language of the country. I begged to inform the Miyará that the sultan Ingliz, who, during the reign of the former chief of Logón (the miyará Sale), had sent Khalilu (Major Denham), had now instructed me to pay my respects to him. He was greatly delighted at this compliment, and inquired repeatedly after the health of the sultan of the nasára Ingliz. Having made use of the opportunity afforded by the matting of observing me without being himself observed, and seeing that I was something like a human being, and evidently of an innoxious kind, and the present having been carried into his presence, he called me inside his room, saluted me in a very friendly manner, and shook hands with me. He then begged me to explain to him the presents, taking extreme delight in the articles of English manufacture, including even the large darning needles, for, small and insignificant as these articles were, he had never seen their like. He even counted the needles one by one, and assigned them their respective owners in the harím. The principal favour which I had to beg of him was to allow me to navigate the river to some distance, and having granted my request, he dismissed me very graciously.

On the next page are ground-plans of the houses of the sultan and keghamma

Yúsuf, or, as the people of Logón say, Ýsuf (this is the name of the present sultan), is a tall, stout, and well-built man, apparently about forty years of age, with large features and a rather melancholy expression of countenance, which I attribute to his peculiar and precarious political situation, being the ruler of a small kingdom placed between two predominant neighbours, who harass him incessantly. He has been sultan about nineteen years, and was a young man at the time of Denham's visit, when his father Sále and his elder brother 'Abd el Kerím shared or rather disputed the government with each other. He had two more elder brothers, of the names of Chiróma and Marúfi, both of whom died before him. Just at or shortly before the beginning of

his reign, as it would seem, owing to an expedition into the country by Dáúd, one of the war-slaves of the sheikh Mohammed el Kánemi, Logón became a tributary province of Bórnu, being subjected to an annual tribute of one hundred slaves, and the same number of shirts or tobés. Previous to that time, the ruler of this little country is said to have made an annual present of only two slaves.



A HOUSE OF SULTAN—*a* Great Courtyard. *b* Second Courtyard, about 100 feet long by 30 wide. *c* Third Courtyard. *d*. Inner Courtyard, with shed and throne. *e* Room of Sultan. *f* Stabling. B. HOUSE OF KEGHAMMA.—1. Large Court. 2. Staircase leading to the upper apartments. 3. Courtyard. 4. Second Courtyard. 5. Room of Keghamma, with two couches, that in the background being raised above the floor. 6. Shed built of mats and poles in front of the palace. 7. Caoutchouc-tree. 8. Mosque or "Dabaldehá," shaded by some fan-palms, or as the people of Logón say "gururu."

Our treatment was hospitable in the extreme, and it seemed almost as if our host had a mind to kill us with excess of kindness, for in the evening he sent us four enormous bowls of well-prepared pudding of sorghum, together with meat and broth, and early the next morning a large bowl of gruel seasoned with honey, and a few moments afterwards three or four bowls of hasty-pudding. Fortunately there were people

enough to consume this plenteous supply of food, for there was a large party of Bagirmi people returning to their country from Kúkawa, and to them I gave up these luxuries, but afterwards they repaid my kindness with ingratitude. Being desirous of having a look at the town, I sallied forth in the afternoon with a well-mounted trooper, who was attached to my friend Kashella Mádi, by the western gate, and then turning round towards the east, proceeded in the direction of the river.

At this corner the river bends away from the wall to the distance of about an English mile, being from 350 to 400 yards across; the western shore was low at this point, but on the opposite side it rose to the height of from 12 to 15 feet. It was enlivened by about 40 or 50 boats, most of them about four feet at the bottom, and six feet at the top, and remarkable for their formidable prows. All these boats are built in the same way as those of the Búdduma, with this exception, that the planks consist of stronger wood, mostly birgim, and are generally of larger size, while those of the Búdduma consist of the frailest material, viz the wood of the fógo. The joints of the planks are provided with holes through which ropes are passed, overlaid with bands of reed, and are tightly fastened upon them by smaller ropes, which are again passed through small holes stuffed with grass. Their elevated prow seems to indicate the shallowness of the water as well as the vehemence of the current which in certain seasons of the year sweeps down the river, and which I experienced on my return when it was full. At present, the water was rather shallow, and several sandbanks were to be seen. My principal attention was attracted by the fishing boats, which were furnished with large nets suspended from the poop by two immensely long poles, called "the two hands," "músko ndí" by the Kanúri people, and "sémi" by the people of Logón.

We then continued along the shore, which becomes gradually more and more compressed between the wall and the river. Where the latter approaches nearest the wall there are cornfields, which are continually irrigated from the river. The stalks of the corn at present were one foot and a half high. As I have observed in another place, wheat has only recently been introduced into Negroland, and wherever a little is grown it is only known by the Arabic name "el kámeh." The generality of the inhabitants do not relish it, but it is esteemed a princely food. Of course, corn is also dearer where it does not grow spontaneously, the tropical rains being too powerful for the tender plant, so that it can only be grown in the dry or rather the cold season, near the rivers or swamps, by artificial irrigation.

Delighted with the view which the scenery of the river exhibited, we reached the most eastern gate on the south side of the town, when suddenly an old man with an imperious air forbade me to survey the river, and ordered me to retrace my steps directly. I was rather startled and confounded, as, having the permission of the sultan, I could not imagine who besides himself had such authority in the place and could forbid me to do what he had allowed me; but my companion informed me that he was the king of the waters, the "maráleghá," and

that he had full command over the river or "lágħam." I had heard and read a great deal of the authority of the king of the waters, the "serkí-n-rúwa," in the countries on the Niger, but I was not aware that a similar custom prevailed here. Confused, and rather ashamed, I re-entered the town through the next gate.

Close to this gate was the house of the Għaladíma, or Malághwán; and I was induced to pay him a visit. He seemed to be rather an effeminate person, living in a dark and well-perfumed room. The visit was of no other interest than that it gave me some further insight into the ceremonial of the court of this little kingdom, the very existence of which was denied by so eminent a man as M. Fresnel a few years ago.*

The first thing I did on returning to my quarters was to expostulate with the keghámma on the authority exercised by his colleague, the king of the waters; and he promised me that the next day I should visit the river, and even navigate it, without the least hindrance. However, there was so much talk in the town about my surveying the stream, that I was obliged in the course of the afternoon to pay the vizier another visit. He was very anxious to know whether if once embarked in a boat upon the water I might not jump out in order to search for gold; when I told him I was rather afraid of the crocodiles. This expression of my fear contributed a great deal to alleviate his suspicions, for it seemed that until then he had supposed Europeans to be a sort of supernatural beings, and exempt from every kind of fear.

Our treatment was hospitable in the extreme,—so much so that two hundred persons might have feasted upon the dishes that were sent to me. But besides all these dishes of native food, my hospitable host sent for my own private consumption a large fat sheep, and an enormous jar of milk. This very splendid treatment, however, created a great deal of jealous and envious feeling in the breasts of those Bagírmi people whom I have before mentioned, although they themselves reaped the greatest benefit from the liberality of the sultan towards me. From what I observed, I think I may draw the conclusion that it is the general policy of the ruler of this little tributary kingdom to treat his guests well, and certainly it is a wise one; but I dare say I was especially favoured by the sultan.

Monday, March 15—With extreme delight I had cherished the plan of navigating the river, although, of course, from the very beginning I could not expect to achieve great things, for the means which were at my disposal at the time did not allow me to overcome any serious obstacles which might be thrown in my way; but besides this, the authority of this little prince of Logón extends only a short distance along the shores of the river.

At eight o'clock I was aboard of my little boat or "wōam"† I thought that I should have got one of the largest size, but none was to

* "Bulletin de la Societé de Géogr. de Paris," s. III., vol. xi, p. 30; vol. xiv, p. 159.

† This word is only another form of the name which the Yédiná give to the boat, viz. "pum."

be obtained. The boat, however, which was finally assigned to me, though measuring only twenty-five feet in length by about four feet in the middle, was tolerably strong, the planks of which it consisted being recently sewn and stuffed in the way above described, but, of course, this method of shipbuilding is far from rendering the vessel water-tight. The boats being without seats, large bundles of reeds are placed at the bottom for the passengers to sit upon, with nothing to prevent them from being drenched with water.

While we crossed to the other side of the river, passing numerous sandbanks which at present had been laid bare, the town presented quite an interesting prospect, the wall being overtopped by düm-palms, or "gurûru," a pair of deléb-palms, "murgúm," and an isolated date-tree, "diffino,"* these three species of palms growing together in this place in a very remarkable manner, for it is a rare thing to find them in one and the same spot.

The river, while skirting the town, forms a bend, and changes its course from a west-easterly to a northerly direction. While gliding along the eastern shore my companions called my attention to a species of very tall reed, which they called korókoró, but which is nothing else than the papyrus, which, as I have observed, grows on the shores of the Tsád, and which we shall find in several smaller lakes. But it was highly interesting to me to hear that the natives in this country prepare a peculiar sort of cloth or "gábagá" from it, which I think must be identical with the cloth mentioned by Arab writers under the name "wórzí berdí," being the Egyptian name for papyrus. However, I did not observe here several other species of the reed which grows on the Tsád, principally the bolé; and on inquiring for that beautiful variety from which the fine matting "kasar" or "farfar" is made, and for which the people of Logón are so celebrated, I was informed by my companions that it only grows near the large market-town Jinna, of which I shall have occasion to say something more further on. I was very anxious to know how the natives called this river, to which, by Major Denham, the name of Shárí or Sháry has been given, and I was confirmed in the opinion which I had previously formed, that this river is not the Shárí, but a small branch of it, Major Denham, during the short stay which he made here, not being able to ascertain that this river, which he saw at the town of Logón, was not the same as that which he saw at Kúsuri, but only a branch of it, and the smaller one. However, all the names given to rivers by the various tribes of Negroland have no other signification than that general one of "water," "river," from the western great "Bá," of the Mandingoes by the Isa of the Sónghay, Eghírreù of the Imóshagh, "Máyo" of the Fúlbe, Gulbí of

* It is very remarkable and interesting that the date-palm, in all these countries as far as Bagirmi, goes by the Háusa name "debino," from which circumstance it is plain that it was first introduced into that part of Negroland. Even the Fulbe of Sokoto have no other name for it, while those of Adamawa call it after the tree of the native date, viz the addwa or *Balanites Egyptiaca*. But the Sónghay and Maba or Waday languages have quite independent names for this palm.

the Háusa, Kwára of the Yóruba, Bénuwé of the Bátta, Komádugu of the Kanúri, the eastern "Bá" of the Bagírmi, the Fittrí of the Kúka, the Bat-há of the Arabs of Wádáy. Thus the name "Shári" also signifies nothing more than "the river," that is to say, the river of the Kótokó, to whose language this word belongs, and the word "tsáde," or rather "tsádhe," seems nothing but a different pronunciation of this same name, the original form of which is probably "sáre" or "sághe."

This smaller western branch of the Shári the natives of Logón call "Lághame na Lógone," that is to say, the river ("lágham") of Logón, but higher up it has different names, according to the places which it passes by, being called by the Músgu people in their own language "Eré," or "Arré," a name which itself means nothing else but river, while in another place, where I reached it on my expedition to the Músgu country, it bears the peculiar name "Serbéwuel," I do not know exactly for what reason. Meanwhile we were passing by the village Hónkel, which lies on the western side of the river, and which, as I shall soon have occasion to observe, was of great importance in the former history of this country. The river changing its direction here, we again approached the western shore, and saw that at least half the inhabitants of the town had come out to see what the Christian was doing on the river, for they could scarcely imagine that I had embarked for any other purpose than to search for gold. In the midst of the crowd some horsemen in a very showy dress were observed, and I was informed that they were people from Ádishén the Músgu chief, just arrived with a message, and I soon observed that they were priding themselves on a dress which they had received from their oppressors, on the expedition in which I and Mr Overweg accompanied the latter.

Seeing a crocodile raising its head just above the water close to the other side of the river, I could not resist firing at it, when the crowd burst out in loud cheers of acclamation. The servants of the sultan, however, who had accompanied me in the boat, had been for some time uneasy, and wished me to return; and on reaching a beautiful solitary deléb-palm, or "margúm," as they are called by the people of Logón, I could no longer resist the pleadings of my companions to abstain from proceeding further. We had here an extensive view over the river, its principal direction being from south 20° east. All these large and splendid streams with which nature has endowed these regions are now scarcely of any use to the people living on their banks; and no traffic, except between the nearest places, is kept up. A wide field for improvement is here open to the energy of man when these regions have been brought under the notice and the influence of Europe.

Turning our boat, we allowed it to go along with the current. The surface of the water was so smooth and pleasant, that I was tempted to take a bath, and there was a great shouting amongst the crowd on the shore when they saw the white man jump overboard; but their surprise was great when, after having splashed about for some time in the river, the current of which was too strong for my weakened frame, they saw me come out empty-handed, and they cried out that they had

been cheated,—the people having told them that I was searching for gold. However, when I disembarked, the crowd of spectators was so immense, that my companions could only open me a passage with their whips, and I was really glad when I again reached the house of the Keshámma or Ibálaghwán.

This little excursion, however, cost me dear; for those people of Bagírmí whom I have mentioned before, the principal among whom was called Háj Áhmed, seeing me creating such an uproar, felt inclined to suppose that, if I should enter their own country in the absence of the ruler, I might create a disturbance in the kingdom. The prince of Logón, likewise, had formed far too high an idea of my capacity, and begged me most earnestly to stay some time with him, thinking that he might derive some profit by making himself more independent of his neighbours. Amongst other things, he wanted me to fire off those two guns which I have mentioned before, but their whole appearance inspired me with too little confidence to do so.

As it was, I had a great deal of trouble in persuading the sultan to allow me to pursue my journey eastward, but seeing that if I were to stay here a few days longer I should spend the little I had left, I was firm in my purpose of extending my discoveries beyond my predecessors, Major Denham having already succeeded in reaching this place, although he has only very insufficiently described it, and entirely failed in fixing its right position. I therefore proceeded to take leave of Míyará Yúsuf the next morning, when I found him in the courtyard numbered *f* in the woodcut, which he seemed to use as stables. His whole stud, however, appeared to consist of only three or four horses of tolerable appearance. He himself was sitting on a raised platform of clay (*segáge*), dressed very simply, and wearing a red woollen shawl round his head. He was very kind and friendly, and begged me most urgently not to make a long stay in Bagírmí, but to return as soon as possible. Our conversation this time, as well as on the former occasion, was in Kanúrí, which he understood perfectly well.

Logón is, it seems, not a national, but a political name, although I have not been able to make out its exact meaning. The inhabitants belong to that great race of the Mása whom I have mentioned on a former occasion, being the brethren of the Músgu, and the kinsmen of the inhabitants of Mándará (the Ur-wándalá) and the Kótokó. Their political existence as people of Logón (or, as they call themselves, Lógodé Logón) is quite recent, and their Islám is of still more recent origin. Their country also, like that of the Músgu, was formerly split into a number of small principalities, the chief of Hónkel being the most powerful among them, till about a century and a half ago, when Bruwá, the predecessor of Míyará Mása, is said to have founded the town of Logón, and to have removed the seat of his principality to the present capital ("bírní," or "kárnak") of the country. But this ruler, as well as his immediate successors, was a pagan, and probably at that time there were only a few Mohammedans in the place, and Míyará Sále, the old prince whom Denham visited, the father of the present ruler Yúsuf, is said to have been the first among the petty princes of

this country who were converted to Islám. Others assert that an older king, Mógha Jérna, was the first Moslim; and this is not at all improbable, as the names of some of the kings who preceded Sále evidently show that the influence of Islamism, at least to outward appearance, was felt at a much earlier date.

With regard to the order of succession from Mása down to Sále, it seems that Mása was succeeded by a prince of the name of Úngo Aná-smadú, who was followed by Úngo Aná-logón, the prince to whom, possibly, the present name of the country Logón is to be referred, he was succeeded by Mógha 'Alí, then followed Mógha Káder, and then the predecessor of Sále, namely, Má Sahikwá. Hence, at the very utmost the Mohammedan religion is not above sixty years old in this country, and many of the younger inhabitants of the place are well aware that their fathers were pagans by birth, and afterwards turned Mohammedans. Of course their Islám, even at present, is of a poor character, and the whole knowledge of religious matters which they possess, with the exception of a few elevated persons, consists of a few phrases which they learn by heart without understanding their meaning, and the practice of circumcision. In the country towns, however, even at present, most people are pagans.

The inhabitants of Logón fought repeatedly with their neighbours and kindred of Mándará, and seem to have been successful in that direction. They are also said to have once destroyed the town of Mélé, which lies on the eastern side of the river Shári, and to have killed all the male inhabitants. The former sultans of Bórnu seem to have left the people of Logón in enjoyment of tolerable tranquillity, being content with a small tribute which they made them pay as a mark of subjection. But at present the tribute is considerable, considering the small extent of the country, and moreover the unfortunate petty prince of this small kingdom is compelled to pay another tribute to the Sultan of Bagirmi, whose people harass him continually.

The name which the people of Logón give to their western neighbours is interesting, as its origin seems to go back into a remote age; for they call them Bilangáre, or rather, "bille Ngáre," a name which was probably derived from Ngarú, the ancient capital of the Gháladí, or the western provinces of the Bórnu empire, which I have mentioned on a former occasion; "bille" means people in general. As for their eastern neighbours, the Bagirmi people, they call them by the name of Mókkode, which might seem to have some connection with Makada, a name often applied to the country west of Abyssinia, and which I think is erroneously stated to mean Christian. From the south-west the Fúlbe or Felláta press heavily upon them; and, as we have seen on the expedition to Músgu, the elderman in the village of Wáze, which belongs to the territory of Logón, is himself a Púlo or Felláta.

The people of Logón in former times seem to have made frequent incursions into the country of their neighbours and kinsmen the Músgu, in order to supply their want of slaves, but about eight years previous to my visit they seem to have suffered so severe a check in that quarter, as to make them desist from undertaking any further expeditions.

Upon that occasion they lost their commander-in-chief, Kehámma, or Ibálaghwán Yahia, the same who built the really imposing palace where I was lodged. This commander undertook an expedition into the Músgu country, not, as usual, by land, but by water, and having gone on shore near a village called Gúmmel, was taken by surprise, and together with the most valiant of his companions, was slain by the natives of the country.

The government seems to be a limited monarchy, the sovereign being surrounded by a number of high functionaries, who form the *divan* or "tálubá," identical with the *nógoná* of the Bórnu people. The first of these high functionaries is the Ibálaghwán, next follows the Málaghwán or Gháladíma, then the Mairáy, then the Madám, the Maráleghá or king of the water, the Wulangháy or Chiróma (the claimant to the succession), the Maraymarbá, the Madamátíyá, the Madám ukhsám, the Intháwa, the Mághawén akhthám, the Másaghé akhthám, and the Mághalé-muté.

The territory of Logón is most advantageously situated near the point of junction of two considerable rivers, the river of Logón, the Lágham, or Éré towards the west, and the Shárí or Bá towards the east; and it might be a most happy little kingdom if it were not overwhelmed and oppressed by its more powerful neighbours, who, as we have just seen, encroach upon it on all sides. But while the Bórnu people levy a more regular tribute, the people of Bagírmi seem to treat the poor inhabitants of the districts nearest their borders with the greatest injustice, subjecting them, in a very anomalous manner, to all sorts of contributions. Nevertheless, the country is still tolerably well inhabited, though certainly it cannot now be said to be in a very flourishing condition.

As for the food of the natives, fish (*kíyí*"), in which the river is extremely rich, constitutes a great proportion of their live stock; but cattle ("*nthá*") as well as sheep ("*wúfu*") seem to be extremely rare, and it has the appearance as if their neighbours had deprived them entirely of this article of wealth and comfort. The native Arabs however are tolerably well supplied with both. Poultry also seems not to be very numerous, but the hog ("*sése*") abounds in immense quantities, and seems to be often resorted to by the natives as an article of food. Besides sorghum or, as they call it, "*mákalá*," and millet, "*viyo*" (the "*fiyo*" of the Kótokó and Yédíná—rice I did not observe), a great deal of cotton, "*mpátakí*," is grown in the country; and weaving constitutes one of the principal employments of the people. Indeed, their shirts ("*labú*") are of very excellent manufacture, but their indigo ("*mógoné*") is not very good, nor are they expert in dyeing.*

In addition to their cotton, which ought to be cultivated to an unbounded extent in these low and richly irrigated regions, the beautiful lattice-work of cane before mentioned, the common sort being called

* The reader will see that my judgment in this respect is very different from that which Denham passed on them ("*Travels and Discoveries*," i., p. 237); but Denham never visited Kano, and had no standard for judging what was good and what was not.

"parpar" or "tərfar," while a better kind is called "móman," constitutes one of the most famous manufactures; their wooden bowls ("dalzwam") likewise, and the round straw covers ("killé"), are remarkable, for the bowls are of very good workmanship, much better than they are seen in Kúkawa, although they do not attain to that excellency which is observed in the manufactures of Dár Fúr.

Altogether the inhabitants of this country seem to be a clever race, and are in general handsomer than the Bórmu people, the women in particular. It is remarkable that they use almost the same sort of tattooing as the Kanúri, consisting of sundry curved lines along the cheek, generally six, running from the outer angle of the eye down to the mouth; it is also curious that they have the same word for it as the Kanúri, although their languages are so entirely different in other respects.

My stay in the country, of course, was too short to allow me to speak more decidedly respecting their moral qualities. The currency of pieces of iron as money, which Denham observed in his time, has long been abolished, and at present the standard money of the place is cotton strips of from two to three inches in width.

With regard to the language of the people of Logón, Denham has committed a great mistake in supposing that it was identical with the language of Bagirmi, for though what he heard was really the language of Bagirmi, which is spoken to a great extent by the natives, yet their original language, which is spoken exclusively among the people themselves, is quite distinct, being nearly related to that of the people of Múngu. They call their language kélakú Lógone. As far as I became acquainted with it, the pronunciation is very difficult, on account of the many aspirated sounds, especially that of "kh" or "th," and in this respect it has some resemblance to the English.

CHAPTER III.

THE TWO RIVERS.—ENTRANCE INTO BAGIRMI.

Tuesday, March 16—It was ten o'clock in the morning when I left Kárnak Logón in order to penetrate into unknown regions, never before trodden by European foot, and a short time afterwards I was sitting in the boat, while our horses, the camel, and the bullock were partly swimming across and partly fording the river. The water was in general shallow, though in the deepest place it measured eight feet and a half. The current was about three miles an hour. The country at that period had a very different appearance from what it presented on my return from Bagirmi. At present all those low grounds, which later in the season are entirely inundated, had a swampy, cheerless aspect, and I hastened onwards in order to escape from the unhealthy locality, heated

by the rays of the midday sun. Only now and then a small patch of cotton-ground was seen between the tall jungle. Close to the river there is scarcely a single tree, but further on, where the country becomes more cultivated, isolated karáge-trees, together with straggling groups of cottages, were seen here and there. Not having exposed myself to the midday sun during the last few days, and the heat being very great, I looked for a place to pass the hottest hours of the day, and to the disappointment of my companions, who were anxious for a good dinner, I dismounted under the cool shade of a beautiful wide-spreading fig-tree, "ngá'bere," or "zérra," as the people of Logón call it, at some distance from a little village called Sóso, situated towards the north, while on our right there was a watercourse winding along through a shallow depression in the green meadow grounds, without any visible inclination. These shallow watercourses are, as I have already had occasion to mention on my journey to Músgu, one of the most characteristic features in this part of Central Africa, which formerly was thought to be a dry elevated waste. Naked young lads were splashing and playing about in the water, together with wild hogs, in the greatest harmony, never in any part of Negroland have I seen this animal in such numbers as here about the Shári. Calves and goats were pasturing in the fields, with wild hogs in the midst of them.

When we pursued our march at two o'clock in the afternoon, I was greatly pleased to see numbers of fine horses round the groups of Shúwa villages which bordered the watercourse, while the whole scenery was enlivened by the rich foliage of wide-spreading trees. Onions likewise were cultivated here in considerable quantities. On the right of our path were very extensive fields, of a peculiar kind of winter-corn, called "sáffará" by the people of Logón, and "kérrám" by the Kanúri. This belongs to the ruler of the country; but in general very little grain is seen in this part of Logón, the inhabitants being afraid of the people of Bagirmi, who used to gather the harvest of what they themselves had sown. But small cotton grounds are occasionally observed.

After a march of about nine miles we reached a place called Báta half deserted, and surrounded by a clay wall, in a very decayed state. Nevertheless, the few cottages that remained, simple and unpretending though they were, testified to some degree of industry and cleanliness. Of hospitality, however, we received no proof, and the authority of the Miyará Ýsuf seemed to be nought indeed, these poor people affirming, with some show of reason, that as the ruler did not protect them against the unjust exactions of their neighbours, they need not respect his commands. There was, therefore, little necessity for the servant of the sultan accompanying me any further, for if they did not respect his orders here, they would certainly not do so further on.

Wednesday, March 17.—We continued our march alone. On the east side of the town a little cultivation was to be seen, the country here being very swampy, and inundated during the rainy season. It is covered with a dense jungle; and wild beasts are in great numbers. Water is close under the surface of the ground, and the well that we

passed near a Shúwa village was only three fathoms deep. Near the village of Atmarchán, which we left on our right, there were traces of cultivation, trees being cut down and the ground cleared to make room for cornfields, the village is inhabited by Kanúri people. Soon after, the forest became denser than before, climbing plants running up the trees, and hanging down in festoons from the branches. Here it was that I first saw the footprints of the rhinoceros, an animal which is unheard of in all the western parts of Negroland. The people of this part of Logón call the animal "bírní," the name usual in Bagírmi, while the real name in the language of the country is "ngirmé." The Kanúri call it "kargadán," or "bárka án"—the very name mentioned already by El Edrisi. It is greatly feared by the inhabitants, who sometimes encounter these ferocious animals on the narrow footpaths which wind through the thick forests of their country.

I had gone on a little in advance, when suddenly I beheld, through the branches of the trees, the splendid sheet of a large river, far larger than that of Logón. All was silence, and the pellucid surface of the water undisturbed by the slightest breeze; no vestiges of human or animal life were to be seen, with the exception of two river-horses (called "niyé" by the people of Logón), which, having been basking in the sun on the shore, plunged into the water at our approach. This, then, was the real Shári, that is to say, the great river of the Kótokó (for Shári, as I have said before, means nothing else but river), which, augmented by the smaller but very considerable river of Logón, forms that large basin which gives to this part of Negroland its characteristic feature. The river at this spot runs from S 30° W. to N 30° E, but its general course is rather winding, coming further upwards from the south, and beyond forming a reach from E 38° N.

The shore, where I stood enjoying the tranquil but beautiful scenery, is closely approached by the forest, and has an elevation of about fifteen feet. No human habitation was to be seen, with the exception of a small village on the other side. The surface of the water was undisturbed, except now and then by a fish leaping up, no waterfowl enlivened the banks; not a single boat was to be seen, till at length we observed the ferrymen on the opposite shore, where it formed a flat and sandy beach, making us a sign that we were to proceed a little higher up the river, in order not to miss the landing-place when carried down by the current. We therefore went about eight hundred yards further up; and I made myself comfortable under the shade of a tree, awaiting the boat, and indulging in the thought that I was soon to enter a new country, never before trodden by European foot.

At length the boat came, but the ferrymen, as soon as they saw who we were, behaved in a strange and mysterious manner, and told us that they could not take us across the river before they had informed their master. However uncommon such a precaution seemed to be, I had as yet no idea of the real state of affairs. We therefore sat down patiently to await the answer, which we thought a mere matter of form. The atmosphere was very sultry, and the sky overcast; clouds were hanging over the river, as forerunners of the rainy season. In order to

keep off the deadly stings of the blood-flies from our horses, we made a large fire. The sting of this fly is almost as fatal as that of the "tsetse" in the southern parts of this continent, and many travellers lose all their horses on the shore of this river.

I was suddenly aroused from my tranquil repose by the arrival of a numerous troop of pilgrims on their way to Mekka, all of them belonged to the tribe of the Fúlbe or Feliáta, mostly from the western parts of Negroland, and some from Góttokó, the little-known country between Bámbara and Kong. Amongst them were also the people who had accompanied me on my journey to Ádamáwa, and whom I had again met a second time near the town of Logón. I made them a present of needles, in order to assist them in their praiseworthy undertaking. While we were chatting together, the boatmen returned, bringing with them the astounding answer that the chief of the village, Ásu, would not allow me to cross the river.

We could at first scarcely imagine what was the reason of this unforeseen obstacle, when the boatmen informed us that Háj Áhmed, the head man of those Bagírmí people whom I have mentioned as returning from Kúkawa to their native country, had assured them that I was a most dangerous person, and that the vizier of Bórnu himself had told them there was great danger that, if I should enter the country of Bagírmí in the absence of the sultan, I might upset his throne, and ruin his kingdom. As there were some of the chief men of the village in the boat, we used every means to convince them of the absurdity of such calumnies, but all was in vain, and it became evident that we should certainly not be allowed to cross the river at this spot.

For a moment I hesitated whether I should retrace my steps to Logón bírni, there to await the return of a messenger whom I might send to the Sultan of Bagírmí, or whether I should try my fortune at some other point of the river. I could not well perceive from whence the obstacle proceeded; whether it was really the vizier of Bórnu who was the cause of these intrigues, as he knew that it was my earnest desire, if possible, to penetrate into Wádáy, or whether it was the Sultan of Logón, who, by compelling me in this way to retrace my steps, might think to persuade me to stay longer in his company. The Bagírmí man, I had, as far as I knew, never offended in my life—on the contrary, in the town of Logón I had treated his whole troop, and given besides some small presents to himself, but he might have been jealous of me, seeing that the Sultan of Logón honoured me in so remarkable a manner. He had been to Kúkawa, in order to purchase there some articles of manufacture which were not to be had in Bagírmí, and which he hoped to sell to advantage to the sultan of his country. Perhaps he thought that I was also a merchant, and might spoil his market. Considering therefore all these points, I at length decided upon trying to cross the river at another place.

Having in consequence retraced our steps a little more than two miles, along the path we had come, in order to make the people believe that we were returning to Logón, we turned off from our track to the northward, and winding along in a north-easterly direction, at times through

a dense forest, at others, passing small villages or hamlets, where scarcely any corn was cultivated, though cotton was grown to some extent, and evidently employed the activity of the inhabitants in weaving and dyeing, we reached the larger village Búgarí. Here the inhabitants, who, like those of most of the villages hereabouts, belong to the Kanúrí race, received us with great kindness and hospitality, and without delay assigned us quarters in a large courtyard. My companions told the people that we had missed the direct road to Mélé, and tried even to pass me off as a "sherif," but unfortunately there was a person who had seen me at the ferry of Asu, so that the hope of crossing the river at some other place without further obstacle was not very great.

Nevertheless, I was resolved to try every means in my power in order not to miss the opportunity of exploring a new country, and for a dora, or small shirt, I was promised by the "billama" of the village a guide, who early the next morning should conduct me to the ferry of Mélé.

Thursday, March 18—Before daybreak we began our stealthy enterprise, and entered the woods, led on by a tall, well-made, muscular, and half-naked lad, well armed with bow and battle-axe. Passing through a district where, besides cotton, a great deal of native corn was cultivated, all belonging to the inhabitants of the village where we had passed the night, and following our narrow unbeaten footpath, we at length emerged upon the direct well-trodden track which leads straight from Logón to Mélé, although it is very winding. At first underwood was greatly intermixed with dúm-bush or ngille, but after a while the aspect of the country suddenly changed, the lower ground on our left expanding in fine meadow lands interspersed with pools of stagnant water, the deposit of the last year's inundation, while on our right we had the site of a former town, called Yesínékí, densely overgrown with forest.

Here we came again in sight of that fine river which forms the western boundary of the kingdom of Bagirmi, and which intriguing men wished to prevent me from crossing. The slope of the bank is here broken, forming a small terrace before it descends to the edge of the water, the upper slope being at present covered with a green turf, while the lower one, which rose fifteen feet above the surface of the river, consists of loose sand. Here again we disturbed some crocodiles which had been quietly basking in the sun, and lost no time in making signs to the ferrymen opposite, that we wished to cross, while I hastened to the rear of the rushes growing on the shore to make a slight sketch of the interesting scenery of the river, with the village on the other side. We were delighted when, after a short delay, we saw a boat leaving the village, going round the sandbank which stretched out in the middle of the river, and coming towards us. All our success now depended on a few minutes; and as soon as the ferrymen touched the shore we satisfied their claims, and entered the boat, which was large and commodious.

It was with very satisfactory feelings, although mingled with some degree of uneasiness, that I found myself floating on this noble river, which was here certainly not less than 600 yards across. The sand-

bank is a little nearer to the eastern shore, and the whole current ("ngáda" in Kanúri, "ámma-wá" in Lógone) keeps along that side, while on the western shore the river sweeps slowly along, and in general appears not to be very deep. In the channel, the poles of the ferrymen indicated a depth of fifteen feet. Our camel, horses, and bullock had to cross the river by swimming alongside the boat, till we reached the northern end of the sandbank, when they walked along the sandy beach, the sandbank being at present about two hundred and fifty yards in length. The current between the sandbank and the eastern shore was very strong, and the water deep, though fortunately the distance was only about two hundred yards.

Having crossed this imposing stream, we entered the small harbour of Melé, and as soon as we reached the shore were saluted by a "chirúma," or squirrel, which, running about freely, and wagging its tail, seemed to offer a good omen for a happy arrival in this country. The inhabitants also, who were employed in various ways at a small wharf used for building the common craft of the river, received us in a friendly way, more especially as I made a small present to a sort of official personage who has the title of "Kashélla," and added a few needles in addition to the fare paid to the boatmen. I was agreeably struck by the fine figures of the females, their comely appearance and very becoming head-dress distinguishing them most advantageously, not only from the Kanúri, but even from the people of Logón.

Having here spent a few minutes reloading our camel and exchanging compliments, we hastened on, ascending the higher bank, which here rises to about twenty-five feet, and leaving the village to the left, close to the steep slope overhanging the river. But we had only proceeded about a mile, delighted at the idea that, notwithstanding the obstacles thrown in our way, we had succeeded in entering this country, when we saw a person advancing towards us, whom my horseman recognised as a servant of the chief of Asu. This incident could not but fail to lessen our hopes of success considerably. Had the chief of Asu been more careful in discharging his duty, and sent a messenger the evening before, or early the same morning, I should never have entered Bagirmi.

As it was, having allowed the man to proceed on his mischievous errand, we consulted together a moment, and thought it best to leave the path, and strike across into the stubble-fields, for there is much cultivated ground belonging to Melé, which, although lying close to the river, is more of a farming than a fishing village. New ground was being cleared. Trees were being cut down, nothing but the trunks being left, in order to protect the dresses of the labourers from the ants. The whole country was well cultivated, and, being shaded by numerous trees, presented a very interesting appearance. After about half an hour's march across the stubble-fields, without any direct track, we reached a well-trodden path coming from Klésem, a considerable village lying lower down the river, and still belonging to Kótokó, with a peculiar idiom of its own. Following then this track, we reached a shallow watercourse of the same nature as those mentioned on former

occasions. The Bagirmi people call them "kámané" or "gúguli." It was enlivened by a settlement of Shúwa cattle-breeders of the tribe of the 'Agaife, and stretched out in great length from S S W. to N. N E., forming a very peculiar feature in this part of the country; it is called "Ambusada" or Mbusáda. Where we crossed it the water was only a foot deep, the whole of the bottom of the shallow bed being covered with the richest verdure.

We then kept close along its eastern side, having a rising ground on our left, with a most splendid border of beautiful trees, chiefly of the fig kind. It was a scenery which reminded me of the Músgu country, with this exception, that the watercourse was not so broad, and the rich foliage of the trees was not occasionally broken and diversified by the deléb-palm. An almost uninterrupted line of hamlets skirted this narrow strip of verdant fertility, and now and then groups of people were seen issuing from the thick foliage, while numerous herds of cattle were spread over the green swampy meadow-lands, some half-immersed in the water, and nipping off the fresh shoots of the young grass, while others were roaming about on the dry herbage near the border. Amongst the cattle, birds of the most beautiful plumage, and of every description and size, were sporting and playing about: there was the gigantic pelican dashing down occasionally from some neighbouring tree; the maraboo (*Ciconia M.*), standing like an old man, its head between its shoulders, the large-sized, azure-feathered "dédegami," strutting proudly along after its prey, the plotus, with its long snake-like neck; the white ibis, eagerly searching for its food, with various species of ducks (geddégabú, or "dabá"), and numerous other lesser birds in larger or smaller flights. Now and then a wild hog suddenly started forth from the covert of the forest, accompanied by a litter of young ones, and plunged eagerly into the water. There was here a rich and inexhaustible field for the sportsman, but I could not think of sport, for I was conscious that something was going on to stop my progress.

Perhaps it would have been more prudent to have gone on without stopping; but I felt the heat of the sun very much, and seeing that I could not traverse the country by force, preferred resting during the heat of the day under the shade of a fine wide-spreading ngabbore or ngáto (fig-tree) at the side of a Shúwa village. I here endeavoured in vain to barter a few things with the inhabitants, but, to my great astonishment, neither milk nor anything else was to be had, though cattle were seen grazing in every direction. But the people told me that the great number of cattle collected together on so narrow a slip of pasture-ground was the very reason they had so little milk. These Shúwa people, who belong to the tribe of the Welád 'Alí, call this shallow water Msél el Háj 'Alí, after the name of their principal chief.

I was quietly reclining in the cool shade, although not without some sad forebodings, when the head man of Melé, accompanied by seven or eight armed Shúwa, was seen approaching. They first addressed themselves to my horseman Gréma, who had made himself comfortable in the shade of another tree a short distance off. Having finished their business with him, they came to me, protesting that they could not

allow me to continue my journey, as they were compelled to wait for an order from the capital, when I did not hesitate to declare on my part that I was willing to wait any reasonable time, on condition of their assigning me a residence, and the means of supplying my wants. They expressed their satisfaction at my compliance, telling me that in case of my refusal they would have sent all the Shúwa in the neighbourhood to harass me on the road. The head man of Mélé then promised me that, if I would return to his village, he would take care that I should be supplied with everything I wanted, particularly fowls and milk.

I therefore allowed Gréma to proceed alone, in order to take my letters to the capital, while I slowly retraced my steps. An hour and a half's march along a more direct path brought me back to the village where I had first entered this country.

The position of Mélé is not without interest, situated as it is upon a steep bank overhanging a large and beautiful navigable river, which here changes its course from a west-easterly to a south-northerly direction, and here I might have indulged a few days in contemplating the interesting scenery, if my future progress had allowed me more tranquillity. As it was, the six or seven days I passed here were spent in rather a dull manner; for the inhabitants became very suspicious when they observed that my favourite place was the shade of a fine tree at the very brink of the shore, from whence I had a view over the river to a great extent north and west. Of course there was but little communication; and very rarely a boat was seen proceeding in either direction. Now and then the sandbank became enlivened by a crocodile coming out of the water to bask in the sun, or by the frolics of the boys of the village, who occasionally crossed over to look after their fishing-tackle, or dry their nets. Both fish as well as crocodiles are extremely plentiful in the river; and the meat of the latter forms a great delicacy to the natives. But there is also in this river a very large animal, which, I think, must be identical with the ayú of the Bénúwé and Níger—the *Manatus Vogeln* *.

To the north-east the village was bordered by thick forest, which at a little distance was traversed by the lower course of the Ambusada, which was here extremely rich in verdure, and full of the favourite haunts of the hog. I here, also, observed a considerable number of monkeys. It was during my residence in this place, likewise, that I first obtained a clear knowledge of the nature of the Shári, and its relation with that of Logón, the point of junction of the two rivers being a little below Kúsurí, at a place called Síña Fácha, while I obtained a great deal of information—certainly not quite clear and distinct—of the towns and principalities on the upper courses of these rivers. I also learned that last year the river had overflowed its banks, and entered the very huts of the natives. Nevertheless, at this spot the banks were at present more than forty feet high.

* I think it is this animal which is mentioned by Burckhardt ("Travels in Nubia," Appendix I., p. 433).

As for the name of the river, the name which is generally given to it, viz. Shary or Shári, belongs, as I have mentioned on a former occasion, to the language of the Kótókó. The Bagirmi people call it only Bá, distinguishing it in the various parts of its course by the names of the different villages which are situated on its banks, as Bá-Méle, Bá-Busó, Bá-Gún, while the Arabs call it at this place Bahr-Mélé, and a little higher up from the other village, Bahr-Asu. When the whole river, therefore, is sometimes called Asu, the relation is quite the same as the komádugu Wáube being called Yeou or Yó.

But while I was thus able to employ my time not quite unprofitably, my comforts were not quite so good as I had been led to expect, neither fowl nor milk being procurable, and the fresh fish of the river, which I was occasionally able to procure for a handsome present, not agreeing with the weak state of my stomach; although it was excellent and very palatable. There is a small market held at a village about five miles distant, of the name of Ediye, and every Wednesday another market, a little more important, near a village of the name of Chínge.

My impatience was augmented by the unmistakable signs of the approach of the rainy season, while the numbers of mosquitoes allowed me but little rest during the night. The sky was usually overcast, and occasionally early in the morning the whole country was enveloped in a dense fog. Though rather cool in the morning, the weather became sultry towards the middle of the day, and heavy squalls of wind sometimes set in in the afternoon. I would willingly have shared the company of the sultan in the expedition, although the news which arrived from the camp was not altogether of a satisfactory character. The pagan inhabitants of Gógomí, against whom he was waging war, were reported to have descended from their mountain strongholds, and to have slain a considerable number of his people, and amongst them a well-known Arab from Morocco, who accompanied him on this expedition.

Thursday, March 25.—It was about noon, when to my great delight my trooper Gréma 'Abdú returned from his errand. He was accompanied by two attendants of the Zérma, or rather Kadamánge, the lieutenant-governor whom the sultan had left during his absence in command of the capital. I was disappointed, however, in my expectation that I should now be allowed, without further delay, to reach the capital myself, for the messengers produced a document provided with a large black seal, to the effect that I was to await the answer of the sultan in Búgomán, a place higher up the river, the inhabitants of which, together with those of a neighbouring town, called Mískin, were to provide me with fresh fish and milk during my stay there. Although anxious to join the sultan himself, I had nothing to object to such an arrangement, and was glad to move on, if it were only a little. Our path on leaving the village kept along the steep north-easterly bank of the river, which here separates into two branches, of which the eastern one has more the nature of a creek. The island thus formed was thickly wooded, and with the exception of a small hamlet of fishermen, seemed to be left entirely to the possession of wild animals; for while we clearly distinguished a flock of about a dozen large antelopes

of the species called "mohor," or "hfmraye" (*Antelope Soemmeringi*), we were not a little surprised at seeing a string of not less than twenty-two crocodiles all lying quietly on their backs on the sandy beach, and basking in the sun. None of them, however, were remarkable for their size, the largest measuring apparently from twelve to fifteen feet.

Our march was rather short, my companions taking up quarters for us in the small village called Límshí, situated two miles and a half higher up the river, or rather creek. Here there was a tolerable degree of activity, and several boats were lying near the banks. Having just before observed such numbers of crocodiles, I was not a little astonished at seeing the women, who were fetching water, bathing without apprehension in the river. The island opposite, at this spot also, was densely covered with wood, but a little higher up there is a village of the name of Odiyó. Our reception in the village was very inhospitable, and gave me a bad idea of the authority of the lieutenant-governor, under whose protection I was travelling.

Friday, March 26—Our march for the first mile and a half led through stubble-fields, after which we entered a dense forest filled with numerous creeping plants, but otherwise of a rather uniform character, awaiting the reviving power of the rainy season. The shallow water-course Mbusada, or Msél el Háý 'Alí, was all the time close on our left, till we crossed it, at a distance of about five miles. We then pursued our march through cultivated grounds, where, besides millet, a little cotton also was raised, at other times proceeding through clearer forest, and soon reached the village Mustafají, which was the native place of the wife of my escort Gréma 'Abdú.

Here we were quartered without delay, but the huts were not remarkable either for their size or architecture, consisting entirely of thatch and reed, the lower part being only slightly touched with clay, and during the hot hours of the day the heat of them was really suffocating. The inhabitants are all Kanún, who, having emigrated from Bórnu during the time of the decay of that empire, have settled here as well as in other parts of Bagírmi, where they have introduced the little civilisation which at present is seen, especially weaving and dyeing, which is here carried on to a considerable extent. The Shári or Bá, in a direct line, is only about seven miles distant towards the west, and the inundation even approaches the very village by means of the shallow depressions and watercourses which intersect the country. A great extent of ground was under cultivation.

The inhabitants of the village behaved very hospitably, and my horseman's father-in-law, a very jovial and decent-looking man, made me a present of a fat sheep. The only difficulty was the water, the well, notwithstanding its depth of fifteen fathoms, containing only a very small supply. Scarcity of water seems, indeed, to be one of the great disadvantages of Bagírmi.

We remained here the whole of the forenoon of the following day, and did not start until half-past two in the afternoon. The country which we traversed was well inhabited, and a good deal of cotton was to be seen, and it was here that I first beheld it cultivated in ridges

and furrows, a manner of culture which, I think, is constantly adhered to in America as well as in India, but in Negroland very rarely, the cotton plants growing on the ridges, but being at present quite bare of leaves. All the cotton plantations which I had seen previously in Negroland were left to themselves, and were rather in a wild state, but here they seemed to be well kept and taken care of. At a village called Mútkomí my attention was drawn to the great numbers of asses; here the ground was full of the holes of the fének or *Megalotis*, called by the native Shúwa population "bú hassén."

Further on, a firm and dry clay soil succeeded. Having then passed a large village of the name of Búgarí, we took up our quarters a little before sunset in a village called Matuwárá, which belongs to a wealthy and learned man called Legári Bú-Músa, and were very hospitably received. These people were also Kanúri, and I was delighted to observe some signs of industry in the shape of a small dyeing place, which contained two pits.

Sunday, March 28.—At an early hour we pursued our march, approaching the town of Búgomán, where I was to await further orders from the sultan. The country exhibited signs of considerable cultivation, and numerous farming hamlets, called "yówēó" by the Bagirmi people, were spread about, at present, however, they were tenantless, being only inhabited during the rainy season by the "field hands," as an American would say. After a march of about four miles, and having passed a swampy meadow ground with numerous traces of the rhinoceros, we again stood on the banks of the great river of Bagirmi, the Shári or Bá, which here, where at present it formed a wide flat sandy beach, at first sight seemed very inconsiderable, compared with that noble character which it had exhibited lower down, so that I almost supposed it to be nothing but a branch of the principal river, although my people repeatedly assured me this was not the case; that small branch which higher up, a little above the town of Míltu, separates from it, passing by Busó and Báchikám, a few miles to the south of Maseñá, having just rejoined it near the town of Mískin, of which the taller trees, if not the houses, were visible from hence. The river here forms a long reach from south to north, but higher up, beyond Mískin, comes from SSE. The bank on this side was very low, which is the reason that the river during the inundation spreads over a greater extent of country. The ground shelves very gradually, and the river seemed shallow at a considerable distance from the beach, but its depth on the other side may be the more considerable, the opposite bank on which the town of Búgomán stands being rather steep.

The town, seen from this distance, seemed to be rather in a state of decay,—at least as regarded the wall, but it was pleasantly adorned with a variety of trees, among which deléb- and dúm-palms were the most conspicuous. It was market-day, and in the cool of the morning numbers of people were collected on the south-eastern beach, where we had arrived, awaiting the return of the ferry-boats: so that altogether it exhibited quite an interesting scene. But gradually the bustle subsided, and the heat of the sun on the sandy beach became almost

insupportable; for, notwithstanding my warning, we had left the green border of trees and herbage far behind us, and had advanced along the broad sandy beach, which at present was dry, to the very edge of the water. My escort, together with the two servants of Zérma, had gone into the town to announce my arrival, and to inform the head man of the order of the lieutenant-governor, that I was to await here the commands of the sultan but no answer came. In vain did I endeavour to protect myself from the burning rays of the sun by forming a temporary shelter of my carpet; for the sun in these climes is never more severe than just before the setting-in of the rainy season, and we had generally at two o'clock between 106° and 110° . As noon passed by, I grew impatient, especially as I had nothing to eat, there being no firewood, even for cooking a very simple dinner.

At length, a little before three o'clock, my messengers returned, and their countenances indicated that they were not the bearers of satisfactory news. The governor of Búgomán refused obedience to the direct order of his lord the Sultan of Bagirmi, and declined receiving me into the town. Nothing was left but to retrace our steps to the village Matuwári, where we had been so hospitably entertained. Dragging therefore behind us the sheep which we had not yet been able to slaughter, we returned by the same road we had come.

Here we remained the following morning, and I had sufficient time to reflect on my condition in this country. There could not be the least doubt that the greater part of the inhabitants were unfavourably inclined towards the stranger, and I was persuaded that the best course for me to pursue would be to return to Logón, and there quietly await the answer of the sultan, but my companions were not of my opinion, and assured me I was not at liberty to leave the country after I had once entered it. It was therefore decided that we should proceed in the direction of the capital, and make our further proceedings dependent upon circumstances. The reason we did not start at once was because my companions wanted to pass the extensive forest which lay before us in the night-time, as there was no water for a whole day's march, and our people were unprovided with water-skins.

In order to employ my leisure time, I took a walk to Búgarí, the village above mentioned, it being market-day; and I was glad, considering the little civilisation which is to be met with in these regions, to find a good deal of traffic going on in the market. There were about twenty head of cattle, between sixty and eighty sheep, and about a dozen asses to be sold; there were, moreover, a good assortment of black and white tobés, a tolerable supply of butter and honey, besides millet, beans, and ground-nuts; the latter, especially, were very plentiful, and bore ample testimony to the fact, that in these regions, also, this valuable article of commerce grows in great quantities, and forms a considerable portion of the diet of the natives, but as for cotton, the supply was rather limited.

^{g1} The staple commodity of the market were tobés, half-tobés, and single strips of cotton, or fárda, about three inches wide, and from three to four drá in length. Unfortunately, I was destitute of this kind of

money, the people rejecting with contempt those miserable little shirts, or *dóra*, which I had brought with me from Bórnu, so that, notwithstanding the good supply of the market, I might have remained unprovided. I however succeeded in buying a few *fárda* for some needles, paying four needles for each *fárda*. I bought also a little butter for some beads.

The whole of this district is very scantily supplied with water, and the well in Matuwári, which is only two fathoms and a half deep, contained very little. The wells in Búgarí were three fathoms deep, but were no better supplied. Of course, by digging to a greater depth, and constructing the wells in a proper way, the people might secure a sufficient supply; but they prefer walking every day to a far distant village for a little water rather than employ a few weeks industriously in making a durable well.

After a cordial parting from the male and female inhabitants of the village, we started about three o'clock in the afternoon, and with the exception of a short halt, about sunset, in a small hamlet called "Búrunyigo," or "hyænas' den," we continued our march without interruption till past eleven o'clock at night. The village just mentioned lies at the border of the wilderness, and here we had not only to water our horses and to lay in a supply of water for ourselves, but I had also to give medicine to some people who had followed me all the way from Búgarí.

Having rested for a little more than five hours in the midst of a forest, without being molested by man or beast, we continued our march through the dense jungle full of trees and thick underwood, while larger trees became more and more scanty. Gradually the forest became clearer, and flocks of turtle-doves seemed to indicate that there was water in the neighbourhood, although such a conclusion drawn from the presence of this bird is sometimes liable to error.

After the rainy season the character presented by this forest must be very different, and a little further on, evident signs of former cultivation began to be visible, even of *sesamum* ("márrashi," as the Kanúri, "kárru," as the Bagirmi people call it), as was evident from the deep furrows which intersected the ground. The inhabitants of two or three small hamlets dragged on a miserable existence even during the drought which at present prevailed, and we met a large body of women and children, who preferred fetching every night and morning their supply of this most essential element from a distance of several miles rather than desert their native village.

Having passed another hamlet, likewise destitute of water, and left several villages at a greater distance surrounded by a tract of cultivated ground, we at length reached the longed-for El Dorado where water was to be found, and, as may be presumed, there was a great bustle round the well, which had to supply the whole thirsty neighbourhood. Numbers of people, camels, and asses were thronging around, longing for the moment when they might come in for their share, and as the well was ten fathoms deep, a considerable time would necessarily elapse before they were all supplied. Being saluted in a friendly way by the

people, I pitched my tent in the shade of a large chedia or caoutchouc-tree, which, however, was very scanty, as the young leaves had not come out, and afforded very little relief from the heat of the sun.

Here it was for the first time that I tasted a dish of sesamum, which was prepared in the same manner as millet, in the form of a large hasty pudding, but, being insufficiently seasoned by the common African sauce of the leaves of the kúka or monkey-bread tree, did not appear to me to be a very dainty dish. The village, the name of which is Mókori, had a comfortable appearance, and the pounding of indigo in the dyeing-pits went on without interruption, even during the heat of the day. Some Fúlbe or Felláta shepherds live in the neighbourhood, and I was fortunate enough to barter a little butter for glass beads, as well as a small supply of rice—that is to say, wild rice, for rice is not cultivated here, but only gathered in the jungles from what the elephant and rhinoceros have left. Altogether I might have been very comfortable, if my uncertain situation in the country had not caused me some anxiety.

When we pursued our march in the afternoon, our road lay through a fertile country, where the cultivation was divided between millet and sesamum, till we reached the first group of the village of Bákadá, which consists of four distinct hamlets. Here my companions wanted to procure quarters for me, but fortunately the head man of the village refused them admittance, so that they were obliged to seek for hospitality in another hamlet, and it was my good luck to obtain quarters in the house of a man who forms one of the most pleasing recollections of my journey. This was Háj Bú-Bakr Sadík, a spare old man, of very amiable temperament, to whom I became indebted for a great deal of kindness and valuable information.

While I pitched my tent in his small courtyard, he was sitting close by, and was informing me, in very good Arabic, that he had thrice made the pilgrimage to Mekka, and seen the great ships of the Christians on the Sea of Jedda. He remembered minutely all the different localities which he had visited in the course of his long wanderings.

Delighted that by chance I had fallen in with such a man, I sent away the next morning my horseman Gréma 'Abdú, and the two messengers, to the capital, in order to inform the lieutenant-governor that the chief of Búgomán had refused obedience to his direct order and denied me admittance into the town, and to ask him what was to become of me now. Sending him at the same time a present, I begged him urgently to allow me either to enter the capital or to retrace my steps to Bórnu. Gréma promised me that he would return the next morning with a decisive answer. However, he did not keep his promise, but remained absent full seven days, although the distance from the capital was only about ten miles. It was therefore very fortunate that I had the company of Bú-Bakr Sadík, for no other person would have been able to give me such an insight into the character and the history of these regions as this man.

He drew a spirited picture of the great national struggle which his countrymen had been carrying on against Bórnu, he himself having

taken part in several battles. He boasted, and with reason, that slaves of his master had twice beaten the sheikh Mohammed el Kanemi, and that the sheikh had only gained the victory by calling to his assistance Mústapha el Ahmar and Mukni, the two succeeding sultans of Fezzán, when, by destroying the towns of Babáliyá and Gáwí, and by taking possession of the capital, he made himself temporary master of the country. He described to me with delight how his countrymen had driven back the Felláta who were endeavouring to establish the Jemmára in their country, and that they had undertaken afterwards a successful expedition against Bógo, one of the settlements of that nation.

Bú-Bakr indeed might have been called a patriot in every sense of the word. Although a loyal subject, and humbly devoted to his sultan, nevertheless he beheld with the deepest mortification the decline of his native country from the former wealth and importance it had enjoyed previous to the time when 'Abd el Kerím Sabún, the Sultan of Wáday, conquered it, plundered its treasures, made the king tributary, and led numbers of the inhabitants into slavery. Thus the whole well-being of the country had been annihilated, and not only their wealth in silver and cattle had disappeared, but the ruin and decay extended even, as he considered, in his melancholy frame of mind, to nature,—whole districts which had been formerly under cultivation and covered with villages being now changed to a wilderness, and regions which had formerly been well supplied with water suffering now the extreme of drought. Worms, he told me, were devouring their crops and vegetables, dooming them to starvation.

All this was true as far as regarded the present state of the country; for though I cannot say whether its physical condition was ever much more favourable, still as to its government and political importance there certainly was a time when Bagírmi enjoyed greater prosperity. It might seem indeed as if the country was visited by Divine chastisement, as a punishment for the offences of their ancestors and the ungodly life of their former ruler. In no country in the whole extent of Negroland which I have travelled over have I seen such vast numbers of destructive worms, and such a predominance of ants, as in Bagírmi. There is especially a large black worm called "*hallu-wéndi*," as long as the largest grub, but much bigger, which, swarming in millions, consumes an immense proportion of the produce of the natives. Bú-Bakr showed me also another far smaller, but not less voracious insect, which they call "*kunjungjádu*," a beetle about half an inch long, and of a yellow colour, but the poor natives, like the inhabitants of other countries in the case of the locust, do not fail to take their revenge, for when the insect has grown fat and big at their expense, they devour it themselves,—a habit which may be one of the numerous relics of their former pagan existence, it being still a general custom with the Sókotó to eat a large species of beetle called "*deránána*."

Of other species of worms I shall have occasion to speak further on; but with the white and black ants I myself waged repeatedly a relentless but unsuccessful war during my residence in the country. Already

the second day of my stay in Bákadá, I observed that the white ant (*Termes fatalis*) was threatening my couch, which I had spread upon a very coarse mat, or "s gredi" as the Kanúri, "lába" as the Bagirmi people call it, made of the thickest reed, with total destruction. I therefore, for want of a better protection, contrived an expedient which I thought would guarantee my berth against the further attacks of those cruel intruders, placing my couch upon three very large poles; but I soon had cause to discover that those ferocious insects were not to be deterred by such means, for two days afterwards I found that they had not only built their entrenchments along the poles, and reached the top, but had eaten through both the coarse mats, finished a large piece of my Stambúli carpet, and destroyed several other articles. And during my further stay here I had the greatest trouble in preventing these insects from destroying all my things; for their voracity and destructive powers seem to increase towards the beginning of the rainy season, which was fast setting in.

The weather was exceedingly sultry, and we had the first thunder-storm on the 3rd of April, and from that time we experienced a tornado almost every day, although in general there was not much rain.

The village itself, of course, afforded very little entertainment. In former times it had been nothing but a slave or farming village, or "yówéó," while the masters of the field-hands resided at another place, called Kústiya, and it was only a few years previously that they had taken up their residence at this place, nevertheless even at present it is nothing better than a farming village, grain being the only produce of the place, while the inhabitants do not possess a single cow, so that milk and butter are great luxuries, and even a fowl quite out of the question. But as for grain, Bákadá is not without importance, on the contrary, it is one of the chief corn-growing places in the country, especially for sorghum ("ngáberi," or, as they call it, "wá"), while millet ("chengó") is not so extensively grown.

A market is held every Sunday, near the western hamlet, but it is very miserable indeed, and it was all the worse for me, as the people refused to accept in payment any of those small articles of which I was still possessed, all my property at the time consisting of 3,000 shells—that is to say, little more than a Spanish dollar,—a small assortment of beads, and a few looking-glasses, but principally needles, while here also the people required what I had not, namely, the cotton strips which I have mentioned above. The only luxury offered for sale in the market was a miserable lean sheep, and, as a representative of foreign civilisation, there was half a sheet of common paper.

This was the sole attraction of the place, with the exception of my amiable, intelligent, and kind host Bú-Bakr Sadrk. The poor old man was extremely indignant at the negligent manner in which I was treated, but he was feeble and timorous, and had no authority in higher spheres. The information which from time to time I collected from him during my monotonous stay in this place shall be given in the Appendix, in the several places to which the subjects refer. It was very amusing for me to observe that the good old man, all the time that

he was conversing with me, was not a moment idle, but he would either sew, not only for himself, but even articles of dress for another wife of his, whom he had in the capital, and soon intended to visit, or he would scrape some root to use as medicine, or else select some indigo, for dyeing his robe, or, if he had nothing better to do, he would gather the single grains of corn which had fallen to the ground,—for in his pious frame of mind he thought it a sin that so valuable a proof of the bounty of the Almighty should be wasted.

The other inhabitants of the place were rather uninteresting; and I had a great deal of trouble with the same man who on our arrival had refused us hospitality, for, as he was sick and wanted a cooling medicine, I found the common remedies with which I was provided too weak for his herculean frame, till at length, with a dose of half a dozen ounces of Epsom salts, mixed up with three or four drachms of worm-powder, I succeeded in making him acknowledge the efficacy of my medicines.

In general the Bagirmi people are much better made than the Bórnu, the men excelling them in size, as well as in muscular strength, as they do also in courage and energy of mind, while the women are far superior. The Bagirmi females in general are very well made, taller and less square than the ugly Bórnu women, but with beautifully-proportioned limbs, while their features have a great deal of regularity and a pleasing expression, some of them might even be called handsome, with their large dark beautiful eyes. The broad nostrils of the Bórnu females, which are still more disfigured by the ugly coral on the left side of the nose, are entirely foreign to them. While the Bórnu females in general endeavour only to excel by the quantity of fat or butter which they put upon their hair, the Bagirmi women bestow considerable care upon its arrangement, and the way in which they wear it, imitating exactly the shape of the crest of a helmet, is very becoming, as it harmonises exceedingly well with their tall and well-proportioned figures. It is therefore not without reason that the Bagirmi females are celebrated over a great part of Negroland. Their dress is very simple, similar to that of the Bórnu, namely, the black "túrkedí," which is fastened across the breast, while the wealthier among them usually throw a second one over the shoulder.

The women in general seemed to be very healthy, but the men suffer much from a peculiar sickness which they themselves call "mukárdam," while the Arabs call it by the same name as the "Guinea-worm," namely, "ferentit," or "árúk," although it seems to be a very different thing, it is a sort of worm which dwells in the little toe, and eats it gradually away, beginning at the joint, so that the limb has the appearance of being tied up with a thread. I think this insect is identical with the *Malis Americana* or *Sauvagesii*, or, as it is more generally called, *pulex penetrans*, a very small black insect well known in America. This disease is so general hereabouts, that amongst ten people you will find at least one who has only four toes.

At times the village was enlivened by some little intercourse,—now a caravan of pilgrims, then a troop of native merchants, tugúrchi or

fatáki. The pilgrims were some of them on their home-journey, with the impressions which they had received of things scarcely intelligible to themselves, others going eastward with the narrow prejudices which they had brought from their distant homes. There were people from every region of Negroland, but unfortunately I had scarcely anything to offer them besides needles, with which article I gladly assisted them on their arduous journey, for nothing is of so much importance to the traveller as to gain the good-will of these people, who are the bearers of public opinion in these regions. Thus my liberality in making presents of needles, and nothing but needles, procured me the title among these witty people, of the Needle-Prince, "maláribra" and although it was useful, in order to convince them of my friendly disposition, it was scarcely sufficient to open an intimate intercourse with them. But there was one amongst these distant wanderers, a native of Kébbi, a very intelligent man, from whom I derived my first information about the populousness of that fine and beautiful country which I was soon to visit myself.

A numerous troop of pilgrims from Wándalá or Mándará also created a considerable interest, and I entered with them into lively polemics concerning the relation of their prince, or "tuksé-malé," with the ruler of Bórnu, for they denied positively that their chief had tendered his subjection in order to avert from his own country that numerous host which we had accompanied a few months previously to the Músgu country. The poorer members of the caravan went round about the hamlets beating their drums, in order to collect alms to supply their wants during their mentorious journey, while the wealthier among them came to my host in order to buy from him their supply of native corn.

The commercial intercourse also which took place in the little village where I was obliged to make so long a stay, exhibited some more interesting features, notwithstanding the dulness of the market, for among the merchants there appeared occasionally a small troop or Háusa people—dangarúnfa, slender active fellows, accustomed to fatigue, and content with little profit, who were carrying on their heads, all the way from Kanó to Bagírmí, small parcels of indigo-dyed shirts, and other commodities, in order to barter them for the fine asses of Dár-Fúr, which are brought hither by the travellers from the east.

Not less interesting was the arrival of a portion of a numerous caravan of Jellába, from Nimró in Wádáy, who had come to Más-éñá, it consisted of about a dozen people, with about twenty pack-oxen and asses. As for the principal part of the caravan, the chief commodity imported by them was copper, which they were bringing from the great copper-mine, or el hofra, situated to the south of Dár-Fúr, carrying it as far as Kanó towards the west, where this fine eastern copper rivals the old copper which is brought by the Arab caravans from Tripoli. But these people who had arrived in Bákadá were the poorer members of the troop, and their wealth and exclusive article of commerce was a very excellent quality of rock salt, which the Tebu-Guráán bring from the Burrum or Bahr el Ghazál to Wára, where it is bought in great

quantities by the Jellaba, who sell it in small parcels, carrying it as far as Logón and Kúsun. I bought a little for a sheet of paper, and found it excellent, with the exception of its having decidedly a fishy taste.

It was but very rarely that I mounted my horse, as I purposely avoided everything which was likely to attract attention, or create envious and jealous feelings; but on the 10th of the month, I was obliged by circumstances to take a long ride, as my she-camel, which at the time was my only beast of burden, was missing, and not a trace of her could be found. On the south-east side of the village there is much forest of a very uniform character, interspersed with tall reed-grass; but on the other sides a great deal of cultivation was to be seen, shaded by hajlij (or "janga," as it is called here), nebek or "kírna,"* and talha trees, here called "keláya." I found it very remarkable that almost all the fields, even those where millet and sorghum were grown, were laid out in deep furrows, called derába,—a system of tillage which, in the case of any sort of grain, I had not before observed in Negroland. Besides grain, a good deal of sesamum ("kárru"), cotton ("nyere"), and indigo ("alini") was cultivated, the plants being from two and a half to three feet in height, and bare of leaves at the present season. On the north-east side, also, there was a great deal of forest; but it was adorned by some groups of fine trees. It was enlivened by numbers of Guinea fowl and gazelles, and a great number of "kálgo" trees, with their wide-spreading branches, were observed here. The soil had been already tolerably saturated with moisture, fine tufts of succulent grass were springing up here and there, and I was enabled to water my horse at a small pool, but this abundance of the watery element, of course, was only temporary, in consequence of the heavy rain which had fallen the previous night, and the poor inhabitants were still to suffer most severely from drought, their deep well being almost dry. This was the only point in regard to which I had continual disputes with the inhabitants, who would scarcely allow my horse to get his sufficient *quantum*, although I had to pay a considerable sum for it.

Meanwhile I waxed impatient. At length, on the evening of the 6th of April, my escort Gréma (whom on the last day of March I had sent to the capital to bring me a decisive answer without delay) returned with a messenger of the lieutenant-governor,—not, however, to grant either of my requests, but rather to induce me to wait patiently till an answer should arrive from the sultan himself. In order that I might not starve in the meanwhile, they brought me a sheep and a shirt, with which I might buy provision in some neighboring village; but as there

* The name of this tree, which is so common all over this part of the world—in the forms korna, kurna, kurnahí, kurru, kírna—is one of the most widely-spread of all those names indicating objects possessing properties useful to man; and this would seem to indicate that it is not indigenous in the various regions where it is at present found, but introduced from one and the same quarter. However, on nearer inspection, this argument does not seem to be conclusive. It has certainly not been introduced into Negroland from a more northern climate, as little as the *Balanites* and the *Cucifera*, which is erroneously called *Thebaica*, instead of *Nigritia*.

was nothing to be got besides millet and sorghum, I declared it to be absolutely necessary for me either to be admitted into the capital, or to retrace my steps. I requested Gréma to stay with me; but he pretended he was obliged to return to the town, where his servant lay sick. Not suspecting that he wanted to leave me alone, and to join the sultan on the expedition, I allowed him to go, and resolved to wait a few days in patience. But, restless and impatient as I was, the delay pressed heavily upon me, and when on the 13th my kind and amiable host Bú-Bakr Sadik himself went to the capital, I had nothing to calm my disquietude. Through my host, I had once more addressed myself to the lieutenant-governor, requesting to be admitted into the capital without further delay, and Bú-Bakr had promised me, in the most distinct terms, that before Thursday night, which was the 15th, I should have a decisive answer. Having only one weak camel to carry my luggage, I had taken scarcely any books with me on this excursion to Bagirmi, and the little information which I had been able to gather was not sufficient to give my restless spirit its proper nourishment, and I felt, therefore, mentally depressed. The consequence was, that when Thursday night passed away, and neither Bú-Bakr himself arrived, nor any message from him, I determined to put my threat into execution, and to retrace my steps the following morning.

CHAPTER IV.

ENDEAVOUR TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY—ARRESTED—FINAL ENTRANCE INTO MÁS-EÑÁ.—ITS CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES.

Friday, April 16—As soon as day dawned, I arose to prepare for my departure. The sky was overcast, and a little rain fell, which caused some delay; but as soon as it ceased I got my camel ready and my horse saddled. Several of the relations and friends of Bú-Bakr endeavoured to persuade me to remain, but my determination was too fixed, and, pointing at the disgraceful manner in which I had been treated in this country, I mounted my horse and rode off. My three servants, themselves dissatisfied with the treatment they had received, followed sullenly.

We retraced the path by which we had come; but the rains had made it almost undiscernible, and we had some difficulty to make out the right track. The sun was very powerful after the rain which had fallen during the night, as is very often the case in tropical climates; and it not being my design to abscond secretly, I decided upon halting, during the hot hours, in Mókori, and quietly pitched my tent—for I firmly expected that, if my presence was required, it was here they would seek for me. After the bad fare which I had received in Bákadá for so long a time, I was delighted to be able to procure here a bowl, some butter, and a little milk, and it was a sort of holiday for me to indulge in these simple luxuries. The manner in which I obtained

these supplies was rather circuitous, a long bartering taking place with beads, needles, and a little natron which I was provided with from Kúkawa. The price of the fowl was three darning-needles, and I may here state the obligation under which I am to Mr Charles Beke, the Abyssinian traveller, upon whose advice I had provided myself in London with a small assortment of these articles. In Middle Sudán their value was not appreciated, but here, in Bagirmi, I found them extremely useful, and it was to them that I partly owed my subsistence in this country.

I quietly conversed with the people on my situation, and they behaved very friendly towards me, and advised me, if no news should arrive from the capital in the course of the day, to take the road by Kólle-Kólle, Marga, and Jógodé, a place which they represented as of considerable size, and thus to reach the river near the village of Klésem, from whence I might cross over to Kúsuri. I even obtained here some valuable information with regard to the river-system of Wádáy, from a Felláta,* or Púllo, of the name of Abd el Kader. I should have passed the day very comfortably, if a strong gale had not arisen about noon, and filled my tent with dust and sand. The sky was overcast; but there was no rain.

A little after sunset, when the busy scene at the well had subsided, I measured the temperature of the water, and found it to be 86.1° Fahr, which, if we consider it as nearly the mean temperature of the country, would give a very high standard for Bagirmi. The well was fifteen fathoms deep, the present temperature of the air being then 86°, at one o'clock p.m. it had been 99.7°.

Saturday, April 17—Having passed rather an unpleasant night, the ground swarming with black ants (*Termites mordax*), so that my camel, as well as my horse, moved restlessly about and disturbed our own slumber frequently, I set out early in the morning with confidence on my journey westward. Forest and cultivated ground alternately succeeded each other, the cultivation consisting, besides millet, of cotton and sesamum. Women were collecting the leaves of the hájilij, from which, in the absence of the more esteemed leaves of the monkey-bread tree, to prepare the tasteless sauce used for their daily pudding. The hájilij was the most predominant tree; besides it there was the tree called homáin by the Shúwa, which was at present leafless, but was covered with fruit about the size of an apricot, which, when ripe, is eaten by the natives. The tsáda also, with its cherry-like fruit, called by the Shúwa people ábúdéje, was frequent.

My young Shúwa companion here called my attention to the honey-bird (*Cuculus indicator*), called by his countrymen "shnéter," and said to be a metamorphosed old woman searching after her young son, and calling him by name, "Shnéter, Shnéter!" All over Africa this little bird has given rise to a variety of the most curious tales, from the Hottentot country to the Somaul, and from the Somaul to the Jolóf.

* I will here remark that I think this form, Felláta, which is usual in Bornu and the neighbouring countries, is in its origin a plural, though it is continually employed also for the singular.

Having gone about five miles, we wanted to obtain a supply of water from a small hamlet of the name of Bagawu, which we saw on one side of our track, but as soon as we approached the well, a decrepit old man rushed furiously out of his hut, as if we were about to steal his most valuable property, and ordered us away with the most threatening attitude. Such is the value of water in this dry region! We therefore continued our march, and could only account for the existence of this miserable village, by the extensive tract of cultivated ground which was spread about.

We then entered a thick forest or jungle, with tall reeds, and showing numerous footprints of the giraffe, an animal not at all frequent in the populous districts of Negroland. Further on, the path exhibited various signs of being a common thoroughfare for elephants. This animal further westward had not made itself remarkable, while its inveterate enemy the rhinoceros had already, close to the river, given sufficient proof of its presence.

At half-past eight o'clock in the morning we approached another village, of the name of Kólle-Kólle, which from a distance exhibited a most noble appearance, adorned as it was by two stately deléb-palms, here called káwe, and a group of most beautiful tamarind-trees; but as for water, this village was not much better provided than that from which we had just been driven, being dependent for this necessary element upon a sister village at little less than a mile distance. Nevertheless, the dry tract which lay before me obliged me to make a halt here, in order to procure a supply of water.

While we were quietly reclining in the shade of the tamarind-trees, a party of people arrived from a village which we had passed on our road, in order to obtain some medicines, and the way in which they acknowledged my trouble was so delicate and becoming, that I could not decline it, though in general I did not accept any remuneration for my cures. On taking leave they tied a fat sheep, which they had brought with them, to the branches of the tree under which we were reclining, merely informing my servants that it was a present for me.

Notwithstanding the great heat during the midday hours, I thought it prudent to pursue my journey without long delay, for all my informants agreed in representing the tract before us as an extensive wilderness, entirely destitute of water. There were, however, evident traces that during the rainy season this dry forest is occasionally changed into an extensive swamp, and frequented by herds of giraffes and other wild beasts. At first the forest was clear, but as we proceeded it became enlivened and interwoven by a profusion of creeping plants called "sellá" by the Arab inhabitants of this country, but "gheláf" in the dialect of the western Arabs. In many spots a peculiar kind of reed was seen, called "hál" by the Shúwa, who make from it writing-pens, and here and there fresh tufts of grass, called forth by the productive power of the rains, were springing up. It is this young succulent herbage which especially attracts the rhinoceros. Desolate as this wilderness was at present, there were evident signs that at times

it becomes the scene of a considerable degree of human industry, and besides sesamum, even fields of indigo were seen.

After a march of about thirteen miles, we reached a hamlet which was evidently identical with the village Marga, with regard to which our informants had not been sure whether we should find inhabitants there or not. We entered it, but not a single human being was to be seen, it was lifeless, deserted, and half in ruins. Nevertheless, there were some houses which evidently contained property, though, the doors not being sufficiently secured, its safety was left to the honesty of the passers-by.

Here the path divided, and it was apparent that, in order to prosecute my journey by way of Jógodé, we must pursue the northern one, but unluckily, while no recent traces were to be seen along this path, the southerly track seemed to be well-trodden, and my poor servants, who before had silently though sullenly followed me, broke out into the most mournful lamentations when they saw that I wanted to take the path which showed no signs of intercourse, saying that I was going to destroy their lives as well as my own in this desolate wilderness. At length, after having in vain remonstrated with them, telling them that they were frustrating my projects, I allowed myself to be overruled by their piteous supplications, although with a sad foreboding, and pursued the southerly track.

The sun was just setting when we reached another hamlet, consisting of large decent-looking huts, and filling us with almost confident hope that we might there find comfortable quarters, but we soon convinced ourselves that here also not a human being was left behind. Only a group of five antelopes (*oryx*), called here "tétel," with their erect horns, were fearlessly standing at a little distance, and staring at us. It was the first time I had seen this handsome animal in a wild state, though I afterwards found it to be very frequent in this country, and even fell in with it along the komádugu of Bórnu.

Having convinced ourselves that the well was dry, and not thinking quarters in a desolate village very safe in such a country, we pursued our march, entering again a dense forest where a great deal of rain seemed to have fallen, so that I was even enabled to water the horse, although the danger from wild beasts could not but be greatly increased by the presence of the aqueous element. After a march of two miles more, the evening being very dark, we thought it more prudent to halt for the night, we therefore chose a small place free from wood, put our luggage, camel, horse, and sheep in the middle, and assigned to each of ourselves one of the corners, where we were to keep up a fire. We had, however, scarcely begun to look around the neighbourhood for dry firewood, when the tumultuous cries of wild beasts broke forth from different quarters of the dense forest, and I was obliged to fire some shots before we were able to light a moderate fire, when, throwing the fire-brands before us as we proceeded, we were enabled to collect a tolerable quantity of dry wood. However, it was with some difficulty that I prevailed upon my young and inexperienced companions to make up their minds to keep alternate watches during the night, and keep up

the fires, more especially as, on account of a north-east wind which sprung up about midnight, the wood was rapidly consumed.

I had prudently provided myself with a number of cartridges, when I was suddenly startled by the rushing in of two hyænas, which seemed to have silently approached under cover of the wood, and almost succeeded in carrying off our sheep. But one of them paid with its life for its audacity, and now throwing firebrands, then firing a shot, we succeeded in keeping the wild beasts at a respectful distance during the remainder of our restless halt here.

Early in the morning we arose in order to pursue our march, when, on removing our luggage, we found five scorpions under our leather bags, they had, most probably, been attracted by the heat of our fires, as in general this animal is not so frequent after the ground has been wetted by the rains. As we proceeded, the forest became clearer, and my Shúwa lad called my attention to the curious circumstance that the "dib," which is very frequent in these regions, always deposits its excrements on the clean white spot of an ant-hill. The rain appeared to have been very considerable, and about a mile further on we passed a good-sized pond, and a little further another of still larger size, producing all around a profusion of grass of the richest verdure. The soil here consisted of hard clay, and the vegetation was varied, but gradually the forest was succeeded by extensive cultivation, which announced our approach to a considerable place.

I had been well aware myself that we had left the road to Jógodé a long distance on our right, but I was greatly annoyed when I heard from the people who met us on the path that this village was Kókoroché, the very place which we had passed on our road from Mélé to Búgomán. Convinced, therefore, that I should be obliged to touch once more at the former village, I had a sad foreboding that I should meet with some unpleasant occurrence, and that it might not be my destiny to leave this country as yet. However, I made up my mind, and prepared myself for whatever might happen.

The country assumed a more genial aspect, and we reached a very extensive sheet of water, apparently of considerable depth, and adorned all around by fine spreading trees. Numbers of women were proceeding from the neighbouring village to fetch water. Having provided ourselves with a supply, we proceeded onwards, and halted in the shade of a fine "hájlíj," in sight of the village. Numbers of cattle and asses were seen all around, and testified to the prosperity of the inhabitants. Kókoroché is an important place in the economy of this country; for it is this place, together with Búgomán, which furnishes the capital with the greatest supply of millet.

Determined to put a bold face upon matters, I ordered my people to slaughter the sheep, and made myself as comfortable as possible, spreading my carpet, damaged as it was by the ants in Bákada, upon the ground, and assuming the appearance of being quite at my ease. At that time I was not aware that in this country none but the sultan and a few high dignitaries were allowed to sit on a carpet. While the meat was cooking on the fire, and holding out the promise of some

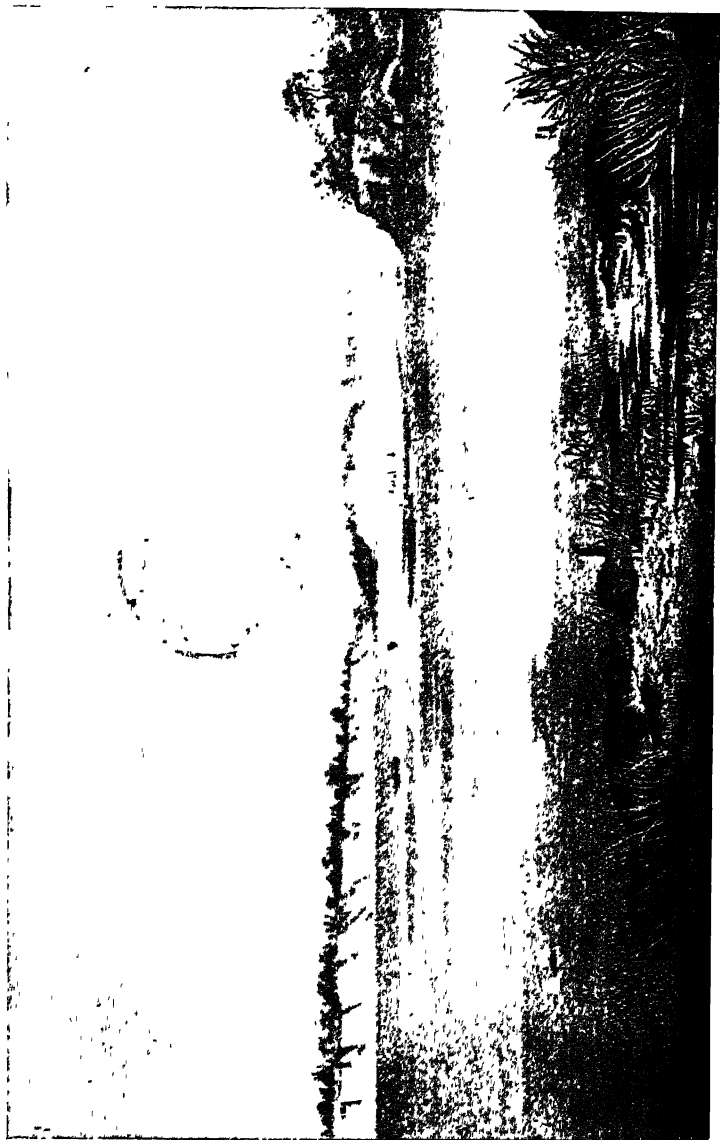
unwonted luxury, I received a visit from the father-in-law of Gréma 'Abdú, my host in Mústofáí, and his appearance and hints confirmed my unfavourable anticipations. I related to him what had happened to me since I left him,—that the governor of Búgomán had refused to receive me into his town, and that I had remained eighteen days in Baxadá, waiting in vain for an order to be allowed to enter the capital. I showed him my carpet, and told him how it had been half devoured by the ants, and how we had suffered from want of sufficient food and shelter in the beginning of the rainy season. He was very sorry that I had not been treated with more regard, but he expressed his opinion that the lieutenant-governor would not allow me to leave the country in such a way.

Unfortunately this man was not open enough to confess to me that messengers from the capital had already arrived, neither did the billama, or rather "gollennángo" or "gar," as he is here called—the head man of the village, who arrived with a numerous host of people just as I was about to start—give me any hint about it. Whether he came with the intention of keeping me back, and was afraid of executing his design, I do not know. In any case it would have been far more agreeable to me if my fate had been decided here instead of at Mélé. As it was, he sent one of his people with me to show me the track to the river, and I started about an hour after noon.

Considerable showers, which had fallen here seven days previously, had changed the dry character of the country, and revived its luxuriant nature. The whole district presented the cheerful aspect of spring. Fresh meadow-lands spread out, and we passed some extensive sheets of water, bordered by undulating banks in the freshest verdure. We passed several villages, among which one called Máí-Dalá was distinguished by its neat appearance, most of the huts having been recently thatched, to protect them against the rains. In the forest which intervened, dúm-bushes and dúm-palms, here called "kolóngo," attracted my attention, on account of the wide range this plant occupies in Central Africa, while it was erroneously believed to belong exclusively to Upper Egypt. Having passed the shallow water of Ámbusáda, where numbers of the blue-feathered bird here called "dellúk," with red feet, were splashing about, we again approached the inauspicious village where I had first set my foot in this country.

Here also, during the short time I had been absent, a great change had taken place. The ground was being cleared, in order to prepare it for the labours of the rainy season, and the bushes and trunks of trees were burnt, in order to render the soil more productive by means of the fertilising power of the ashes. We had not before passed so closely to the river, and I was astonished at the immense size of the ant-hills, which were not of the ordinary kind, such as they are seen in general, rising in steep conical peaks, but rather like those which I had seen near the Benuwé—but of larger proportions and rising to an elevation of from thirty to forty feet, and sloping very gradually, so that their circumference at the base in some cases measured more than two hundred feet. The village itself had meanwhile changed its character, owing to

THE SHARI AT MELÉ.



the number of new huts which had been erected on account of the approach of the rainy season, and the old ones having received a new thatching. All these new structures consisted of reed and matting; but nevertheless it had a neat and cheerful appearance. As I entered the village, I was saluted by the inhabitants as an old acquaintance, and pitched my tent quietly on the former spot.

Monday, April 19—This was a memorable day to me, destined to teach me a larger share of stubborn endurance. Having passed a quiet night, I began early to speak to the head man of the village about crossing the river, making him at the same time a small present. In Bagirmi also, as well as in Logón and other parts of Negroland, there is a separate officer for the river-communication. This officer, who in Bagirmi bears the title of *alifa-bá* ("kemán-komádugubé," or "officer of the river"), has an agent or *kashélla* in every village on the banks of the river where there is a ferry, and this agent was absent at the time. Meanwhile I was conversing with several of my former friends, and, among others, met an inhabitant of Jógodé, who regretted extremely that I had missed my road to that place, as I should have been well treated there, and forwarded on my journey without obstacle, almost all of the inhabitants being Kanúri. The governor of that place, who, like that of Moitô, bears the title of "*alifa*," had left, as this man informed me, in order to join the sultan on the expedition.

While I was thus conversing, the head man of the village suddenly came to my tent, and informed me that messengers had arrived from the lieutenant-governor, in order to prevent my proceeding, and upon his asking me what I intended to do, I told him that I would divide the time which I should be obliged to wait between this place, Jógodé, and Klésem, but that, if I should be compelled to wait too long, I should feel rather inclined to return to Logón. They rejected my proposal, and requested that I should stay in Mélé, saying that the inhabitants of the village had promised to supply me with rice and fish, and that I ought not to stir from here. While I was quietly expostulating with him upon this treatment, telling him that this was almost impossible, the place being too badly provided, and that they might at least allow me to remain half the time in the neighbouring village of Klésem, gradually more and more people entered my tent, and, suddenly seizing me, put my feet in irons.

Perhaps the unexpectedness of such an occurrence was rather fortunate, for if I had in the least divined their purpose I might have made use of my arms. But taken by surprise and overpowered as I was, I resigned myself in patience, and did not speak a word. The people not only carried away my arms, but also all my luggage; and, what grieved me most, they even seized my chronometer, compass, and journal. Having then taken down my tent, they carried me to an open shed, where I was guarded by two servants of the lieutenant-governor.

After all this trying treatment, I had still to hear a moral lecture given me by one of these half pagans, who exhorted me to bear my fate with patience, for all came from God.

Even my servants at first were put in irons, but when they protested

that if they were not set at liberty I should have nobody to serve me, their fetters were taken off, and they came faithfully to me to soothe my misfortune. In the evening the slave of the alifa-ba mounted my horse, and taking one of my pistols with him, rode off to Mas-eñá.

Having remained silently in the place assigned to me till the evening, I ordered my servants to demand my tent back, and to pitch it in the old place; and to my great satisfaction my request was granted. Thus I passed the four following days quietly in my tent, and, although fettered like a slave, resigned to my fate. Fortunately I had Mungo Park's first journey with me, and I could never have enjoyed the account of his sufferings among the Ludamar (Welád-Ammer) better than I did in such a situation, and did not fail to derive from his example a great share of patience.

It was in this situation that, while reflecting on the possibility of Europeans civilising these countries, I came to the conclusion that it would be absolutely necessary, in order to obtain the desired end, to colonise the most favourable tract of the country inclosed by the Kwára, the Benuwé, and the river Kadúna, and thus to spread commerce and civilisation in all directions into the very heart of the continent. Thus I wrote in my journal: "This is the only means to answer the desired end, everything else is vain."

Friday, April 23—While lying in my tent in the course of the evening, my friend from Bakaďá, Háj Bú-Bakr Salík, arrived on my horse, and, being seized with indignation at the sight of my fetters, ordered them to be taken off without delay. I begged him to forgive me for having regarded myself as a free man, and not as a slave, not being aware of the real nature of my situation in this country. He, however, praised my conduct very highly, saying that I could not have acted otherwise than I did, and promising that I should now enter the capital without further delay of any kind.

Remaining cool and quiet under the favourable change of my circumstances, I thanked Providence for having freed me from this unpleasant situation, regarding it in the light of a useful lesson for future occasions. All my property was restored to me, even my arms, with the exception of the pistol, which had been taken to the capital. However, the following day I had still to resign myself to patience, the chief servant of the lieutenant-governor not having yet arrived, and my horse, which had made the journey to the capital and back with great speed, wanting a little rest.

Sunday, April 25.—Early in the morning we entered upon our march once more, in an easterly direction, and although I had not yet experienced very kind treatment in this country, I was prepared to endure everything rather than to forego seeing the capital, but my poor servants were very differently disposed, for, having no mental interest, they felt the material privations more heavily. While they viewed with horror our projected journey eastward, they cast a melancholy look on the opposite bank of the river, which promised them freedom from privation as well as from vexation.

It was now for the fourth time that I was passing along the banks of

the stream. It was at present at its very lowest ("bá nedónge," as the Bagirmi people say), having sunk a foot or two since I first saw it, and having laid bare a much larger part of the sandbank. People in Europe have no idea of the situation of a solitary traveller in these regions. If I had been able to proceed according to my wishes, my road, from the very first moment when I entered the country, would have lain straight along the course of this mighty river towards its sources, but a traveller in these countries is no better than a slave, dependent upon the caprice of people without intelligence and full of suspicion. All that I could expect to be able still to accomplish, under present circumstances, was to obtain distinct information concerning the upper course of the river; for, ardent as had been my desire to join the sultan on his expedition, from all that I had seen I could scarcely expect that the people would allow me to go to any distance.

Our march the first day was rather short, for, having rested almost six hours, during the heat of the day, in a village called "Káda-bakaláy," we went only three miles further, when we encamped in another village called "Kada-márga," recently built, where the inhabitants of the deserted village of the same name, which on our return-journey from the capital we passed in the forest, had taken refuge. The village had a neat appearance, there being even a dyeing-place or "búkko alinbe," it was also enlivened by several tame ostriches. The well, with a depth of from ten to twelve fathoms, contained a rich supply of water, but of bad quality.

The next day we made up for our loss of time, and only stopped for the night, about a couple of miles beyond Bakadá, for, notwithstanding my esteem for Bú-Bakr Sadík, I refused to make any stay in, or even to enter the place where I had been kept back so long a time. The wooded wilderness had become prepared by the rains to receive its temporary inhabitants the Shúwa, and the well of Bakadá, for the use of which I had been obliged to pay so many needles, was left to decay.

Tuesday, April 27—We set out early in the morning, in order to reach at length the final object of our journey before the heat of the day. The country was well cultivated, and the fields of native corn were here also laid out in ridges, or "derába." Trees were scattered in all directions, principally talha and hájlfj. The soil consisted of sand, but was succeeded further on by clay, forming several large basins, where, later in the rainy season, extensive ponds are formed. Here the country was enlivened by fine tamarind-trees, besides a few specimens of the düm-palm. We then entered a district rich in herbage, and well adapted for cattle-breeding. Shúwa and Felláta foreigners were living here (as they generally do) together on friendly terms, as the similarity of the manners of these two distinct tribes, notwithstanding their different origin and totally distinct language, has brought them everywhere into the closest connection, and has facilitated in a remarkable manner the spreading of the latter race over so large an extent of Central Africa. The huts of these cattle-breeders are very different from those of the native settlers, being far more spacious, in order to

admit the cattle, and having the roofs thatched in a very light and negligent manner, as they usually change their dwelling-places with the season, and therefore do not choose to bestow much labour upon them.

As we were proceeding onwards we suddenly obtained a view over a green open depression clad with the finest verdure, and interspersed with the ruins of clay houses. This, then, was Más-eñá, the capital. It presented the same ruined appearance as the rest of the country.

The town was formerly much larger, and the wall had been carried back; but it was still far too large for the town, and in the utmost state of decay. Ruined by a most disastrous civil war, and trodden down by its neighbours, the country of Bagirmi seems to linger till it is destined either to rise again or to fall a prey to the first invader.

However, I was not allowed to enter the holy precinct of this ruined capital without further annoyance; for, being obliged to send a message to the lieutenant-governor, announcing my arrival, I was made to wait more than an hour and a half outside the gate, although there was not the least shade. I was then allowed to make my humble entrance. Only a few human beings were to be seen; and open pasture-grounds extended to a considerable distance, principally on the right side towards the south. We then entered the inhabited quarter; and I was lodged in a clay house standing in an open courtyard, which was likewise fenced by a low clay wall. The house contained an airy front room well suited to my taste, and four small chambers at the back, which were certainly not very airy, but were useful for stowing away luggage and provisions.

I had scarcely taken possession of my quarters, when numbers of people came to salute me on the part of the lieutenant-governor; and a short time afterwards a confidential slave of his made his appearance, to whom I delivered my presents, consisting of a piece of printed Manchester cotton sufficient for a tobe, an Egyptian shawl, several kinds of odoriferous essences, such as "*makhbil*," the fruit of a species of *tilia*, "*lubán*," or benzoin, and a considerable quantity of sandal-wood, which is greatly esteemed in the countries of Negroland east of Bórnu. While delivering these presents, and presenting my humble compliments, I declared myself unable to pay my respects personally to the lieutenant-governor, unless he restored my pistol, which was all that was wanting of the things which had been taken from me at Mélé; and after some negotiation, it was agreed upon that he should deliver to me the pistol as soon as I presented myself, without my even saying a word about it.

I therefore went in the afternoon with Bú-Bakr to see him, and found a rather affable man, a little beyond middle age, simply dressed in a dark-blue tobe, which had lost a good deal of its former lustre. Having saluted him, I explained to him how improper treatment and want of sufficient food had induced me to retrace my steps, after having convinced myself that I was not welcome in the country; for I assured him that it was our utmost desire to be friends with all the princes of the earth, and to make them acquainted with us, and that, although I had known that the ruler of the country himself was absent, I had not hesitated in paying them a visit, as I had been given to understand that

it would be possible to join him in the expedition. He excused his countrymen on the ground that they, not being acquainted with our character, had treated me as they would have done a person belonging to their own tribe who had transgressed the rules of the country. He then restored me my pistol before all the people, and desired me to await patiently the arrival of the sultan.

The ruler of the country, together with the principal men, being absent, the place presented at that time a more quiet or rather dull appearance than it does in general, and when I took my first walk through the town, I was struck with the aspect of solitude which presented itself to the eye on all sides. Fortunately there was one man in the town whose society and conversation were a relief to my mind.

I was reclining in the afternoon upon my simple couch, occupied in reading, when I received a visit from three persons. One of them was a man of apparently Negro origin, showing, by his wrinkled countenance, a career of trouble and misfortune, but having otherwise nothing very remarkable about him. It was Háj Ahmed, of Bámbara origin, and formerly an inhabitant of Tawát, but who, after a number of vicissitudes, having first been employed in the gold-diggings of Bambúk, and afterwards been engaged on small trading expeditions from Tawát to Timbúktu (where he had been twice robbed by the Tuarek), and from the same place to Agades and Kanó, had at last settled at Medína. From thence he had accompanied the warlike expedition of Ibrahim Bashá, had fought in the battles 'Akká and Deraje, and had been sent on several journeys as far as Basra and Baghdád, and at present being employed as servant at the great Mosque, had been dispatched to this country in order to obtain from its sultan a present of eunuchs for the temple of Medína. The second was a venerable-looking man, with a fine countenance, and a bushy half-silvery beard. This man was the religious chief of Bídderí, a place of which I shall speak hereafter.

The third visitor was Fákí Sámbo, a very tall and slender Púllu, with a scanty beard, and an expressive countenance, except that it lacked the most important feature which enlivens the human face, he being totally blind. At that time, however, I did not know him, although, when I heard him convey a considerable degree of knowledge in a lively and impressive manner, I almost suspected he might be the man of whom I had heard so much. I was puzzled, however, at his first question, which was, whether the Christians did not belong to the Bení Isráyíl, that is to say, to the Jews.

This was the first conversation I had with this man, who alone contributed to make my stay in the place endurable. I could scarcely have expected to find in this out-of-the-way place a man not only versed in all the branches of Arabic literature, but who had even read (nay, possessed a manuscript of) those portions of Aristotle and Plato which had been translated into, or rather Mohammedanised in Arabic, and who possessed the most intimate knowledge of the countries which he had visited. His forefathers, belonging to that tribe of the Fúlbe which is called Fittobe, had emigrated into the southern parts of Wádáy, where they settled in the village of Bárekalla. When he was a young man,

his father, who himself possessed a good deal of learning, and who had written a work on Háusa, had sent him to Egypt, where he had studied many years in the mosque of El Ázhar. It had then been his intention to go to the town of Zebid in Yemen, which is famous amongst the Arabs on account of the science of logarithms, or el hesáb, but when he had reached Gunfúda, the war which was raging between the Turks and the Wahábiye had thwarted his projects, and he had returned to Dár Fúr, where he had settled down some time, and had accompanied a memorable expedition to the south-west as far as the borders of a large river, of which I shall have another occasion to speak. Having then returned to Wádáy, he had played a considerable part as courtier in that country, especially during the reign of 'Abd el 'Azíz, till the present king, Mohammed e' Sherif, on account of his intimate relation with the prince just mentioned, had driven him from his court and banished him from the country.

After having once made the acquaintance of this man, I used to visit him daily; and he was always delighted to see, or rather to hear me, for he had nobody with whom he could talk about the splendour and achievements of the Khalifat, from Baghdád to Andalus (Spain)—particularly of the latter country, with the history of whose towns, kings, and literary men he was intimately acquainted. He listened with delight when I once mentioned the astrolabe or sextant, and he informed me with pride that his father had been in possession of such an instrument, but that for the last twenty years he had not met a single person who knew what sort of thing an astrolabe was.

He was a very enlightened man, and in his inmost soul a Wahábi; and he gave me the same name, on account of my principles. I shall never forget the hours I passed in cheerful and instructive conversation with this man, for the more unexpected the gratification was, the greater, naturally, was the impression which it made upon me. Unluckily he died about a year after I left the country. In general it was I who called upon him, when he used to treat me with a very good cold rice pudding, and with dates from Kánem, which were rather of an inferior description; but when he came to me, I used to regale him with a cup of coffee, which was a great treat to him, carrying him back to more civilised regions, and he never omitted to press the cup to each of his temples. The only drawback to my intercourse with this man was, that he was as anxious to obtain information from me with regard to the countries of the Christians, and those parts of the world with which he was less acquainted, as I was to be instructed by him, besides that, he had a great deal of business, being occupied with the Sheriyá or Mohammedan law. He had a singular predilection for emetics; and he begged me so urgently to favour him with this treat, that in the course of a few weeks I gave him more than half a dozen for himself, besides those I was obliged to supply to his family. He suffered from bilious affections, and thought that emetics were the best remedies in the world.

Besides this man and Háj Áhmed, the man with whom I had most frequent intercourse during my stay in this country was Slímán, a

travelling Arab sherif, as he called himself, but in reality a Felláh, a native of Egypt, at present settled in Mekka, who had roved about a great deal, was very polite in his manners, and, although not a very learned man, possessed a certain degree of general information, especially with regard to the countries of Wádáy and Dár Fúr (where he had made a longer stay), and, having been assisted on his journey to Constantinople by Mr Brand, Her Majesty's consul at Smyrna, had a certain degree of attachment to Europeans.

But the greatest amount of information which I obtained, principally with regard to the country of Wádáy, proceeded from a young native of that country of the name of Íbrahím (the fáki Íbrahím), of the tribe of the Abú-Shárib, with whom I passed several hours every day very pleasantly and usefully, and who attached himself so much to my person that I would freely have taken him with me to Sókoto, where he wanted to go in order to improve his learning under the tuition of the Fúlbe.

My relations with the lieutenant-governor were rather cool, and after he had given me a first treat, he left me for some days without any sign of hospitality, except that he once sent me a quantity of the fruit of the bito-tree or hájilí, which I returned. He was a man without much intelligence, and had no idea of the scientific researches of a European.

Having but little exercise, I became very ill towards the end of this month, so that I thought it prudent to abstain entirely from food for five days, living exclusively upon an infusion of the fruit of the tamarind-tree and onions seasoned with some honey and a strong dose of black pepper.—a sort of drink which must appear abominable to the European, but which is a delightful treat to the feverish traveller in those hot regions. Convinced that my stay in this place, if I were not allowed to travel about, would be too trying for my constitution, I requested the lieutenant-governor to allow me to retrace my steps westward; but he would not consent, upon any condition whatever, that I should stir from the place.

This unfavourable disposition towards me assumed by degrees a more serious character, as, being unable to understand my pursuits, he could not but become suspicious of what I was doing. On the 21st of June, when I was quietly sitting in my house, one of his servants, Agid Músa, who was well disposed towards me, and who used to call occasionally, suddenly made his appearance with a very serious countenance, and after some hesitation, and a few introductory remarks, delivered a message from the governor to the following effect. He wanted to know from me whether it was true (as was rumoured in the town, and as the people had told him) that, as soon as a thunderstorm was gathering, and when the clouds appeared in the sky, I went out of my house and made the clouds withdraw; for they had assured him that they had repeatedly noticed that, as soon as I looked at the clouds with a certain air of command, they passed by without bringing a single drop of rain.

However serious the countenance of the messenger was, the purport of his message was so absurdly ridiculous that I could not help breaking

out into a loud laugh, highly amused at the really pagan character of these *soi-disant* Mohammedans; but my friend begged me to regard the matter in a more serious light, and to take care what sort of answer I sent to his master. I then begged him to tell the governor that no man either by charm or by prayer was able either to prevent or to cause rain, but that God sent rain wherever and whenever it pleased Him. I added, however, that if he believed my presence in the country was causing mischief, he might allow me to go, that I did not desire anything better than that, and should then pray night and day for rain, but that at present I myself could not wish for much rain, as I was afraid lest it should cut off my retreat, by swelling the river to too great a height.

The messenger departed with my answer, and returned after a while with the *ultimatum* of the governor, to the effect that it was his own opinion that no human being was able to prevent rain, but that all of us were servants of the Almighty, and that as they were praying for rain, I myself should add my prayer to theirs, I should then be allowed, at the proper time, to depart from them in safety, but that if I was ill-disposed towards them he likewise would do me evil, informing me at the same time that, for a similar reason, they had once killed two great religious chiefs from Bidderi.

Such was the character of the people with whom I had to deal, although they regarded themselves as enlightened Mohammedans. In order to show his good disposition, or most probably rather in order to see whether his good treatment of me would have any effect upon the amount of rain (as he seemed to take me for a "king of the high regions"), he sent me in the evening a dish of an excellent pudding, with plenty of butter, and a small pot of medide, or gruel seasoned with the fruit of the düm-palm, and even promised me corn for my horse, but as I did not send him rain in return, as he seemed to have expected, his hospitality did not extend further.

It had been my custom, when a thunderstorm was gathering, to look out, in order to see from what quarter it was proceeding, which is a question of great interest in these regions, but the absurd superstition of these people so alarmed me, that I scarcely dared to do so again. With regard to the superstition of the natives, I must here mention a case which happened to my friend Sámbo. One day while I was engaged in earnest talk with him respecting the many sects of Islám, our conversation was suddenly interrupted by one of the daughters of the sultan entering abruptly, and accusing my friend, in the most offensive terms, of having abstracted from her, by his witchcraft, one of her slaves. But it was rather astonishing that a man with so vast an amount of learning was allowed to live at all, in the midst of such barbarians as these, without being continually suspected of sorcery and witchcraft. I shall not forget the day when I went to call on my friend, and found the unfortunate blind old man, sitting in his courtyard, in the midst of a heap of manuscripts which he could then only enjoy by touching them with his hands. Involuntarily I was reminded of a saying of Jackson's, that the time would come when the texts of

the classics would be emended from manuscripts brought from the interior of Negroland.* From the very beginning, when I became aware of the character of these people, I had taken the greatest precautions, and hearing that the privilege of using a carpet was restricted to certain officers, I had stowed my old carpet away, although my couch, being on the bare ground, was not very soft.

The market, or "kaskú,"† occupied a great deal of my time and of my thoughts during my monotonous stay in this place, not so much on account of its importance as of my own poverty, as I was compelled to become a retail dealer on the smallest scale, for, hardly possessing anything except a small quantity of needles, I was obliged to send one of my servants daily to the market, in order to endeavour, by means of that very trifling article of European industry, to obtain the currency of the country. The currency of Bagirmi consists in strips of cotton, or *fárda*, like those which I have described on my journey to Adamáwa—of very irregular measures, longer or shorter, in general of two "drá" length, and a hand in width—but of very different quality. Larger articles are bought and sold with shirts, "khalag" (*pl* "kholgán"), as they are called by the Arabs, "bol," as they are called by the natives, the value of which, according to their size and quality, varies from seventy to one hundred and fifty *fárda*. I obtained a *fárda* for one large English darning-needle, or for four common German needles, but afterwards I doubled the price. Besides these I had very little left, with the exception of a few looking-glasses of that round kind which are sold in Lyons for one *sox* each, and which I sold here for the high price of one shirt or "khalag," while a better sort of looking-glass, bought in London for eightpence, brought four khalag or kholgán, which are worth about a dollar. As for shells, called here "kemé-kemé," they have no currency in the market, but form a merchandise by themselves, as an article of export into the pagan countries—at least those of larger size, which are in great request with the inhabitants of those countries as well as with the Welád Ráshid, it being said that 2,000 will fetch a young slave of the kind called "khomási," and 3,000 a "sedási," for those simple people not only wear these shells as ornaments, especially the women, who are said to cover their hinder parts with them, but they make also caps of them, with which they adorn the heads of their deceased relations, while the Welád Ráshid adorn principally the heads of their camels and horses with the favourite kemé-kemé, or "kémti," as they are called in Wádáy.

Formerly there had been a market held only every Thursday; but a short time previous to my arrival the people had found it advantageous to have a market every day, so that there was a daily market from eight in the morning till eleven in the forenoon, and from three in the afternoon till sunset. Of course it was not very well supplied, and was confined to the mere necessities of life, the greatest luxury it contained

* Jackson's "Account of Morocco," p. 100.

† We have here an evident proof that a certain degree of civilisation spread from Bornu over the countries to the east. Kaskú is a slight variation of the Kanuri word "kásukú."

consisting of onions, an article which is not to be procured in every part of Central Africa. At first they were very cheap, eight being sold for a farda; but with the approach of the rainy season they increased in price, and I thought it prudent to lay in a supply, as I found this article extremely conducive to my health. And I would advise every traveller in these regions to be always provided with this vegetable, for they may be either used for seasoning food, or cut in slices and mixed with tamarinds, making, as I have stated, a cool and refreshing drink. But the black natives, as I have already mentioned on another occasion, do not in general make use of onions for seasoning their food, their cultivation having been introduced into the country by the Arabs from the north, together with wheat. But the native Arabs, or Shíwa, and the Arabs from the coast, or Wásali, use this vegetable to a great extent, as well for seasoning their food as for medicine, especially in case of fever, small-pox, and obstruction of urine, from which latter inconvenience they suffer very much, in consequence of their marching during the heat of the day.

Besides the articles above mentioned, the commodity most plentiful in the market was grain, especially Guinea grain, or *Pennisetum typhoides*, the dealers in which had a special place assigned to them in the northern part of the market, under a fine tamarind-tree, or "mas,"—the oldest part of the town,—which is even said to have given origin to the name Más-ená, as I shall have occasion to describe further on. Besides beans ("mónjo"), and ground-nuts, called here "wúli" or "búli," salt too ("kása"), owing to the presence of the Jelába from Wádáy, some of whom I had met on my road, was very plentiful, but it was only sold in very small portions. The same people also sold natron ("ngillu"), which is brought by the Tebu from the border of the desert. Milk ("sí") and butter ("búgu") were dear, but sour milk ("sí chále") in abundance—it is principally brought into the town by the daughters of the Bení Hassan. Honey ("téji"), which in many countries is so plentiful, is scarcely to be got at all. There were always a few head of sheep and cattle, and sometimes a few fowls were to be seen, occasionally also a horse of indifferent description made its appearance. Cotton ("nyíre") was rather scarce, and I did not see any indigo ("alimi"). Red pepper ("shíta") formed a peculiar article of commerce, which was retailed in small parcels by the Bórnu traders.

The most important and almost only article of European produce ("ngásan Zaula") consisted of beads, called "múnjo," especially the small red ones, which are sold here in great quantities, and exported to the pagan countries. I also sold a few of the large species, called "nejúm," of which the Shúwa are very fond. Calico, called here "shóter," is a great rarity, and rather sold privately to the great men of the country. Kanó manufactures, called here "kálkobángri" or "ngásan degó," form a prominent feature in the statistics of this market, especially túrkedí ("bolné"), while the Kanó and Nyffí tobes, called "bol godáni," can only with difficulty compete with the native manufacture, the Bórnu people, or rather the Mákari or Kótokó, having introduced into the country the art of dyeing. No slaves ("béli") were

which prevails in these regions, I will here mention that the *farda* in *Ábú-Gher*, which is the standard currency of the market, is different from that used in *Más-eñá*, measuring three *drá* in length and one hand in width. The village of *Ábú-Gher* consists of two separate groups divided by a vale or depression, where the market is held, and containing a considerable proportion of *Fúlbe* or *Felláta* inhabitants, who were the founders of the village.

Finding that I was not allowed to stir from the place where I was, I resigned myself in patience, and tried to take occasionally a little exercise round the town, when roving about, sometimes on foot, sometimes on horseback, I made by degrees a general survey of the town, which I have incorporated into the accompanying ground-plan, which though very imperfect, and not pretending in any way to absolute accuracy, will nevertheless serve to give the reader a fair idea of the place.

CHAPTER V.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN.—ARRIVAL OF THE SULTAN—FINAL DEPARTURE.

THE town of *Más-eñá* extends over a considerable area, the circumference of which measures about seven miles, but only about half of this area is inhabited, the principal quarter being formed in the midst of the town on the north and west sides of the palace of the sultan, while a few detached quarters and isolated yards lie straggling about as outposts. The most characteristic feature of the place consists in a deep trough-like depression or bottom, stretching out to a great length, and intersecting the town from east to west, in the same manner as the town of *Kanó* is intersected by the *Jákara*, for this hollow of the capital of *Bagirmi*, after the rainy season, is filled with water, and on this account is called "*bedá*" by the natives, and "*el bahr*" by the Arabs, while during part of the dry season it is clothed with the richest verdure. It is remarkable that not only in this respect the town of *Más-eñá* resembles that of *Kanó*, but, like the great market-place of *Háusa*, its surface is also broken by many other hollows, which contain the wells, and during the rainy season are changed into deep ponds, which, by accumulating all the refuse of the town, cause a great deal of insalubrity, but in general the soil, consisting of sand, dries very quickly after a fall of rain.

The principal quarter of the town lies on the south side of the great hollow or *bedá*, but even this very central quarter is far from being densely inhabited, and was less so during the first month of my residence, owing to the absence of the sultan. The central point of this quarter, at least in regard to its importance, if not to its position, is the palace of the sultan, the whole arrangement of which is in general

similar to the residences of the chiefs in other towns, consisting of irregular clusters of clay buildings and huts. But there is a remarkable feature in this palace, which distinguishes it in a very conspicuous manner from all other buildings of the kind in these countries. This difference consists in the wall which surrounds the whole building being built, not of sun-dried, but of baked bricks. I have had an opportunity of describing, on my journey from Kanó to Kúkawa, the ruins of the town of Ghámbarú, which is built of the same material; and I shall further on describe those of Birni or Ghasréggomo, the old capital of Bórnu, constructed in the same manner. But at present the traveller looks in vain for such solid buildings in any of the towns of Negroland, and I was therefore not a little surprised at finding it here, in a place where one might least expect to see it.*

It was not, however, a building of recent date, but built at least fifty, or perhaps a hundred years ago, or probably more, and was at present in a considerable state of decay. It forms a quadrangle of a somewhat oblong shape, the front looking towards the north-west, and measures from 1,500 to 1,600 yards in circumference. It must once have been a very strong building, the walls measuring about ten feet at the base, and from fifteen to twenty feet in height, and the entrance-gate being formed by thick wooden planks bound with iron. Upon entering, we first got into an open courtyard, in the eastern part of which there was a large oblong building or hall built of clay, which formed the public place of audience. Adjoining this there was a hut, wherein the *kadamángo*, or *zérma*—for he had lately risen in the service—who had been installed as lieutenant-governor, had his official residence, while further westward another hut formed the entrance-hall into the inner or private apartments of the sultan, which I shall notice on the occasion of my audience with the sovereign.

The whole south-eastern part of the palace, being inclosed by a separate wall, is entirely devoted to the female portion of the royal household, and is full of huts, the number of which, of course, I am not able to tell, having had no access to this sacred and most secluded part of the residence. According to report, at least, the sultan is said to have from three to four hundred wives. The huts are of various sizes and descriptions, in conformity with the character of the tenant of each. In front of the palace a spacious area or square is laid out, ornamented with six *karágo*-trees, besides a fine tamarind-tree which grows a little on one side of the entrance to the palace. Adjacent to the royal residence, on the west side, is the large house of the *fácha*, or commander-in-chief, and towards the east a mosque, of small dimensions, with a minaret at the north-west corner. The other sides are occupied by the residences of some of the principal courtiers, such as the *mánja*, the *zérma*, and the *bárma*. The principal street of the town joins this area in the north-west corner; and along it lie the dwellings of some of the other principal men. At the spot where this road passes by the north side of the deep hollow or concavity above described,

* There is another ruin of baked bricks outside the town, on the road to Ábu-Gher

it is crossed by another principal street, which, in a straight line, proceeds from the gate leading to Ábú-Gher, and intersects the market-place.

My own residence was situated at the south-western angle of the inhabited quarter; and while it had the advantage of being in an open and airy situation, it had also the disadvantage of being visible from almost every part of the town, so that I could not step out of my room without being seen by all the people around.

Dilapidated as was the appearance of the whole town, it had a rather varied aspect, as all the open grounds were enlivened with fresh pasture, but there is no appearance of industry, and the whole has the character of a mere artificial residence of the people immediately connected with the court. The market-place is rather small, and not provided with a single stall, the people being obliged to protect themselves as well as they can, by forming a new temporary shed every market-day. The most interesting aspect is afforded by the *bedá*, or *bahr*, which is bordered on the south-west side by a few picturesque groups of *dúm*-palms and other trees of fine foliage, while at the western end, near the market-place, there is a large extent of kitchen-gardens, as well as near the south-eastern extremity. In consequence of the peculiar nature of the *bedá*, the direct communication between the northern and southern quarters, which during the dry season is kept up by a good path, seems to be occasionally interrupted during the rains.

The construction of the houses in general is good, and the thatch-work of the roofs formed with great care, and even with neatness, but the clay is of rather a bad description for building, and the clay houses afford so little security during the rainy season, that most people prefer residing during that part of the year in the huts of reeds and straw: and I myself had sufficient opportunity of becoming acquainted with the frail character of these structures. There are, however, some pretty-looking houses on the road to Ábú-Gher.

The walls of the town, in most places, are in a state of great decay, so that the gates in reality have lost all importance, nevertheless there are still nine gates, or rather openings, in use. Most of them lie on the south side, while there is not a single gate towards the north, this quarter of the town being so deserted that it is even overgrown with dense underwood. All around the place, as well on the south side, where a large pond is formed in the rainy season, as on the other sides, there are villages inhabited by *Shúwa* or *Shíwa* (native Arabs), principally of the tribe of the *Bení Hassan*, who supply the town with milk and butter.

Besides studying, roving about, paying now an official visit to the lieutenant-governor, then a more interesting private one to my friend *Sámbo*, much of my time was also occupied with giving medicine to the people,—especially during the early period of my stay, for the small stock of medicines which I brought with me was soon exhausted. But even if I had possessed a much larger supply, I might perhaps have been tempted to withhold occasionally the little aid I could afford, on account of the inhospitable treatment which I received, and in the

beginning I was greatly pestered by the lieutenant, who sent me to some decrepit old women, who had broken their limbs and in every respect were quite fit for the grave. I then protested officially against being sent in future to patients, at least of the other sex, beyond a certain age.

But sometimes the patients proved rather interesting, particularly the females, and I was greatly amused one morning when a handsome and well-grown young person arrived with a servant of the lieutenant-governor, and entreated me to call and see her mother, who was suffering from a sore in her right ear. Thinking that her house was not far off, I followed her on foot, but had to traverse the whole town, as she was living near the gate leading to Ábú-Gher; and it caused some merriment to my friends to see me strutting along with this young lady. But afterwards, when I visited my patient, I used to mount my horse; and the daughter was always greatly delighted when I came, and frequently put some very pertinent questions to me, as to how I was going on with my household, as I was staying quite alone. She was a very handsome person, and would even have been regarded so in Europe, with the exception of her skin, the glossy black of which I thought very becoming at the time, and almost essential to female beauty.

The princesses also, or the daughters of the absent king, who in this country too bear the title of "mairam" or "méram," called upon me occasionally, under the pretext of wanting some medicines. Amongst others, there came one day a buxom young maiden, of very graceful but rather coquettish demeanour, accompanied by an elder sister, of graver manners and fuller proportions, and complained to me that she was suffering from a sore in her eyes, begging me to see what it was, but when, upon approaching her very gravely, and inspecting her eyes rather attentively without being able to discover the least defect, I told her that all was right, and that her eyes were sound and beautiful, she burst out into a roar of laughter, and repeated, in a coquettish and flippant manner, "Beautiful eyes, beautiful eyes."

There is a great difference between the Kanûri and Bagîrmi females, the advantage being entirely with the latter, who certainly rank among the finest women in Negroland, and may well compete with the Fúlbe or Fellata; for if they are excelled by them in slenderness of form and lightness of colour, they far surpass them in their majestic growth and their symmetrical and finely-shaped limbs, while the lustre and blackness of their eyes are celebrated all over Negroland. Of their domestic virtues, however, I cannot speak, as I had not sufficient opportunity to enable me to give an opinion upon so difficult a question. I will only say that on this subject I have heard much to their disadvantage; and I must own that I think it was not all slander. Divorce is very frequent among them as inclination changes. Indeed I think that the Bagîrmi people are more given to intrigues than their neighbours, and among the young men sanguinary encounters in love affairs are of frequent occurrence. The son of the lieutenant-governor himself was at that time in prison on account of a severe wound which he had inflicted upon one of his rivals. In this respect the Bâgrîmma very nearly

approach the character of the people of Wádáy, who are famous on account of the furious quarrels in which they often become involved in matters of love.

Occasionally there occurred some petty private affairs of my friends which caused some little interruption in the uniform course of my life. Now it was my old friend Bú-Bákr, who complained of his wife who resided here in Mas-eñá, and who did not keep his house as well and economically as he desired, and, when he occasionally came into the town, did not treat him so kindly as he thought she ought to do, so that he came to the serious conclusion of divorcing her. Another time my restless friend was in pursuit of a runaway slave, who had tried to escape beyond the Báchikam.

Then it was my friend Háj Áhmed, who complained to me of his disappointment, and how he had been overreached by his enemies and rivals. He was certainly in an awkward position in this country, and I could never get quite at the bottom of his story. For, as I have mentioned above, he had been sent from Medina in order to obtain from the king of Bagirmi a present of eunuchs; but now, after he had been residing here about a year and a half, having been continually delayed by the ruler of the country, another messenger had arrived, who, it seemed, was to reap the fruits of my friend's labours. Háj Áhmed had accompanied the sultan on his expedition the previous year, but he had almost lost his life, having received a severe wound in the head, from one of those iron handbills which form the chief weapon of the pagan tribes towards the south. He therefore thought it better this time to remain behind, but he made no end of complaints, on account of the miserly and inhospitable treatment of the lieutenant-governor. The situation of my friend became the more lamentable when his female slave, the only one he had at the time, managed to make her escape, having thrown down her mistress, who had gone outside the town with her.

Scenes like these happened daily; and I had frequent opportunities of demonstrating to my friends how the vigour and strength of the Christian empires of Europe were principally based upon their capability of continually renewing their vitality from free native elements, and by totally abstaining from slavery. And I further demonstrated to them that slavery had been the principal cause of the speedy overthrow of all the Mohammedan dynasties and empires that had ever flourished.

Another time it was my friend Slimán, who, besides topics of a more serious nature, used to entertain me with stories from his domestic life, for, being of a roving disposition, ever changing, and of rather desultory habits, he was accustomed to contract temporary matches for a month, which of course gave him a great insight into the habits of the females of the countries which he traversed on his peregrinations.

At another time some natural phenomena gave me some occupation. Amongst the nuisances with which the country of Bagirmi abounds, the large black ant called "kingibbu" and "kangifu" in Kanúri, "kissino" in tar Bágirima (the language of Bagirmi)—*Termes mordax*,—is one of the most troublesome, and besides some smaller skirmishes with this

insect, I had to sustain, one day, a very desperate encounter with a numerous host of these voracious little creatures, that were attacking my residence with a stubborn pertinacity which would have been extremely amusing if it had not too intimately affected my whole existence. In a thick uninterrupted line, about an inch broad, they one morning suddenly came marching over the wall of my courtyard, and entering the hall which formed my residence by day and night, they made straight for my storeroom, but unfortunately, my couch being in their way, they attacked my own person most fiercely, and soon obliged me to decamp. We then fell upon them, killing those that were straggling about and foraging, and burning the chief body of the army as it came marching along the path; but fresh legions came up, and it took us at least two hours before we could fairly break the lines and put the remainder of the hostile army to flight.

On this occasion the insects seemed to have been attracted entirely by the store of corn which I had laid in from Bákadá. In general their hostile attacks have also a beneficial effect, for, as they invade the huts of the natives, they destroy all sorts of vermin, mice included. But while in some respects these black ants may be called the "scavengers of the houses," in many parts of Negroland they often become also very useful by their very greediness in gathering what man wants entirely for himself, for they lay in such a considerable store of corn, that I have very often observed the poor natives, not only in these regions, but even along the shores of the Niger, digging out their holes, in order to possess themselves of their supplies.

Besides these large black ants, the small red ant, called in Bórnu "kitta-kitta," and in Bagirmí "kissasé," is found in great numbers, and becomes often very troublesome by its very smallness, as it gets so easily into all sorts of dresses without being observed. I was once greatly amused in witnessing a battle between this small red ant and the white ant, called "kanám" in Bórnu, and here "nyó" (*Termes fatalis*), when the latter were very soon vanquished by the warriors of the former species, who, notwithstanding their smaller size, were carrying them off with great speed and alacrity to their holes, for the white ant is powerless as soon as it gets out of its subterranean passages which impart to them strength, as the earth did to Antæus.

The rains, which at first had set in with considerable violence, had afterwards almost ceased, so that the herbage on the open uncultivated grounds in the town became quite withered, and many of the people, who upon the first appearance of rain had been induced to trust their seeds to the soil, were sadly disappointed. and I have already had occasion to relate that the natives, including their chief, attributed this state of the weather to my malignant influence. However, I was delighted when I sometimes made a little excursion on horseback in the environs of the capital, to see that the open country was less dry than the inside of the town, although even there as yet little cultivation was to be seen. It seemed very remarkable to me that here, as well as in the other parts of the country, especially Bákadá, the corn was generally cultivated in deep furrows and ridges, or "derába," a mode of

tillage which I had not observed in any other country of Negroland through which I had travelled. The people, however, were very suspicious whenever I mounted on horseback; and the first time they saw me galloping off, they thought I was going to make my escape, and were therefore all on the look-out.

All this time the sultan, or "bánga," was absent, and the false news which was repeatedly told of his whereabouts kept up a continual excitement. When I first arrived in the country, he had gone a considerable distance towards the south-east, and was besieging a place called Gógomi, which was strongly fortified by nature, and made a long resistance, so that the besieging army lost a great many of their best men, and among them an Arab sherif who had joined the expedition. But at length the place was taken, and the courtiers prevailed upon the prince to retrace his steps homewards, as they were suffering a great deal from famine; so much so that the greatest part of the army were obliged to live upon the fruit of the deléb-palm (*Borassus flabelliformis*?), which seems to be the predominant tree in many of the southern provinces of Bagirmi.

Saturday, July 3.—After false reports of the sultan's approach had been spread repeatedly, he at length really arrived. Of course, the excitement of the whole population was very great, almost all the fighting men having been absent from home for more than six months.

It was about nine o'clock in the morning when the army approached the south side of the town, displaying a great deal of gorgeous pomp and barbaric magnificence, although it was not very numerous, being reduced to the mere number of the inhabitants of the capital, the remainder having already dispersed in all directions, and returned to their respective homes. Thus there were not more than from seven to eight hundred horsemen, or "malásínda;" but my friend the sherif Slímán (who, exasperated at the bad treatment of the lieutenant-governor, had left the capital to join the expedition, and who, as far as I had an opportunity of trying him, was not inclined to exaggerate) assured me that, even on their return, the army mustered at least two thousand horsemen.

At the head of the troop, as having supplied the place of his master during his absence, in his character of lieutenant-governor, rode the kadamánga, surrounded by a troop of horsemen. Then followed the báрма, behind whom was carried a long spear of peculiar make, which in the history of this country forms a very conspicuous object, being meant originally to represent an idol, which is said to have been transplanted from the parent state Kénga Matáya, and evidently bore a great resemblance to the "fête" of the Marghi and Músgu. Just in front of the sultan rode the fácha, or commander-in-chief, who is the second person in the kingdom, similar to the keghámma in the old empire of Bórnu, and who in former times possessed extraordinary power. The sultan himself wore a yellow bernús, and was mounted upon a grey charger, the excellence of which was scarcely to be distinguished, it being dressed in war-cloth, or líbbedí, of various-coloured stripes, such as I have described on my expedition to Músgu. Even the head of the



MÁSEÑA (RETURN OF THE SULTAN FROM THE EXPEDITION).

sultan himself was scarcely to be seen, not only on account of the horsemen riding in front and around him, but more particularly owing to two umbrellas, the one of green and the other of red colour, which a couple of slaves carried on each side of him.

Six slaves, their right arm clad in iron, were fanning him with ostrich feathers attached to long poles; and round about him rode five chieftains, while on his right were seen the ghelétma and other principal men of the country. This whole group round the prince formed such a motley array, that it was impossible to distinguish all the particular features with accuracy, but, as far as I was able to make out from the description of the natives, there were about thirty individuals clad in bernúses, while the others wore nothing but black or blue-coloured shirts, and had their heads mostly uncovered. Close behind this group followed the war-camel, upon which was mounted the drummer, "kod-ganga," who was exerting his skill upon two kettle-drums which were fastened on each side of the animal, and near him rode three musicians, two of whom carried a bukí, "kája," or small horn, and the third a jójo or "zózo," a sort of double derabúka.

However grotesque the appearance of the royal cavalcade, that part of the procession which followed was more characteristic of the barbaric magnificence, and whole manner of living, of these African courts. It consisted of a long uniform train of forty-five favourite female slaves, or concubines, "habbabát," of the sultan, mounted on horseback, and dressed from top to toe in black native cloth, each having a slave on either side. The procession terminated in a train of eleven camels carrying the luggage. The number of the infantry or "malajá" was also limited, as most of them had returned to their respective homes. But, on the other hand, almost all the people of the town had come out to see the victorious army on their return.

This day, however, the sultan did not enter the capital, but, in conformity with the sacred custom of the kings of this country on their return from an expedition, was obliged to encamp among the ruins of the oldest quarter on the west side of the town, and it was not until Sunday, the 4th day of July, about noon, that he made his solemn entry. This time, however, the "habbabát" did not form part of the procession, having entered the town early in the morning, but their absence was atoned for by the presence of a greater number of horsemen, and behind the drummer on camel's back followed an interesting warlike train, consisting of fifteen fiery chargers, all clad in libbedí, and better adapted, it would seem, to the serious game of Mars, than the train of lovely damsels.

On this occasion, the bánga led in his triumphant procession seven pagan chiefs, amongst whom that of Gógomi was the most conspicuous person, and the greatest ornament of the triumph, being not less remarkable for his tall, stately figure than on account of his having been the ruler of a considerable pagan state, with a capital in an almost inaccessible position. He excited the interest of the savage and witty Bagirmi people, by submitting with a great deal of good humour to his fate, which was certainly not very enviable, as it is the custom in this

country either to kill or to emasculate these princely prisoners, after having conducted them for some time through all the courtyards of the palace, while allowing the wives and female slaves of the sultan to indulge their capricious and wanton dispositions in all sorts of fun with them. The horrible custom of castration is perhaps in no country of Central Negroland practised to such an extent as in Bagirmi.

The booty in slaves did not seem to have been very considerable, although the prince had been absent from home for six months; and the whole share of the sultan himself seemed to consist of about four hundred individuals. The sultan passed slowly through the town, along the principal road from the western gate, and, proceeding along the "déndal," or "bokó," entered his palace amid the acclamations of the people and the clapping of hands (the "kabello" or "tófa," as it is here called) of the women.

Although I had not yet paid my compliments to the bánga, he sent two messengers in the afternoon to bid me welcome. These messengers were the brother and son of one of the chief men of the country, with the title or name "Máina Beládemi," who was a sort of consul of Bórnu, and was represented to me by all the people as one of the most intelligent men in the country. However, he had returned in a bad state of health, and, unfortunately for me, succumbed in a few days.

I informed the messengers of the prince how badly I had been treated, when they assured me that the sultan did not know anything about it, and that as soon as he had received the news of my arrival he had forwarded orders to the lieutenant-governor to provide me with a milch-cow. The messengers then went away, and soon returned with a sheep, some butter, and a large supply of kréb, the seed of a sort of grass of which I have spoken on former occasions.

The next morning I went to pay a visit to Máina, being accompanied by my old runaway guide Gréma 'Abdú, who, after having left me to my own fate in Bakadá, had gone to join the sultan in the expedition. However, the place where the sick man was lying was so dark that, convinced as I was of the seriousness of his illness, I found a pretext for not giving him any medicine; and this was very lucky for me, as his death, which took place a few days afterwards, would certainly have been attributed by these savage people to my remedies.

The same evening I was informed that an express messenger had come from Kúkawa with despatches for me, the caravan from Fezzán having at length arrived. But having been repeatedly disappointed by similar reports, I did not give myself up to vain expectation, and passed a very tranquil night.

Thus arrived the 6th of July, one of the most lucky days of my life; for having been more than a year without any means whatever, and struggling with my fate, in the endeavour to do as much as possible before I returned home, I suddenly found myself authorised to carry out the objects of this expedition on a more extensive scale, and found sufficient means placed at my disposal for attaining that object. The messenger, however, managed his business very cleverly; for having two large parcels of letters for me, one only containing despatches from

the Foreign Office, and the other containing a large amount of private correspondence, he brought me first the former, which had been very carefully packed up in Kúkawa, in a long strip of fine cotton (gábagá), and then sewn in red and yellow leather, without saying a word about the other parcel, but when I had read at my leisure the despatches which honoured me with the confidence of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and had rewarded his zeal with a new shirt, he went away, and soon returned with the second parcel, and a packet containing ten túrkedí, native cotton cloth, from Kanó, which at Mr Overweg's request the vizier of Bórnu had sent me, and three of which I immediately presented to the messenger and his two companions.

The number of private letters from England, as well as from Germany, was very considerable, and all of them contained the acknowledgment of what I had done, the greatest recompense which a traveller in these regions can ever aspire to. No doubt the responsibility also thus thrown upon me was very great, and the conclusion at which I had arrived from former experience, that I should not be able to fulfil the many exaggerated expectations which were entertained of my future proceedings, was oppressive, for, in almost all the letters from private individuals, there was expressed the persuasion that I and my companion should be able, without any great exertion, and in a short space of time, to cross the whole of the unknown region of equatorial Africa, and reach the south-eastern coast,—an undertaking the idea of which certainly I myself had originated, but which, I had become convinced in the course of my travels, was utterly impossible, except at the sacrifice of a great number of years, for which I found the state of my health entirely insufficient, besides a body of trustworthy and sincerely attached men, and a considerable supply of means. Moreover I found, to my surprise and regret, that the sum of £800 placed at my disposal by Lord Palmerston remained a dead letter, none of the money having been forwarded from Tripoli,—a sum of about fifteen hundred dollars, which had been previously sent, being regarded as sufficient.

In this perplexity, produced by nothing but goodwill and a superabundance of friendly feeling, I was delighted to find that Her Majesty's Government, and Lord Palmerston in particular, held out a more practical project by inviting me to endeavour to reach Timbúktu. To this plan, therefore, I turned my full attention, and in my imagination dwelt with delight upon the thought of succeeding in the field of the glorious career of Mungo Park.

For the present, however, I was still in Bagírmi, that is to say, in a country where, under the veil of Islám, a greater amount of superstitious ideas prevail than in many of the pagan countries, and I was revelling in the midst of my literary treasures, which had just carried me back to the political and scientific domains of Europe, and all the letters from those distant regions were lying scattered on my simple couch, when all of a sudden one of my servants came running into my room, and hastily informed me that a numerous *cortége* of messengers had just arrived from court.

I had scarcely time to conceal my treasure under my mat when the courtiers arrived, and in a few moments my room was filled with black people and black robes. The messengers who had brought me the letters had likewise been the bearers of a letter addressed by the ruler of Bornu to the *bánga* of Bagirmi, who in a certain respect was tributary to him, requesting him to allow me to return without delay to his country, in the company of the messengers. There were some twenty persons, besides the lieutenant-governor, or *kadamánga*, and the two relations of Máina; and the manner in which they behaved was so remarkable, that I was almost afraid lest I should be made prisoner a second time. There could be no doubt that they had heard of the large correspondence which I had received. But there had been, moreover, a great deal of suspicion, from my first arrival, that I was a Turkish spy. There was even a pilgrim who, from his scanty stock of geographical and ethnological knowledge, endeavoured to persuade the people that I was an "Arnaut," who, he said, were the only people in the world that wore stockings. Be this as it may, the courtiers were afraid of coming forward abruptly with the real object of their visit, and at first pretended they wished to see the presents that I had brought for the sultan. These consisted of a caftan of red cloth, of good quality, which I had bought in Tripoli for nine dollars, a repeater watch, from Nuremberg, bought for ten dollars, with a twisted silk guard of Tripolitan workmanship, a shawl, with silk border, an English knife and pair of scissors, cloves, and a few other things. The watch, of course, created the greatest astonishment, as it was in good repair at the time, although it was a pity that we had not been provided with good English manufactures, but had been left to pick up what articles we might think suitable to our purpose.

Having also asked to see my telescope, which of course could only increase their surprise and astonishment, they then, after a great deal of beckoning and whispering among each other, which made me feel rather uneasy, requested to see the book in which I wrote down everything I saw and heard. Without hesitation I took out my memorandum-book and showed it to them, but I had first to assert its identity. In order to allay their suspicions, I spontaneously read to them several passages from it which referred to the geography and ethnography of the country; and I succeeded in making them laugh and become merry, so that they even added some names where my lists were deficient. They then begged me to allow them to take the book to the sultan; and I granted their request without hesitation.

This frankness of mine completely baffled the intrigues of my enemies, and allayed the suspicions of the natives, for they felt sure that, if I had any evil intention in writing down an account of the country, I should endeavour to do all in my power to conceal what I had written.

Thus they departed, carrying with them my journal, and I was informed afterwards that the sultan had then sent for all the learned men in the town, in order to hear their opinion upon my book. And it was perhaps fortunate for me that the principal among them was my

friend Sámbo, who, being well acquainted with my scientific pursuits, represented my notes as a very innocent and merely scientific matter. My journal, which no one was able to read, was consequently returned to me uninjured. In the afternoon my friend Sámbo called upon me, and related to me the whole story: he also informed me that the only reason why I had not obtained an audience with the sultan this day was the above-mentioned letter of the sheikh of Bórnu, which had in a certain degree offended their feelings of independence; and in fact I did not obtain an audience until the 8th.

Thursday, July 8—I had just sent word to Sámbo, begging him to hasten my departure, and had received a visit from some friends of mine, when Gréma 'Abdú came, with a servant of the sultan, in order to conduct me into his presence, whereupon I sent to Sámbo, as well as to my host Bú-Bakr of Bákadá, who was just then present in the town, inviting them to accompany me to the prince. On arriving at the palace, I was led into an inner courtyard, marked *d* in the ground-plan, where the courtiers were sitting on either side of a door which led into an inner apartment, the opening or doorway of which was covered by a "kasár," or, as it is called here, "párapara," made of a fine species of reed, as I have mentioned in my description of the capital of Logón. In front of the door, between the two lines of the courtiers, I was desired to sit down, together with my companions.

Being rather puzzled to whom to address myself, as no one was to be seen who was in any way distinguished from the rest of the people, all the courtiers being simply dressed in the most uniform style, in black, or rather blue tobes, and all being bare-headed, I asked aloud, before beginning my address, whether the Sultan 'Abd el Káder was present; and an audible voice answered from behind the screen, that he was present. Being then sure that it was the sultan whom I addressed, although I should have liked better to have seen him face to face, I paid him my respects and presented the compliments of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, which, being one of the chief European powers, was very desirous of making acquaintance with all the princes of the earth, and of Negroland also, in order that their subjects, being the first traders in the world, might extend their commerce in every direction. I told him that we had friendship and treaties with almost all the nations of the earth, and that I myself was come in order to make friendship with them; for although they did not possess many articles of trade to offer, especially as we abhorred the slave-trade, yet we were able to appreciate their ivory, and even if they had nothing to trade with, we wanted to be on good terms with all princes. I told him, moreover, that we were the best of friends with the Sultan of Stambúl, and that all who were acquainted with us knew very well that we were excellent people, trustworthy, and full of religious feelings, who had no other aim but the welfare of mankind, universal intercourse, and peaceable interchange of goods. I protested that we did not take notes of the countries which we visited with any bad purpose, but merely in order to be well acquainted with their government, manners, and customs, and to be fully aware what articles we might buy from,

and what articles we might sell to them. Thus already "Ráís Khalíl" (Major Denham) had formed, I said, the design of paying his compliments to his (the sultan's) father, but that the hostile relations which prevailed at that time between Bagírmí and Bórnu had prevented him from executing his plan, when hé had reached Logón, and that, from the same motives, I had now come for no other purpose than the benefit of his country; but that, nevertheless, notwithstanding my best intentions, I had been ill-treated by his own people, as they had not been acquainted with my real character. I stated that it had been my ardent desire to join him on the expedition, in order to see him in the full exercise of his power, but that his people had not allowed me to carry out my design.

The whole of my speech, which I made in Arabic, was translated, phrase for phrase, by my blind friend Sámbo, who occasionally gave me a hint when he thought I spoke in too strong terms. The parcel containing my presents was then brought forward, and placed before me, in order that I might open it myself and explain the use of each article.

While exhibiting the various articles, I did not neglect to make the watch strike repeatedly, which created the greatest astonishment and surprise among the spectators, who had never seen or heard anything like it. I then added, in conclusion, that it was my sincere wish, after having remained in this country nearly four months, confined and watched like a prisoner, to return to Kúkawa without any further delay, as I had a great deal of business there, and at the present moment was entirely destitute of means; but that if he would guarantee me full security, and if circumstances should permit, I myself, or my companion, would return at a later period. Such a security having been promised to me, and the whole of my speech having been approved of, I went away.

I had scarcely returned to my quarters when the two relations of Máina Beládemí, Máina Kánadí and Sabún, called upon me, with a very mysterious countenance, and, after some circumlocution, made known the grave errand upon which they had been sent, which was to ask whether I had not a cannon with me: and when I expressed my astonishment at their thinking I was supplied with such an article, while my whole luggage was carried on the back of one weak she-camel, they stated that the sultan was at least anxious to know whether I was not able to manufacture one myself. Having professed my inability to do so, they went away, but returned the next day, with many compliments from their master, who, they said, was anxious that I should accept from his hands a handsome female slave, of whose charms they gave a very eloquent description, and that it was also his intention to furnish me with a camel, and provide me with two horsemen who should escort me back to Bórnu. I told them that, although sensible of my solitary situation, I could not accept such a thing as a slave from the sultan, and that I did not care about anything else but permission to depart, except that I should feel obliged to him if he would give me a few specimens of their manufactures. They then promised that the

next day I should have another audience with the sultan, and they kept their word.

This time also I was only able to address the sultan without seeing him, when I repeated my request that he would allow me to depart without any further delay, as I had most urgent business in Kúkawa, but I received the answer that, although the road was open to me, the sultan, as the powerful ruler of a mighty kingdom, could not allow me to depart empty-handed. I then, in order to further my request, presented him with a small telescope, in the use of which I instructed his people. Having returned to my quarters, I assured my friends, who came to inform me that it was the sultan's intention to make me a splendid present in return for those I had given him, that I did not care for anything except a speedy return to Bórnu, as there was no prospect that I should be allowed to penetrate further eastward. But all my protests proved useless, as these people were too little acquainted with the European character, and there were too many individuals who, if I myself did not care about getting anything, were anxious to obtain something for themselves, I was therefore obliged to abandon myself to patience and resignation.

Meanwhile I learnt that the sultan had at first entertained the fear that I might poison him or kill him by a charm, and that he had repeatedly consulted with his learned men and counsellors how he should protect himself against my witchcraft. However, on the second day after my first audience, he gave me the satisfaction of sending the inspector of the river, or the khalifa bá, together with that servant of his (or kashélla) who had put me into chains at Mélé, in order to beg my pardon officially, which of course I granted them most cordially, as I was too well aware that a traveller in a new country cannot expect to be well treated. As for that Púllo or Felláta individual, resident in Bagírni, who (by inspiring the ferrymen at the frontier with fear and suspicion concerning my entering the country) had been the chief cause of the injurious treatment which I had experienced, he had been introduced to me some time previous to the arrival of the sultan, by my cheerful and good-natured friend Bú-Bakr of Bákadá, when, against my wish, he persisted in clearing himself by an oath that he had done me no harm. This he managed rather cleverly, by swearing that he had never instigated the ferrymen to drown me in the river, a crime which I was very far from laying to his charge. However, it being my desire to be on good terms with all the people, I expressed my satisfaction, and dismissed him. On all these occasions I had full opportunity of discovering the sincere friendship which Bú-Bakr felt for me, who, being well aware of the impetuous character of Europeans, did not cease exhorting me to patience,—“sabr, sabr,” “kánadí, kánadí”—certainly the most momentous words for any traveller in these regions.

Monday, July 19—I had entertained the hope of being able to get off before the great feast, or ‘Aid el kebír, here called “Ngúmre ngólo,” but it approached without any preparation for my departure having been made. A general custom prevails in this country, that, in order to celebrate this holiday, all the people of the neighbouring places must

come into the town; and for the chief men of each place this is even a duty, by neglecting which they would incur a severe penalty. But on the present occasion the holiday was changed into a day of mourning; for at the dawn of this very day, Máina Beládemí, who was generally esteemed as the most excellent man in the country, died, causing a severe loss to the sultan himself, whose confidence he enjoyed to the fullest extent, having saved the life of his father when persecuted by his fácha.

According to his own request, the deceased was not buried in or near the town, but was carried a distance of several miles, to a place called Bidderi, which, as I shall have another occasion to explain, was the first seat of Islám in this country, and is still the residence of some highly respected religious chiefs.

This sad event, though it was not unforeseen, cast a gloom over the whole festival; and it was not till about noon that the sultan left the town in order to offer up his prayers in the old ruined quarter towards the west—for, as I have already had repeated occasion to remark, it is a sacred custom all over Negroland, that the sovereign of the country on this day cannot say his prayers inside the town. Having remained in the old dilapidated quarter, in a tent which had been pitched for the occasion, till after "dhohor," he returned into the town; but the day, which had begun unfavourably, ended also with a bad omen, for in the evening a storm broke out, of such violence that three apartments inside the palace came down with a frightful crash, and caused a great uproar in the whole quarter, as if the town had been taken by an enemy.

Fortunately, I myself had taken sufficient precaution to strengthen the roof of my house, so that although the floor was entirely swamped, the roof remained firm; for having observed, some days previously, that the principal beam which supported the terrace was broken, and having endeavoured in vain to persuade my host to have it repaired, I ordered my servants to take away a large pole from a neighbouring courtyard, and place it as a support for the roof.

Since the return of the sultan, the rainy season had set in with great violence, and it rained almost daily. The consequence was, that the open places and the wide uninhabited quarters of the town were again clad in the freshest verdure, the whole affording a very pleasant aspect, while the bedá, or bahr, was filling with water. There was now also much more intercourse in the town, since the people had returned from the expedition; but I did not stir about so much as before, not only on account of the wet, but also owing to the effrontery of some of the slaves: for these people, who are scarcely acquainted with any other kind of dress than a black shirt, and who altogether occupy a low stage in civilisation, found constant fault with my dress, and, with a few exceptions, were not on good terms with me.

On account of my poverty, which did not allow me to make many presents except needles, I had certainly deserved the title of "Needle-prince" or "Maláribra," which they had given me; but besides this the natives had also given me another nickname, meaning "Father of the three," which originated in my wearing generally,

besides stockings, a pair of thin leather slippers, and thick overshoes, while these people usually go barefoot, and do not even wear sandals, except when they go to a great distance.

Occasionally, however, I visited the market, which although at present in many respects better stocked, was not so regularly kept, owing to the rains, and not so well attended on account of the labours which were going on in the fields. Even slaves were now brought into the market, sometimes as many as thirty, each being sold for from twenty-five to thirty khalágs, or kholgán ("lebú," common white shirts), a price equal to from six to seven Spanish dollars. Cattle, too, were at present numerous, having not only been brought in from the pagan tribes, who seem to possess only a limited supply and of a small breed, but having been taken in far larger numbers from the Shúwa tribe of the Deghágheera, under pretext of their disobedience. A good fat ox was sold for eight khalágs, or a little less than two dollars. During my stay in Mélé, I had observed that sheep were taken from Bagírmi to Bórnu, to be sold there.

In my expectation of being allowed to depart without further delay, I was sadly disappointed; and day after day passed by without any preparation for my departure. Besides, I had reason to complain of inhospitable treatment, for, although I occasionally received a dish from the sultan, far more frequently I remained without, but I was told, upon inquiry, that the slaves who were ordered to bring me my food used to keep it for themselves.

Sunday, Aug. 1.—It was not till this day that I became convinced that my departure was close at hand, from the fact that the slaves of my host began to dig up the soil in my courtyard, in order to sow it with derába or bámiya (*Hibiscus esculentus*), for if I had been going to stay longer, my camel would soon have destroyed the seed. But nevertheless several days elapsed before affairs were finally settled.

Friday, Aug. 6.—At length in the afternoon, there came a long *cortège* from the sultan, conducted by Zérma or Kadamángo, Sabún, and Kánadí, with a present of fifty shirts of every kind, and which altogether might be valued at about thirty dollars. Among the shirts were seven of a better sort, all of which I sent to England, with the exception of one, which was very light, consisting of silk and cotton, and which I kept for my own wear, there were besides, twenty-three white ones of a better kind, and twenty common market-tobes.

While presenting me with this royal gift, and explaining that the sultan was sorry that I would not accept from his hands anything more valuable, either slaves or ivory, Zérma announced to me officially that I might now start when I thought proper, that hitherto neither the people of Bagírmi had known me nor I them, but that if I were to return I might regard Bagírmi as my own country. While expressing my thanks to the sultan for his present, as well as for the permission to depart, I told the messengers that, if they wished that either I or my brother (companion) should ever visit their country again, the sultan ought to give me a paper, testifying his permission by a special writ, sealed with his own royal seal. Thus they promised, and moreover

told me that a man from the sultan should accompany me to the river, in order to protect me against any further intrigues of the ferry men, my great enemies.

The sultan's munificence, although not great, enabled me to reward my friends and attendants. I had already divided the *türkedi* which I had received from Kúkawa, among those nearest to me, except two or three, which I sold in the market in order to buy provisions. And of these tobés likewise I divided thirty among the people of Zérma, my own attendants, the *faki* Sámbo, Dú-Bakr, and my other friends. The poor Háj Ahmed, who sustained himself here with great difficulty, was very grateful for my present, and offered up fervent prayers for my safe arrival at home, although he would have liked better if I had accompanied him on his journey eastward through Wádáy and Dar-Fúr.

But, although on my first arrival in this country I had entertained the hope that it might be possible to accomplish such an undertaking, I had convinced myself that, not taking into account my entire want of proper means it would be imprudent, under the present circumstances, to attempt such a thing, for the state of affairs in the country of Wádáy was exceedingly unfavourable at the time, a destructive civil war having just raged, and matters not being yet settled. My own situation in this country, moreover, was too uncertain to allow me to have sufficient supplies sent after me, to embark in such a grand enterprise, and besides, although I had become fully aware of the great interest which attaches to the empire of Wádáy, as well owing to the considerable extent of its political power, as on account of the great variety of elements of which it is composed, and also on account of its lying on the water-parting between the basin of the Tsád and that of the Nile, I felt quite sure that the western part of Negroland, along the middle course of the so-called Niger, was a far nobler and more fruitful field for my exertions. However, there was one favourable circumstance for attempting at that time a journey into Wádáy, as the messengers of the sultan (or rather of Jérma or Zérma, one of the most powerful officers in that country, who has the inspection of this province), were at present here, in order to collect the tribute which Bagírmi, in its present reduced state, has to pay to its mightier neighbour.

As for my friend the *sherif* Slimán, he behaved like a gentleman on this occasion, refusing my shirts, but begging for a little camphor and a pair of English scissors.

Sunday, Aug. 8—After all the delay was overcome, I at length became aware what had been the cause of it; for in the afternoon of that day my noble companion Gréma 'Abdú, who had left me so unceremoniously before I reached the capital, and who altogether had been of so little use to me, came to inform me that all was now ready for our departure, he having received the five slaves whom he was to take to Kúkawa, partly for his own benefit, and partly for the benefit of his master Mesréma, who, as I have stated before, held a situation something like a consul of Bagírmi in the capital of Bórnu. Indeed there were now unmistakable signs that I was at length to leave this place, for the following day I was treated with a large dish of rice and meat,

swimming in a rich abundance of butter, from the sultan, and another dish from my niggardly host the *zérma* or *kadamángo*; and on the 10th of August I really left the capital of Bagípmi, where I had certainly stayed much longer than I had desired, as I was not allowed to move freely about in the country, but where, nevertheless, I was enabled to collect a great deal of valuable information, of which that part relating to the history and general condition of the country I shall detail in the following chapter, in order to inspire the reader with a greater degree of interest in these little-known regions, while other matter will be given in the Appendix.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF BAGÍPMI—GENERAL CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS.

WITH regard to the history of the eastern part of Negroland, we are still worse off than with regard to the western countries, however scanty the documents relating to the latter regions may be, although I may hope that, by my labours, a great deal more light has been shed upon the history of these quarters than was even suspected to exist before. But while for the kingdom of Songhay, with its celebrated towns Gógó and Timbúktu, we have now obtained an almost continuous historical account, by the *tarikh* of Áhmed Bábá, and while for Bórnu tolerably rich materials have likewise come to our hands, by means of the chronicles of that empire, and of the relation of Imám Áhmed, for this eastern part of Negroland (which comprises the countries of Bagípmi, Wádáy, or Dár Suláy and Dár-Fúr) no such documents have as yet been found, and, besides the information to be gathered from the natives, only a few detached and obscure statements have been handed down to us by the Arab writers of the Middle Ages.

Those of the latter which relate in general to Kánem, and its capital Njímí or Njímíye, I have already referred to in the historical sketch which I have given of the empire of Bórnu, and the only circumstances which these writers mention, with regard to the more eastern regions, are the general names of tribes such as the Zogháwa and the Bájó,*

* The difficulty with regard to the name Bájó is considerable, for no such name as the Bájó is known, while the Dajo are a well-known tribe, who dominated Dar-Fur in the tenth century of the Islám, and even at the present day are called "*nás Faráón*." Nevertheless we cannot imagine that the name Bájó is a mere clerical error for Dájó, unless we would suppose those authors guilty of a very considerable mistake, as the Dajo seem to be of an entirely distinct origin from the Zogháwa, who belong to the great Tedá stock, while the former appear to have originated in the mountainous district of Fazogló, and the Bájó are expressly stated by those authors to have been the kinsmen of the Zogháwa. The Bájó may be identical with the tribe of the Edeyat. With regard to the Zagháy of Makrízí, and the Soka of Masudí, I have already offered an opinion on a former occasion.

mentioned by Ebn Sáid, and, on his authority, by Abú'l Fedá, as related tribes.*

The only author who distinctly speaks of these eastern regions is the Spanish Moor generally known under the name of Leo Africanus; for it is he who describes in this eastern quarter a large and powerful kingdom which he calls Gaoga. This name, especially on account of its similarity to the name of the Songhay capital, as the latter was generally written by the Arabs, has caused a great deal of confusion, and has given rise to numerous gratuitous conjectures. But if we compare Leo's statements, which are certainly very vague, and written down from memory after a lapse of several years, but especially what he says about the political relations of Gaoga with the empire of Bórnu, there cannot be the least doubt that his Gaoga is identical with what the Bórnu people call the empire of Bulála. And the reason why he called it Gaoga is obvious, for the Bulála, who originally formed a branch of the princely family of Kánem, guided by Jil (surnamed Shikomémi, from his mother Shikoma), founded their empire in the territory of the tribe of the Kúka,† who in former times were very powerful, occupying a great extent of country, from the eastern part of Bagirmi as far as the interior of Dár-Fúr, the place Shebína, on the shore of the Bat-há, being then the principal seat of their power, while their headquarters at present are in the province of Fittrí‡ Here, owing to their introducing Islám, and a certain degree of civilisation, together with the Arabic alphabet called "warash," the Bulála soon appear to have obtained the sovereign power, while they founded Yáwó§ as their new residence. While viewing the relations of the countries on the east side of the Tsád in this light, we get rid of every difficulty which may seem to be implied in the statements relating to Gaoga, for when Leo says that the language of that country was identical with the idiom of Bórnu, he evidently only speaks of the language then used by the dynasty and the ruling tribe of the country, with whom on his visit to that kingdom he came into contact, and who were of the same origin as the Bórnu people, while at present, having intermingled and intermarried with the indigenous population, the Bulála, who are still the ruling family in Fittrí, appear to have forgotten their own language, and have adopted that of the Kúka. At the time when Leo wrote his description of Africa, or rather at the period when he visited Negroland (for of the events which happened after he left the country he possessed only an imperfect knowledge), the Bulála were just

* Ébn Sáid, in Ábu'l Fedá, p. 158.

† The Bagirmi people, even at the present day, connect the Bulála in the most intimate way with the Kanuri; for while they give to the latter the name "Bíyo," they call the former "Bíyo-Bulála."

‡ I will here mention that Fittrí is a word belonging to the language of the Kúka, and means nothing but "river," "lake," being quite identical with "Tsád," "Sári" or "Sháry."

§ The name Yáwó is formed entirely in the same way as that of Máwo, the present capital of Kánem, and of Gáo, or Gavv, also called Gógó, the capital of the Songhay empire.

in the zenith of their power, being masters of all Kánem, and (according to the information of Makrízí and Abûl Fedá) having in the latter half of the fourteenth century even subjected to their dominion the large tribe of the Zogháwa, may well have entered into the most intimate political relations with the rulers of Egypt, as already, a century previous to the time of Leo, Makrízí found ample opportunity in Egypt to collect all the latest news with regard to the dynasty of Kánem.

On the other hand, we can easily imagine how Leo could call the prince of Gaoga a Mohammedan, while the learned men of the country positively affirm that the Islám in these regions dates no further back than the eleventh century of the Hejra, the beginning of which exactly coincides with that of the seventeenth century of our era, and consequently about a century after Leo's visit to Africa, for Leo speaks only of the rulers themselves, whose religious creed, probably, had no influence upon the people of the country in general. Leo's statement entirely harmonises with the information gleaned from Makrízí, for the princes of Kánem in the time of the latter historian were identical with the rulers of that very kingdom which Leo calls Gaoga, although in Makrízí's time they seem to have established the capital of their empire in Njímye, which they had conquered from the Bórnu dynasty.

Moreover this apparent discrepancy receives further explanation from the fact, that soon after Leo visited these regions the pagan nation of the Týnjur extended their empire from Dár-Fúr to the very borders of Bagírmí, opposing a strong barrier to the propagation of Islám. Respecting the name 'Omár, by which Leo designates the king of the Bulála in his time, I have already given an opinion on a former occasion. The Týnjur, of whose original language I have not been able to collect any specimens, and which seems to be almost extinct, are said to have come from Dóngola, where they had separated from the Batálesa, the well-known Egyptian tribe originally settled in Bénése. Advancing from Dóngola, the Týnjur are said to have vanquished first the Dájó, who, as has been stated before, were at that period masters of Dár-Fúr, and in course of time spread over the whole of Wádáy, and over part of Bagírmí, making Kádama, a place situated about three days' march to the S.W. of Wára, and halfway between Malám and Kashémeré, the capital of their extensive empire. They maintained their dominion, as far as regards Wádáy, according to native tradition, ninety-nine lunar years, while the eastern portion of this loosely connected group of different nationalities, which had been conquered at an earlier period, was wrested from their hands much sooner, by Kúro vanquishing the Týnjur, and founding the pagan kingdom of Dár-Fúr, some time before the general introduction of Islám into these countries. This Kúro himself was the third predecessor of Slímán, the first Moslim prince of Dár-Fúr. But as for the centre of the empire of the Týnjur, it was overthrown by the founder of the Mohammedan empire of Wádáy, viz. 'Abd el Kerím the son of Yáme,—according to tradition, in the year 1020 of the Hejra.

However, of the kings of Wádáy I shall not speak here, as their

history has not exactly reference to the country we are now describing. Here I will only introduce a few remarks concerning the kings of Bagirmi.

Bagirmi is said to have emerged from the gloom of paganism prevailing in the eastern regions of Súdán, a considerable time after Western Súdán had been formed into mighty kingdoms—some years subsequent to the introduction of Islám into Wadáy. But in the same manner as the ruling dynasty which gave rise to this new kingdom had come from abroad, so likewise the founders of Bagirmi seem to have immigrated into the country; and from whence they immigrated can scarcely be doubtful, though they themselves, like all the dominating tribes of Súdán, would much rather connect their origin with the inhabitants of Yemen. But, that the native inhabitants of Kénga, Kírswa and Hírla are intimately related to them, they are well aware, and acknowledge it without hesitation, but they would try to make people believe that, in coming from Yemen, their chief Dokkéngé left at those places brethren of his as governors. As for Hírla, they do not acknowledge its claims to entire equality of birth, but derive the name of that place, as well as the family of the kings of that district, from a slave of Dokkéngé of the name of Khérallah. But, on a close scrutiny, the people of Bagirmi themselves confess that their origin is not to be sought for at a greater distance than Kénga, or Kénga Matíya, and that this place, distant five days east from Más-éñá and three long days SSE from Yáwó, and distinguished by the strange form of its paganism, was the original seat of their kings, for not only do the Bagirmaye regard those of Kénga with solemn veneration, as being their ancestors, whom it would be wrong to attack or to endeavour to subdue, but there are also certain emblems which they exhibit on particular occasions, brought, as they say, from Kénga. These consist of a rather long spear, borne on certain occasions before the king of Bagirmi, a small sort of tympanum, and the horn or bugle. The language Kénga is intimately connected with that of Bagirmi, while it contains also some elements of a different character, and these two dialects, together with the language of the Kúka, constitute one idiom.

But, to proceed with our principal inquiry, the emigrants, led on by their chief Dokkéngé, penetrated, it would seem, towards the west by the road marked by the sites of Hírla, Kírswa, and Naíroma—a place situated near Más-éñá, on the Báchukám.

The state of the country where this pagan prince was to found the new kingdom, at the time when this happened (that is to say, about three hundred years ago), was as follows.—On the spot where the capital now stands, there is said to have been nothing but a straggling settlement of Fúlbe cattle-breeders; and the Bagirmaye themselves state that they named the place from a large árdéb or tamarind-tree (“más” in the Bagrimma language), under which a young Féllani girl of the name of Éñá was selling milk. These Fúlbe (or Félláta, as they are called in all the eastern parts of Súdán) are said to have been much oppressed by annual inroads of the Bulála; and it was Dokkéngé who undertook to protect them against these invaders. With the exception

of this Felláta settlement, a few Arab or Shúwa tribes,* who at that time had already begun to spread over the country, principally the Bení Hassan, and the solitary settlement of a Felláta sheikh, or holy man, in Bidderí, a place about nine miles east from Más-eñá (who, however isolated he was, nevertheless exercised a very remarkable influence over the introduction of Islamism into these countries), all the rest of its inhabitants, as well as the chief Dokkéngé himself, were pagans.

In the centre of the country there were four petty kingdoms, all situated on the small branch of the Shárf generally called Báchikám, viz, that of Mátiya, Mábberát, Máruñé, and finally that of Meré or Damré. Dokkéngé, installing himself near the spot which was originally called Más-eñá, and forming a small settlement, is said to have subdued these four petty kings by stratagem, and, having driven back the Bulála, to have formed in a short time a considerable dominion. He is reported to have reigned a long time, and to have been succeeded by his brother, of the name of Lubétko, to whom succeeded Delubírni, under whose dominion the kingdom of Bagírmi spread considerably. The eldest son of Delubírni was Maló, who ascended the throne, but was soon after engaged in a desperate struggle with a younger brother of his, named 'Abd-Allah, who, it is said, had been converted to Islamism, and thought himself in consequence better fitted to ascend the throne. After being defeated by Delubírni on one occasion, 'Abd-Allah is said to have vanquished his brother with the assistance of the pagan tribes, and to have slain him after a most sanguinary conflict in the midst of the town, which lasted for several days.

Having thus ascended the throne, and consolidated his dominion by the blood of all his kinsfolk, 'Abd-Allah, the first Moslim prince of Bagírmi, is said to have contributed largely to the prosperity of his country, into which he introduced Islamism, and he is stated also to have increased the capital to its present extent. The beginning of his reign falls about ten years after the foundation of the empire of Wádáy by 'Abd el Kerím, the son of Yame. As to the order of his successors (all the Moslum kings of Bagírmi numbering fourteen), it seems to be as follows —

To 'Abd-Allah succeeded, as it seems, Wónja, who was succeeded by his son Láwení, after whom followed Bugománda. Of these princes very little, if anything, appears to be known. But then followed a glorious reign, which marked another epoch in the history of Bagírmi — I mean the reign of the king Mohammed el Amín, who, on account of his having performed a pilgrimage to Mekka, is also called el Háj; for this prince not only administered the government of his country with more justice than his predecessors had done, and made it respected by his neighbours, but he also considerably extended his dominion and sway, as he not only subdued the formerly independent kingdom of Babáliyá, which at a former period had belonged to Kánem, and whose king (of the name of Kábdú) he put to death, but he is stated also to

* The fact of the spreading of the Arabs at so early a period is entirely confirmed by Imám Áhmed's account.

have extended his conquests in the opposite direction as far as Gógomí, a strong and inaccessible settlement, situated seven or eight days' march to the south-east of the capital, which the present sultan succeeded in subduing a second time during my residence in the country, and which was thought a very great achievement. It is even said that through the instrumentality of this king a great majority of his countrymen adopted Islamism.

To this praiseworthy prince succeeded his son 'Abd e' Rahmán, whose death can be fixed with approximative certainty, as it is connected with the history of the neighbouring countries, for it was he against whom the sheikh Mohammed el Káncmí solicited the assistance of 'Ab del Kerim Sabun, the Sultan of Waday, who died in the year 1815, for his having thrown off the supremacy of Bórnu, which seems to have been established during the reign of Láwení. The easy victory which the energetic and unscrupulous ruler of Wádáy, who eagerly grasped at the offer made to him, is said to have gained over the people of Bagírmi, is attributed to the consequences of a severe plague, which had swept away the greater part of the full-grown inhabitants of the country, and to the circumstance of the fácha, or general of the army, not being on good terms with his sovereign, whom he is stated to have deserted in the battle, while he himself fled with his whole detachment. Sabún, after having put to death 'Abd e' Rahmán, together with his favourite wife, or ghúmsu, and having carried away a considerable portion of the population, and all the riches of Bagírmi collected during the period of their power, invested the younger son of 'Abd e' Rahmán, of the name of Mállem Ngarmába Béri, with the title of king. However, as soon as Sabun had retraced his steps, 'Othmán, the eldest son of 'Abd e' Rahmán, with the surname or nickname of Búgomán, who, as long as the king of Wádáy was ravaging the country, had sought refuge behind the Shárfí, in the town of Búgomán (the same place the governor of which refused to receive me), returned home, overcame his younger brother, and, having put out his eyes, ascended the throne.

But the king of Wádáy, having received this unfavourable news, once more returned to Bagírmi, vanquished 'Othmán in a battle fought at Moító, drove him out of the country, and reinstated his brother upon the throne. But as soon as Sabún had turned his back, 'Othmán appeared once more, drowned his brother in the river, and again usurped the sovereign power. However, he was not destined to enjoy his prize for a long time in tranquillity, for, a quarrel having broken out between him and the fácha (the same person who had been on bad terms with his father), this man, of the name of Ruwéli, who by his personal character greatly enhanced the power and influence originally united with his authority, and who was supported by a strong party, deprived the sultan of his dominion, and, having driven him out of the country, invested with supreme authority a younger brother of his, called el Háj, who, in order to distinguish him from the former sultan of that name, we may call Háj II. 'Othmán, having fled from Búgomán, his usual place of refuge, to Gulfé, the Kótokó town on the west side of the Shárfí, where he was collecting a force, the fácha marched against

him and vanquished him. 'Othmán, however, having implored the assistance of the sheikh el Kánemí, and being assisted by the Shúwa of Bórnu, succeeded in collecting another army, with which he once more returned, but was again beaten in a battle fought at Sháwí. He, however, succeeded in crossing the river by a stratagem, and sought refuge with 'Amanúk, that mighty chief of the Dághana Shúwa well known from Major Denham's adventures, but being pursued by his adversary, he saw no other way of escape open to him than to throw himself into the arms of his former enemy, the king of Wádáy, and, in order to obtain his assistance, he found himself compelled to stipulate, and to confirm by an oath sworn on the Kurán, that he and his successors should pay a considerable tribute to the prince of Wádáy. This tribute, to be paid every third year, consists of a hundred ordinary male slaves, thirty handsome female slaves, one hundred horses, and a thousand shirts or kholgán, called by the Wádáy people "dérketú," besides ten female slaves, four horses, and forty shirts to Zérma or Jérma, who is the inspector of this province.

Having obtained protection in consequence of this treaty, which rendered Bagírmi as much a tributary province of Wádáy as it had been, in more ancient times, of Bórnu, 'Othmán returned to his country, and succeeded at length in crushing his powerful and hitherto successful rival, whom he defeated in two battles,—the one fought near Kókoché, on the Báchikám, the other near the village of Ásu, on the banks of the river Shárí. The fácha, having sought and found refuge in Logón birni, fought one more battle with 'Othmán near a place called Díndor, where a great many of the people of Wádáy who were with him are said to have fallen. But the inhabitants of Logón, fearing that Ruwélí would not be able to fight his quarrel out, and that they themselves might afterwards suffer for having given him protection, thought it more prudent to deliver him into the hands of his enemy, and succeeded in doing so by stratagem. This ambitious man is stated to have died in Wádáy, 'Othmán having delivered him to Sabún.

The restless prince of Bagírmi obtained a little tranquillity as long as Sabún lived, but Yúsuf, who succeeded the latter, dissatisfied with him, put forth another pretender, of the name of Jarífílmé, and 'Othmán had scarcely succeeded in overcoming this enemy, which he did without much trouble, when he had to fight in another quarter. For Mohammed el Kánemí, the sheikh of Bórnu (who had assisted him to reascend the throne with the sole object of regaining the ancient supremacy which Bórnu had exercised over Bagírmi), when he became aware that he had not attained his object, commenced open hostilities against him, which gave rise to a struggle carried on for a number of years with equal success on either side, but without any great result, except the ruin of the provinces near their respective frontiers. The sheikh of Bórnu, beset at the time by other difficulties, and seeing that he should be unable by himself to crush the power of Bagírmi, is then said to have called in the aid of Yúsuf Bashá, of Tripoli, who in the year 1818 sent Mústafá el Áhmar, at that time sultan of Fezzán, together with Mukní and the sheikh el Barúd, to his assistance, who, laying waste the whole

north-western part of Bagirmi, and destroying its most considerable places, Babálya and Gáwí, carried away a great number of slaves, among whom was Agid Músa, one of my principal informants in all that relates to Bagirmi.

This happened about the time of Captain Lyon's expedition. At a later period Mukni returned once more with 'Abd el Jelil, the celebrated chief of the Welád Slimán, who had accompanied the former expedition in a rather subordinate character; but, having quarrelled with this distinguished chieftain, who discountenanced Mukni's intention of overrunning the country of Bórnu, he himself returned home, sending in his stead Háj Ibrahim, who plundered and ransacked the town of Moító, and carried its inhabitants into slavery, while 'Abd el Jelil did the same with Kánem. Then followed, in the year 1824, the second battle of Ngála, of which Major Denham has given an account in his Narrative. However, notwithstanding his partial success, the sheikh of Bórnu was not able to reduce entirely the inhabitants of Bagirmi, who, although not so numerous, and much inferior to their neighbours in horsemanship, are certainly superior to them in courage.

There was still another quarter from whence Bagirmi was threatened during the restless reign of 'Othmán, namely that of the Fúlbe or Felláta, who, following their instinctive principle of perpetually extending their dominion and sway, made an inroad also into Bagirmi about thirty years ago, but they were driven back, and revenge was taken by a successful expedition being made by the Bagirmaye against Bógo, one of the principal Fúlbe settlements to the east of Wándalá or Mándará, which I have mentioned on my journey to Adamáwa and the expedition to Múgu. In the meantime, while the country suffered severely from this uninterrupted course of external and internal warfare, 'Othmán seems to have made an attempt to enter into communication with Kánem, probably in order to open a road to the coast by the assistance of the Welád Slimán, or, as they are called here, Minne-minne, who, by a sudden change of circumstances, had been obliged to seek refuge in those very border-districts of Negroland with which their chief 'Abd el Jelil had become acquainted in the course of his former slave-hunting expeditions.

Altogether 'Othmán Búgomán appears to have been a violent despot, who did not scruple to plunder either strangers or his own people; and he cared so little about any laws, human or divine, that it is credibly asserted that he married his own daughter.* But he appears to have been an energetic man, and at times even generous and liberal. He died in the last month of the year 1260, or about the end of the year 1844 of our era, and was succeeded by his eldest son, 'Abd el Káder, the present ruler of Bagirmi, who had been on bad terms with his father during his lifetime, and in consequence had spent several years in Gúrín, at that time the capital of Adamáwa.

This prince had a narrow escape from a great danger in the first

* According to others he married also his sister. It seems that some attribute similar crimes to his father.

month of his reign, when Mohammed Saleh, the ruler of Waday, advanced with his army towards the west, so that 'Abd el Kâder thought it best to leave his capital, carrying with him all his people and riches, and to withdraw towards Mánkhfá, where he is said to have prepared for battle, taking up his position behind the river, and placing all the boats on his wings. But the Sultan of Wádáy, seeing that he occupied a strong position, sent him word that he would do him no harm as long as he preserved the allegiance confirmed by the oath of his father, and he really does not seem to have done any damage to the people of Bagirmi, with the exception of depriving them of their dress, the common black shirt, of which the people of Wádáy are very jealous, as they themselves are not acquainted with the art of dyeing.

This danger having passed by, 'Abd el Kâder, who is described to me, by all those who have had opportunities of closer intercourse with him, as being a person of sound judgment, and who likes to do justice, though it may be true he is not very liberal, thought it best to keep on good terms also with his western neighbours the Kanúrí, and his friendly relations with the present ruler of that country were facilitated by the circumstance that his mother was an aunt of the sheikh 'Omár. The Bagirmi people at least assert that it is more on account of this relationship, than from fear, or a feeling of weakness, that their ruler has consented to a sort of tribute to be paid to Bórnu, which consists of a hundred slaves annually.

Having thus obtained peace with both his neighbours, 'Abd el Kâder has employed his reign in strengthening himself on that side which alone remained open to him, viz., the south side, towards the pagan countries; and he has successfully extended his dominion, remaining in the field personally for several months every year. He has thus subdued a great many pagan chiefs, on whom he levies a fixed tribute,—a thing said to have been unknown before his time. Of course this tribute consists almost entirely in slaves, which the pagan chiefs in general can only procure by waging war with their neighbours, and slaves are therefore almost the only riches of the sultan, but by this means he is able to procure what he is most in need of, namely, horses and muskets, besides articles of luxury.

It is only with a strong feeling of suppressed indignation that the people of Bagirmi bear the sort of dependence in which they are placed with regard to their neighbours on either side; and there is no doubt that, if they are allowed to recruit their strength (although the tribute which they have to pay to Wádáy bears heavily upon them), they will make use of the first opportunity that offers to throw off the yoke.

No doubt the central position of Bagirmi, as regards political independence, is not very favourable, but the country has the great advantage of being bordered on the west side by a mighty river, which, while it forms a natural barrier against the western neighbour, may serve at the same time as a safe retreat in case of an attack from the powerful kingdom on the east side. and it has proved so repeatedly, for Bagirmi in many places extends westward beyond that river. This is the only advantage which the country at present derives from the great bounty

which nature has bestowed upon it,* viz., a river navigable during every season of the year, surrounding half the extent of the country, and sending through the middle of it a branch, the Báchikám, which is navigable during the greater part of the year, and might easily be made so all the year round. This branch, which approaches to within nine or ten miles of the capital, forms part of the southern provinces into an island. The great disadvantage of Bagírmi is, that there is no direct caravan-road to the northern coast, and that it is therefore dependent, for its supply of European and Arab manufactures, upon the limited importation by the circuitous road through Wádáy or Bórnu; consequently the price of the merchandise is greatly enhanced, while the road, in case of hostilities with these latter kingdoms, is entirely interrupted.

If we now take a general view of the country, we find that in its present state it is inclosed within very narrow limits, extending in its greatest length, from north to south, to about two hundred and forty miles, while its breadth at the widest part scarcely exceeds 150 miles. Such a petty kingdom would be quite incapable of holding out against its two powerful neighbours if it were not for the resources drawn continually from the pagan countries towards the south.

This was the reason why the kingdom of the Bulála, or Leo's Gaoga, rose to such immense power as soon as it had taken possession of Kánem. The people of Bagírmi themselves in former times, evidently after the zenith of the Bórnu kingdom had passed away, and when the weak dominion of devout but indolent kings succeeded to the dashing career of energetic and enterprising princes, provided themselves with what they wanted in this respect in a rather unceremonious manner, by making constant predatory expeditions upon the caravan-road from Fezzán to Bórnu, and carrying away a great amount of property, even a large supply of silver,—this being said to have been the source from whence the treasure which 'Abd el Kerím Sabún, king of Wádáy, found in Más-eñá was derived. In another direction they formerly extended their excursions into the Bátta and Marghí country.

The whole country, as far as it constitutes Bagírmi Proper, forms a flat level, with a very slight inclination towards the north, the general elevation of the country being about nine hundred and fifty feet above the level of the sea; only in the northernmost part of the country, north from a line drawn through Moító, there are detached hills or mountains, which constitute the water-parting between the Fittrí and the Tsád, the two basins having no connection whatever with each other. But while Bagírmi Proper appears to be a rather flat country, the outlying provinces to the south-east seem to be rather mountainous, the mountains, particularly the group called Gére, being so high that the cold is felt very severely, and hail or snow falls occasionally during the cold months. From the information of the natives, particularly when we take into consideration the description given of Belél Kolé, it would seem that

* I must observe, however, that boats of the Kalcáma, or islanders of the southern part of the Tsád, sometimes carry corn as far as Búgomán.

in that direction there are some volcanic mountains. Towards the south also there must be considerable mountains which give rise to the three rivers, the Bénouwé, the Shán, and the river of Logón, and probably several more, but they must be at a great distance, and lie entirely beyond the range of my information. However, I am sure that there is no idea of perpetual snow, or even snow remaining for any length of time, in this part of the continent, and there seems to be no necessity whatever for supposing such a thing, as the fall of rain near the equator is fully sufficient to feed numbers of perennial sources, and to increase the volume of the rivers to such an extent as to annually overflow the country in so astonishing a manner. The time of the inundation of those three rivers seems to coincide exactly, while with regard to the currents, that of the river of Logón appears to be the most rapid.

The soil consists partly of lime ("añé") and partly of sand ("sifiaka"), and accordingly produces either Negro millet (*Pennisetum*, "chéngo") or sorghum ("wá"), which two species of grain, with their different varieties, form the chief article of food not only of the people of Bagirmi, but almost all over Negroland. But besides this, a great deal of sesamum ("kárru"), is cultivated, which branch of cultivation imparts quite a different aspect to this country, as well as to many of the pagan countries, as numerous tribes seem to subsist chiefly upon this article. In many other districts of Bagirmi, beans ("móngó") form one of the chief articles of food, but ground-nuts, or "búh," seem to be cultivated only to a very small extent.

Wheat is not cultivated at all, with the exception of a small patch in the interior of the capital, for the private use of the sultan. Rice is not cultivated, but collected, in great quantities after the rains, in the forest, where it grows in the swamps and temporary ponds, indeed a good dish of rice, with plenty of butter and meat, forms one of the few culinary luxuries which I have observed in Bagirmi. Another article of food in very general use, is afforded by several varieties of grass or *Poa*, identical, I think, with the *Poa Abyssinica*, here called "chéna" by the black, and "kréb" by the red natives (I mean the Shúwa). The variety most common in Bagirmi is called "jójó," and is not only eaten by the poor people, but even by the rich, indeed I myself am fully able to speak from experience concerning it, as, with the addition of a little rice, I subsisted on it almost entirely during my long stay in this country, and found it very palatable when prepared with plenty of butter, or even boiled in milk. Of course it is a light food, and, while it does not cause indigestion, it does not satisfy the appetite for a long time, or impart much superfluous strength. As regards vegetables, molukhiya ("goñémo," *Corchorus olitorius*) and derába or bámiya ("gobálto" and géddegír) are mostly in use, besides the "góngó," the leaves of the monkey-bread-tree ("kúka"), and occasionally that of the hájlíj ("jánga"), which form the common palaver-sauce of the poor. Water-melons ("géraka"?) also are grown to some extent, and that sort of *Cucurbita* called *melopepo* ("kúrchí"?), which I have mentioned on a former occasion. Inside the capital a great many onions

("bassal") are cultivated, but not so much for the use of the natives as of the strangers who visit the place.

Of articles of industry, cotton ("nyére") and indigo ("alini") are grown to a sufficient extent to supply the wants of the natives, but both articles are chiefly cultivated by the Bórnu people who have immigrated into this country.

The soil in general seems to be of a good quality, but, as I have said above, the country suffers greatly from drought, and ants and worms contribute in a large measure to frustrate the exertions of the husbandman. Of the trees most common in the country, and most useful to mankind, I have principally to mention the tamarind-tree, or "árdéb," called "más" by the people of Bagirmi,—a tree as useful for its fruit, as it is beautiful on account of its foliage. The tamarind-fruit, in my opinion, constitutes the best and surest remedy for a variety of diseases, on account of its refreshing and cooling character. Next in order is the deléb-palm, here called "káwe," which is very common in several parts of the country, although far more so in the outlying provinces towards the south, the dúm-palm ("kolóngo"), which, although not so frequent, is nevertheless found in considerable numbers in many parts of the country; the hájilí, or *Balanites Ægyptiaca* ("jánga"), of which not only the fruit is eaten, but the leaves also are used as vegetables, like those of the monkey-bread-tree—the latter does not seem to be very frequent; the kórna or *Cornus* ("kírna"), and the sycamore ("bíli"). Many trees very common in Háusa, such as the kadéña, or *Bassia Parkii*, and the dorówa (*Parkia*), are never seen here, at least not in those districts which I visited, but *Croton tiglium* ("habb el melúk") is frequent, and I myself took a supply of this powerful purgative with me on my return from this country.

There are no mines. Even the iron is brought from the exterior provinces, especially a place called Gúrgara, distant from twenty to twenty-five miles from the river, where the sandstone seems to contain a great deal of iron ore. Natron is brought from the Bahr el Ghazál.

With regard to the special features of the country, and the topography of the towns and villages, they will be described in a separate chapter; here I will only say that the entire population of the country seems scarcely to exceed a million and a half, and the whole military force, in the present reduced state of the kingdom, can hardly be more than 3,000 horse, and 10,000 foot, including the Shúwa population, who surpass the black natives in breeding horses, while the cavalry of Wádáy may be most correctly estimated at from 5,000 to 6,000, and that of Dar-Fúr at more than 10,000. The weapon most in use among them is the spear ("nyíga"),—the bow ("ká-kesé") and arrow ("kesé") being rare, not only with the inhabitants of Bagirmi Proper, but even with those of the pagan states to the south. Scarcely a single person has a shield; and they therefore use only the Kanún name for this arm, viz "ngáwa." Very few possess the more valuable coat of mail, or "súllug," and I scarcely observed a single firearm during my stay. But, on the other hand, almost all the pagan inhabitants of these regions are armed with that sort of weapon found in so many other

countries which we have touched on our journey, viz. the handbill, or, as the Kanúri call it, the "góllyó" (here called "njíga," the difference between the name of this weapon and that of the spear consisting in one single letter) Very few of the Bagírmi people are wealthy enough to purchase swords ("káskara"), which they are not able to manufacture themselves, and few even wear that sort of dagger ("kiyá") on the left arm, which, in imitation of the Tuarek, has been introduced into a great part of Negroland.

As for their physical features, I have already touched on this subject repeatedly. I will only say that they are a fine race of people, distinct from the Kanúri, but intimately related, as their language shows, to the tribe of the Kúka and several other tribes to the east. Their language they themselves call "tar Bágrimma." Their adoption of Islám is very recent, and the greater part of them may, even at the present day, with more justice be called pagans than Mohammedans. They possess very little learning, only a few natives, who have performed the pilgrimage, being well versed in Arabic, such as Bú-Bakr Sadik, but not a single individual possesses any learning of a wider range. This exists only among the Felláta, or foreigners from Wádáy. The only industrial arts in which they have made a little progress are those of dyeing and weaving, both of which they have also introduced into the kingdom of Wádáy, although in their own country a great deal of the weaving and dyeing is carried on by Kanúri people. Black tobes are worn by the men to a much greater extent than in Bórnu, even the bólné or túrkedí, which generally forms the only dress of the females, as well as the upper garment or "debdaléna," being dyed black. Tight shirts, or tarkíji, which in Wádáy constitute the common female dress, are very rarely worn.

The government of the country is an absolute monarchy, being not tempered, as it seems, by an aristocratical element, such as we have found in Bórnu, nor even by such an assembly as we have met with in the Háusa states. The duties of the chief offices of state are, it appears, by no means distinctly defined, and are therefore left to the discretion or abuse of each official, as we have seen that the fácha under the reign of 'Othmán had assumed such a degree of power that he was capable of waging successful war for a long time against the king himself.

The title of the king is "bánga." The office of the "fácha" corresponds exactly with that of the "keghámma" in Bórnu. Then follows the office of the "ngarmáne," or the minister of the royal household; then that of the "ghelétma"—a name which has originated in a corruption of the title "ghaladíma." Next comes the "gar-moyenmánga," the governor of the open pasture-grounds and forests, after him the "mílma," whose office is said to have been introduced from Bórnu, to whom succeed the "gar-ngóde," the "gar-ngínga," the "zérma," and the "kadamánga," the latter having originally the tutorship of the sons of the king. But besides these, the captains, or "bárma," and the governors of the principal places, possess considerable power; and among the latter, especially the elifa Moító, or governor of Moító, while

the officer of the water also, or elifa Lá, exercises a great deal of authority. Of these courtiers, the following have the privilege of using a carpet to sit upon —the fácha, the báma, the ghelétma, the milma, the gar-moyenmángo, the bang Busó, bang Dam, elifa Moitó, and elifa bá. We have seen that the sultan, during his absence from the capital, had made one of the meanest of his courtiers, the kadamángo, his lieutenant-governor.

The mother of the sultan, or the "kuñ-bánga," is greatly respected, but without possessing such paramount authority as we have seen to have been the case with the "mágira" in Bórnu, and as we shall find exercised by the móma in Wádáy. The claimant to the throne, who bears here the same title as in Bórnu, viz. chiróma, enjoys a certain degree of influence, the limits of which are not circumscribed, but depend upon his natural qualifications.

Although the sultan has here so different a title from that of the king of Bórnu, nevertheless the princesses bear the same title as those of Bórnu, viz. "méram," a name which has even extended into the country of Wádáy.

As for the tribute which the king levies, and which is called "hadén-bánga," the circumstances connected with my stay in the country did not allow me to arrive at a definite conclusion with regard to its amount; and I can only make a few general remarks upon it. The tribute levied upon the Mohammedan inhabitants of Bagírmi Proper consists principally in two different kinds, viz. in corn and cotton strips. The tribute in corn, which corresponds to the tsid.rám maibe in Bórnu and the kúrdi-n-kassa in Háusa, is here called móttén-bánga, or, as it is generally pronounced, móttén-báuk; while the tribute in cotton strips bears the name "fánda-n-bánga." But many places have to deliver also a tribute in butter, although the Shúwa, or, as they are here called, Shíwa (the native Arabs), are the principal purveyors of this article to the court.

The Shíwa of Bagírmi belong principally to the following tribes —Salamát, Bení Hassan, Welád Músa (a very warlike tribe), Welád Alí, the Degháhgera,—who live scattered over the whole country, but occupy some villages almost exclusively for themselves. The principal tribute which these Arabs have to pay consists of cattle, and is called "jéngal," it is very considerable. But whether these Arabs of Bagírmi, like those settled in Bórnu, have also to deliver to the king all the male horses, I am not quite sure; however, I think that is the case.

The most considerable tribute, however, which the sultan levies consists of slaves, which the tributary pagan provinces have to pay to him, —especially the chiefs of Miltú, Dam, Sómray, and all the others of whose territories and power we obtain some information from the itineraries I have collected. This tribute of slaves constitutes the strength and riches of the king of Bagírmi, who is always endeavouring to extend his sway over the neighbouring pagan tribes.

The natives of Bagírmi are compelled to show to their sovereign a considerable degree of servile reverence; and when they approach him they are obliged not only to be bareheaded, but also to draw their

shirts from the left shoulder, and to sprinkle dust on their heads. But they are not in general oppressed, and a far greater liberty of speech is allowed than in many European states

CHAPTER VII

HOME-JOURNEY TO KÚKAWA.—DEATH OF MR OVERWEG.

Tuesday, Aug 10—Although I had once cherished the idea of penetrating towards the upper course of the Nile, I was glad when I turned my face westward, as I had since convinced myself that such an enterprise was not possible under the present circumstances. I had been so many times deceived by the promise of my final departure, that when in the morning of that day a messenger from the zérma arrived with the news that I might get ready my luggage, I did not believe him, and would not stir till Zérma himself made his appearance and confirmed the news, assuring me that I should find the letter of the sultan, with regard to my security on a future visit, with Máina Sabún.

In consequence I ordered my servants to get my luggage ready, but before I started I received a visit from a large number of courtiers, with an agid at their head, in order to bid me farewell, and also to entreat me for the last time to sell to the sultan my fine "*keri-sessarándi*" (horse). But this I was obliged to refuse, stating that I wanted my horse for myself, and that I had not come to their country as a merchant, but as a messenger. It had always been a subject of great annoyance to them that I refused to sell my horse, as all the people who visit this country from the other side of Bórnu are in the habit of bringing horses with them expressly for sale. They revenged themselves, therefore, by giving me another nickname, as an ambitious and overbearing man,—"*dérbaki ngólo*." But I would not have parted with the companion of my toils and dangers for all the treasures in the world, although it had its faults, and was certainly not then in the best condition. I had some foreboding that it might still be a useful companion on many an excursion; and it was in reality still to carry me for more than two years, and was to excite the envy both of my friends and enemies in Timbúktu as it had done here.

Having received the letter of the sultan, with the contents of which I could not but express myself highly satisfied, I set fairly out on my journey, and my heart bounded with delight when, gaining the western gate, I entered the open country, and once more found myself at liberty.

The whole country was adorned with the most beautiful verdure, the richest pasture-grounds and fine corn-fields alternately succeeding each other, but as for the crop, the height which it had attained in the different fields varied greatly,—it being in one field as high as five feet, and the seed just coming out, while in another field, close by, the

young crop was only shooting out of the ground. This was in consequence of no rain having fallen in the beginning of the season for nearly a month, a circumstance which had deterred many people from confiding their seed to the ground. Further on, there was much cultivation of beans.

Having now no necessity for laying down the path, with which I was sufficiently acquainted, I could surrender myself entirely to the general impression of the landscape, the whole aspect of the country being greatly changed. Beyond the Felláta village which I have mentioned on my outward journey, we had to cross an extensive sheet of water, and the ground was often very difficult to pass with my camel; so that we were full of anxiety with regard to the swampy country of Logón. Indeed the people who met us on the road did not fail to warn us that this was not the right animal for this season of the year, and there is no doubt that pack-oxen, on account of their sure-footedness, have a great advantage in travelling during this part of the year, though they are difficult to get across the rivers.

We arrived at the well-known village of Bakadá just in time to escape a heavy tempest, which continued with slight interruption the whole of the afternoon; but not finding my former host at home, I took possession of his hut on my own responsibility, and I afterwards calmed the anger of my good old friend, whose hospitality was so often claimed by all the passers-by on this great high road, by presenting him with two fine white shirts. In fact I sympathised with him very heartily, seeing that the whole host of people who had attached themselves to my troop importuned him for shelter during our stay here the following day, although I might have expected that he would have extended his hospitality to myself for a day longer, as we were to part for ever, and as it was against my wish that I was delayed here. But such is the character of the Bagirmi people in their present reduced political and moral condition.

My companions were not yet quite ready. It rained the greater part of the following night, I had some trouble in making my people stir in the morning, and was really obliged to employ force in order to get our troop once more in motion. A European can form no idea how the energy of a traveller is paralysed in these regions by the laziness of the natives.

At length we were on our road, and after a moderate march took up our quarters in Kólle-kólle. The quantity of rain which had fallen gave the country a very rich and exuberant appearance. Everywhere on the fields the long black worm called "*halwési*," which causes so much damage to the crops, was seen in extraordinary numbers. It was scarcely possible to recognise the villages, the whole appearance of which, from every side, we had been well acquainted with during the dry season, the tall crops now concealing the cottages entirely from view. The following day we reached Kókoroché, having fortunately crossed a very difficult bog without any accident. The whole forest-region, which did not contain a drop of water on my out-journey, was now converted into a continuous line of swamps; and the whole

surface was thickly covered with verdure. It is during this season that the Shúwa Arabs form here their temporary encampments

In Kókoroché also we had another day's delay, till the messenger of the sultan arrived who was to protect me against any further intrigues of the ferrymen, whom I regarded with more suspicion than any policeman or constable in Europe. Meanwhile also the wife of Gréma 'Abdú, who all this time had been staying with her father-in-law in Mústafají, joined us, and all further delay seemed to be at an end. Certainly such a visit of a married woman to her father's house cannot but contribute to give to Europeans a higher opinion of African domestic life. Indeed people in Europe have little conception how cheerfully man and wife in these regions live together, and it was this amiable feature in his character which reconciled me in some degree to my companion, whom in other respects I greatly disliked.

Friday, Aug. 13.—There had been a great deal of rain in the afternoon of the preceding day; and a heavy shower which came on in the morning, and lasted fully two hours, delayed our departure considerably. The distance which separated us from the river was not great; but the latter part of the journey was so bad that my camel threw off its load no less than six times, so that my servants were almost in despair, and did not join me till several hours after my arrival in the town of Ásu, and when I had made myself already comfortable in an excellent hut, built of clay, neatly polished, but from which I felt sorry to have driven away two spinsters, who had been its tenants.

Having rested awhile, I went to obtain a sight of the river. Its magnitude had already surprised me, when I first saw it on coming from Logón, and it had delighted me as often as I looked down upon it from the village of Mélé, but it was now greatly increased in size, forming a broad sheet of water not less than one thousand yards across, and dotted with several little islands, while the high and gradually-shelving shore on this side was clothed with rich crops of Egyptian corn or masr (*Zea Mais*). Several small canoes, or rather boats, were lying on the shore; but I looked in vain for one large enough to carry my camel, as I was really afraid to trust it to the stream. However, I was glad to observe that the current was not very strong; and it did not seem to me to flow faster than from about two and a half to three English miles an hour. Unfortunately, to-day also the weather was very wet, so that strolling about was not so pleasant as it would otherwise have been.

Ásu was formerly a walled town; but the walls at present exhibit the same signs of decay which characterise the whole country. However, the inhabitants, to whom the ferry is a constant source of profit, seemed to be tolerably at their ease. It is this village (which formerly appears to have been of much greater importance) after which the river is sometimes called the river of Ásu; but it ought never to be called the river Ásu. Here also there is an officer or inspector of the ferry, with the title of kashélla,* the same as in the village of Mélé.

* Kashella is properly a Bórnu title; but it is in general use in these places along the western frontier.

Saturday, Aug. 14.—We had first to follow the bank of the stream for a little more than a mile lower down, in order to reach the flat sandy beach which I have mentioned above. At length, after a good deal of delay, the boats were brought, and the passage began. Our horses went first, three or four swimming alongside each boat, but it was a difficult affair for the men who were sitting in the boats to manage them, and notwithstanding all their exertions, and all the cries of those who were standing on the bank, several of them were washed away from the boats, and carried a considerable distance down the river by the current: one, a fine black horse, was drowned. It was the very latest period when the river is passable for horses, for during the whole of the month of September, the people assured me that the passage was never attempted. I myself succeeded in crossing the river, with my horse and luggage, without any accident, and having fired a shot, in order to express my satisfaction at having safely escaped from the hands of the superstitious Bagirmi people, I pursued my march without delay, for I was afraid of exposing my horse to the pernicious stings of the "tsetse fly, which, as I have observed before, proves extremely dangerous to the animal, but which fortunately infests only the very banks of this river, for I have observed it nowhere else. It is a large yellow species.

I had now entered again upon the territory of my friend Yúsuf the prince of Logón, and could, without any danger of molestation, freely move about. The weather was very wet, and I twice took refuge in small villages, which were situated in the midst of rich corn-fields, in order to escape a heavy shower. The whole district is called Mokoró, and comprises, besides several villages of *lógodé Logón*, or people of Logón, ten hamlets of Shúwa, in one of which we took up our quarters. These Shúwa, however, are not distinguished for hospitality, and it required a great deal of negotiation before I was allowed to make myself comfortable in one of these huts, which are very spacious indeed for these countries, being from fifty to sixty feet in diameter: they have besides a very remarkable peculiarity, being furnished with a large bedroom, if I may say so, which occupies the middle of the hut, and consists of a room raised about three feet from the ground, twenty feet long by six to eight feet wide, and the same in height, separated into several compartments, and encompassed all round with matings of latticework made of fine reeds, in which branch of industry, as I have before observed, the people of Logón are very clever. The matting is of dark colour, but upon my inquiring how they dyed it, I was not a little surprised to hear that it is done by dipping it into the black argillaceous soil. In this secluded room, which is called "ghurára," these people protect themselves against the innumerable swarms of mosquitoes which infest these low swampy regions during the night.

Of course, I could not have any pretensions to this distinguished place, which is reserved for the different members of the family, and I took my station upon a raised platform of clay at the side of the entrance, where I was a little annoyed by the mosquitoes, although, the door having been shut at an early hour, and some cattle inside the

hut attracting the attention of this cruel insect in a stronger degree, the numbers were supportable. In other respects I was well treated, the landlord being a wealthy man, of the name of Ádim, and his wife being even a princess or *mérám* of Logón, she was a talkative and cheerful person. They regaled me with a small pancake soon after my arrival, and a dish of rice and milk in the evening. It was extremely interesting to witness the singular kind of living of these people, and to hear them talk their peculiar style of Arabic, which has not yet lost that profusion of vowels which originally characterised this language, but its purity has been greatly impaired by other peculiarities. They have some remarkable customs which connect them with their brethren in the East.—especially the law of retaliation, or *e' dhiye*,* and the *anjubulatio* of the young girls. These Arabs belong to the large tribe of the Sálamát.

Sunday, Aug. 15—After a march of about eight miles, through a country partly cultivated with Negro millet, partly forming an extensive swampy plain, we reached the river of Logón. On account of the great rising of the river, we had been obliged to follow, this time, an entirely different path from the one we had pursued on our outward journey. The scenery was greatly changed, and the little hollow which we had formerly crossed close behind our landing-place had now become a navigable branch of the river, on which several boats of considerable size were seen plying to and fro. The whole river now presented a very extensive sheet of water, unbroken by any sandbanks or islands, which while it certainly was exceeded in breadth by the river Shárf, surpassed it in its turn in swiftness, the current being evidently more than three and a half miles an hour.

The town of Logón with its palm-trees, of three different varieties, towering over the clay walls, invited me to its hospitable quarters, and as I was extremely anxious to reach Kúkawa without any further delay, I immediately crossed over (after having made a small sketch), in order that I might be able to pursue my journey the following day, but upon paying a visit to the *keghámma*, I had great difficulty in persuading him to allow me to proceed, and at first he peremptorily refused to comply with my wish, saying that it would be dishonourable for his master to allow me to leave him empty-handed. But I chose rather to forego the opportunity of taking final leave of the prince Yúsuf, although I could not but feel sorry at not being able to wait till my hospitable host had prepared a few tobies for me, as specimens of the native manufacture.

It rained during the night and the following morning, and we had a difficult march through the deep swampy grounds of Logón, but we proceeded onwards till three o'clock in the afternoon, when we made a

* With regard to this custom, Burkhardt's information ("Travels in Nubia," 2nd ed., Appendix I, p. 434) is very correct, but in general his information respecting the countries on the east side of the Tsád is marred with mistakes, not only with regard to the geography, but even the ethnology of these quarters, as he always confounds native and Arab tribes.

halt about three-quarters of a mile beyond Ûluf, or Hùlluf, the town before mentioned, the magic arts of whose people frightened my companions also this time, and prevented them from seeking shelter there. However, even in the village where we stopped we were badly received at first, and it was only by force that my companions could procure quarters, till I succeeded gradually in opening friendly relations with the man who had become my host so much against his will. I even, with the aid of a few of the large beads called nejùm, succeeded in buying fowls, milk, and corn, so that we were pretty much at our ease. The neighbourhood is said to be greatly infested with thieves, and we therefore took all necessary precautions.

The following day I made Áfadé, passing by Kala, where I was surprised to find the swamp at present of much smaller dimensions than on my former journey, although the season was so far advanced. This is a very remarkable phenomenon, which receives its explanation from the circumstance that these swamps are fed by the inundations of the river, which, notwithstanding the rainy season, continue to recede till the river is again full, and once more inundates the country, in the month of September. The latter part of the road to Áfadé was very swampy, almost the whole of that bleak kabé tract being under water. Here my companions endeavoured by all sorts of intrigues to detain me for a day or two, but notwithstanding the hospitable treatment which I received from the governor of the place, I was too anxious to reach Kúkawa, and, ordering my servants to follow me as speedily as possible, I pursued my march the following morning without delay. But the roads were excessively bad, and we were obliged to take quite a different direction from the one by which we came, following a more northerly one in order to avoid the impassable swamps of the town of Rén, and the very difficult road of Ngála.

Having passed several larger or smaller villages, and innumerable swamps, we halted for the night, after a march of eleven hours, in a village inhabited by Shúwa and Felláta, and called Wángara, a name which is rather remarkable; but it required a long negotiation in order to obtain quarters, as these people, who rely upon the strongholds afforded them by the swampy neighbourhood of the lake, are of a very independent character. But having once made their acquaintance, we were hospitably treated. The billama of the village was a Tynjurawi, who had emigrated to this place from Múndo; but he did not understand the peculiar idiom of his tribe.

During my next day's march, I led rather an amphibious life, being almost as much in the water as on the dry ground, for, besides being drenched by a heavy rain, which lasted the greater part of the day, I had to pass three considerable rivulets without the aid of a boat, and had twice to strip myself and swim my horse across, tying clothes and saddle on my head. The first rivulet we had to cross was the Múlu, about seven hundred yards beyond the small town called Legári, which belongs to Kashélla Belál; the second was probably the Mbulú, and identical with the river called Gumbalaram by Major Denham, beyond the village of Dágala, which lies on a small eminence. At the Múlu

we had enjoyed the assistance of the inhabitants of Legári; but here I and my málem, with whom I had vigorously pushed on in advance, were left to our own resources, and the strong current of the rivulet, which was encompassed by steep banks about eight feet high, frightened my companion not a little, till I stripped first, and, relying upon my experience as a swimmer, led the way. While endeavouring to cross over, we were fortunate enough to meet with a fisherman, who was floating about the river on a simple yoke of large gourds, such as I have described on a former occasion, and with his assistance we succeeded in getting our horses and clothes across without any accident. While engaged in this arduous business, we were joined by Gréma 'Abdú, who, seeing that I was obstinate, and ashamed at not arriving in the capital together with us, had at length left his wife and slaves behind, and endeavoured to keep up with us. We then continued our march through this swampy country, the rain falling in torrents, and near the village Hókum reached the third rivulet, which however, notwithstanding its rapidity, we were able to cross without dismounting, the water just reaching up to our saddles.

At length we left behind us the black argillaceous soil which constitutes the whole of this alluvial plain, and which at the present season was converted into one continuous swamp, fine sandy soil succeeding to it near the village of Gujár, so that from thence we pursued our march more cheerfully, and having taken a small luncheon in the village Débuwa, we did not halt until we reached the village of Bogheówa, situated about a mile N.E. from Yédi. Here we were well lodged and hospitably treated, and were busy till late at night drying our wet clothes.

Friday, Aug. 20.—We had now only one long day's march to Kúkawa, and, reaching the town of Ngórnu after six hours' ride, I had great trouble in dragging on my horsemen, who being quite exhausted, wanted to make themselves comfortable with their friends, for the Bórnu men of the present day are not accustomed to much fatigue. Indeed both my companions were so utterly prostrated, in mind and body, that, strange to say, they lost their road close to the capital, although certainly the high corn-fields gave the country a totally different appearance. The great pond of Kane was now larger than I had ever seen it, and flooded the path to a great extent.

Having sent on a man in advance, in order to announce my arrival to the vizier and Mr. Overweg, I made a short halt near one of the many pools of stagnant water; and we were just about to remount when my friend came galloping up. We were both extremely glad to see each other again, having been separated from one another longer than on any former occasion; and they had received in Kúkawa very alarming news about my reception in Bagírmi. Mr. Overweg had made, meanwhile, a very interesting trip into the south-western mountainous districts of Bórnu, he had returned from thence about two months previously, and I was surprised to find that, notwithstanding the long repose which he had enjoyed, he looked more weak and exhausted than I had ever seen him. But he informed me that since his return he

had been very ailing, and that even at present he did not feel quite recovered. He gave me a very lively and encouraging description of the means which had been placed at my disposal, and with the most spirited projects for the future we entered the town. Here I once more found myself in my old quarters, with luxuries at my command which during the last six months had become almost strange to me,—such as coffee with sugar, and tea with milk and sugar.

It was very fortunate that I had not arrived half a day later, for the caravan as well as the courier had gone, and not less than four days had passed since the departure of the latter, so that the people declared that it was not possible to send my letters after him. But the vizier, upon whom I called early the next morning, and who received me with great kindness, gave me three horsemen, who, he said, would overtake the courier, and as I had fortunately answered my letters and despatches in Bagirmi, I had only to make up my parcel—but the horsemen did not overtake the courier till he had got forty miles beyond Ngégimi, in the very heart of the desert. My servants did not arrive until the evening of the following day, and they were in rather a sorry plight, having had great difficulty with my camel and luggage.

Monday, Aug. 23.—We had a very important private audience with the sheikh, when, after the usual compliments were passed, I endeavoured to give him a clear description of the present relations of the expedition, for, when he expressed his wish that I might be appointed by Her Majesty as a consul, I declared to him that that could not be, but that it was my business to explore unknown countries, to open intercourse with them, and afterwards to return to my native country, that it was the most ardent desire of Her Majesty's Government to enter into the most friendly relations with Bórnu, but that our scientific mission extended far beyond that country. And I further explained to him that Government, in their last despatches, had expressed their wish that if we should ascertain the impossibility of penetrating in a southerly or easterly direction, we might turn westward and endeavour to reach Timbúktu.

This statement seemed to gratify him extremely, as he was afraid of nothing more than that we might go to Wádáy, and enter into friendly relations with the sultan of that country. It is from this point of view that I am quite sure that the vizier at least had done nothing to ensure me a good reception in Bagirmi, if not the contrary. However, the sultan declared that, as he was greatly pleased at our desire to try our fortune in a westerly direction, he should not prevent us, even if we wanted to go to Wádáy, as it was stipulated expressly in the treaty that Her Britannic Majesty's subjects might go wherever they pleased,—although it was not until a few days later that he actually signed the treaty, after numerous delays and evasions. I, however, expressed my wish that, before we left the country, circumstances might allow us to complete the survey and exploration of the Tsád, which was both our own wish and that of the British Government. Our addresses and our presents having been received with equal affability, we took a hearty leave, and returned home. On the last day of August the sultan signed

the treaty, expressing moreover the hope that, if merchants should actually visit the country in quest of other merchandise than slaves, the slave-trade might be gradually abolished.

I was now enabled to arrange all our money matters, which were in a very confused and desperate state, for, besides the large debt due to the merchant Mohammed e' Sfaksi, we were indebted to the vizier alone for 500 Spanish dollars. Not being able to satisfy all our creditors with ready money, there having been sent only 1,050 dollars in cash, I arranged with the merchant, giving him 200 dollars in cash, and a bill for 1,500 dollars on Fezzán, while I paid all the smaller debts, as well as that of the vizier. Indeed we might now have been able to achieve a great deal, if it had been our destiny to remain together—for in the beginning almost all our efforts were paralysed by the smallness of our means, which did not allow us to undertake anything on a large scale; but it was our destiny, that, when sufficient supplies had arrived, one of us should succumb.

I have already observed that, when on my return I met my companion before the gates of the capital, I was surprised at his exhausted appearance, and I was sorry to find that my first impression was confirmed by what I observed afterwards. As he himself was anxious for a little change of air, and as it was entirely in accordance with our object of exploring the lake, to observe the state of the komádugu at this season, while it was not possible at present to enter upon any great undertaking, we agreed that he should make a small trip to the lower part of the river, and he left accordingly for Ajuri on the 29th of August, in company with a small grandee or kókana, to whom the place belonged, a short distance westward from the district of Dúchi. I accompanied him about as far as the village of Dáwerghú; and we separated with a firm hope that the excursion would do him a great deal of good—and he really enjoyed extremely the rich vegetation of the komádugu, which at this time of the year, during the rising of the river, was in its full vigour. He learnt, by inquiry from the natives, the very interesting fact that the water in the komádugu, which during the dry season is limited to detached pools of stagnant water, begins to form a continuous stream of water eastward towards the Tsád on the 21st or 22nd July, and continues running for about seven months, that is to say, till about the middle of February. It begins to overflow its banks in the month of November. But, although my companion took great interest in the objects around him, he could not have felt very strong, as the notes which he wrote during this excursion are extremely short and unsatisfactory, while it would have been of importance if he had been able to lay down the course of the river with tolerable exactitude. Moreover, in his feeble condition, he committed the mistake of forcing his last day's march in returning to Kúkawa, on the 13th September, and I was sorry to observe, when we supped together that evening, that his appetite greatly failed him.

Being fully aware of the unhealthiness of the climate during the month of September, we agreed by common consent to keep moving about as much as possible, and to take a ride every day to some

distance. It was on this account that we arranged a visit to Dáwerghú on Sunday the 20th; but, unfortunately, some business which we had to transact prevented our setting out at an early hour in the morning, and, my friend's head being that day rather affected, I proposed to him putting off our excursion till another day; but he thought that the fresh air might do him good. We therefore started in the heat of the day, although the sun was not very bright, while my companion did not neglect to protect his head as well as possible from the rays of the sun.

Having refreshed ourselves in the cool shade of a fine hájilij, Mr. Overweg thought himself strong enough to go about shooting, and was so imprudent as to enter deep water in pursuit of some waterfowl, and to remain in his wet clothes all the day without saying a word; and I only became aware of this fact late in the evening, after we had returned to the town, when he dried his wet clothes at the fire.

Although he had been moving about the whole day, he was not able to enjoy our simple supper; but he did not complain. However, the next morning he felt so weak that he was unable to rise from his couch; and instead of taking a sudorific, which I most earnestly advised him to do, he was so obstinate as not to take any medicine at all, so that his illness increased with an alarming rapidity, and rather an alarming symptom appeared on the following day, when his speech became quite inarticulate and almost unintelligible. He then became aware himself of the dangerous state he was in. He informed me that in the town he should never recover, that it was absolutely necessary for him to get a change of air, and that he entertained the hope that, if I could take him to Máduvári, he might speedily regain his health in the house of our friend the kashélla Fúgo 'Alí.

It was a difficult task to take my sick companion to the desired place, which is distant from Kúkawa more than eight miles; and although he began his journey on Thursday morning, he could not reach the desired place until the morning of Friday. Having made a present to our friend Fúgo 'Alí, that he might be induced to take sufficient care of him, and having left the necessary orders, I returned to the town in order to finish my despatches; but the same evening one of the servants whom I had left with Mr. Overweg came and informed me that he was much worse, and that they were unable to understand a single word he said. I mounted immediately, and found my friend in a most distressing condition, lying outside in the courtyard, as he had obstinately refused to sleep in the hut. He was bedewed with a cold perspiration, and had thrown off all his coverings. He did not recognise me, and would not allow me or any one else to cover him. Being seized with a terrible fit of delirium, and muttering unintelligible words, in which all the events of his life seemed to be confused, he jumped up repeatedly in a raging fit of madness, and rushed against the trees and into the fire, while four men were scarcely able to hold him.

At length, towards morning, he became more quiet, and remained tranquilly on his couch; and, not becoming aware that his strength was broken, and hoping that he might have passed the crisis, I thought I might return to town. After asking him if he had any particular desire,

he said that he had something to tell me, but it was impossible for me to understand him, and I can only fancy, from what happened, that, being aware that death was at hand, he wanted to recommend his family to me.

At an early hour on Sunday morning, Mr. Overweg's chief servant came to me with the sad news that the state of my friend was very alarming, and that since I had left him he had not spoken a word, but was lying motionless. I mounted immediately on horseback, but before I reached the place, I was met by a brother of Fúgo 'Alí, who, with tears in his eyes, told me that our friend was gone. With the dawn of day, while a few drops of rain were falling, after a short struggle, his soul had departed.

In the afternoon I laid him in his grave, which was dug in the shade of a fine hájilíj, and well protected from the beasts of prey. Thus died my sole friend and companion, in the thirtieth year of his age, and in the prime of his youth. It was not reserved for him to finish his travels, and to return home in safety, but he met a most honourable death, as a martyr to science, and it is a remarkable fact that he found himself a grave on the very borders of that lake by the navigation of which he has rendered his name celebrated for ever. It was certainly a presentiment of his approaching death which actuated him in his ardent desire to be removed to this place, where he died hard by the boat in which he had made his voyage. Many of the inhabitants of the place, who had known him well during his repeated visits to the village, bitterly lamented his death; and no doubt the "tabib," as he was called, will be long remembered by them.

Dejected, and full of sad reflections on my lonely situation, I returned into the town in the evening, but our dwelling, which during my stay in Bagirmi my companion had greatly improved, and embellished by white-washing it with a kind of gypsum, of which he found a layer in our courtyard, now appeared to me desolate and melancholy in the extreme. While, therefore, originally it had been my plan to make another trial along the eastern shores of the Tsád, any longer stay in this place had now become so intolerable to me, that I determined to set out as soon as possible on my journey towards the Niger—to new countries and new people.

CHAPTER VIII.

DEPARTURE FOR TIMBÚKTU.—THE HILLY NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES OF BÓRNU.

THE death of Mr Overweg, happening at a period when the prospects of the mission just began to brighten, induced me to relinquish my original plan of once more trying my fortune in Kánem and on the N.E. shores of the Tsád, as an undertaking too dangerous for me in my

isolated position, and the results of which could not reasonably be expected to be great, even with the protection of a small force, in a disturbed country, in comparison with the dangers that accompanied it. Besides, such was the character of the horde of the Welád Shiman and their mode of warfare, that after having received the sanction of the British Government for my proceedings, and being authorised by them to carry out the objects of the mission as at first projected, I could scarcely venture to associate myself again with such a lawless set of people. I therefore determined to direct my whole attention towards the west, in order to explore the countries situated on the middle course of the great western river the Isa, or the so-called Niger, and at the same time to establish friendly relations with the powerful ruler of the empire of Sôkôtô, and to obtain full permission for myself or other Europeans to visit the south-eastern provinces of his empire, especially Adamáwa, which I had been prevented from fully exploring by the real or pretended fear of the governor of that province, to grant such a permission without the sanction of his liege lord.

The treaty which I had at length succeeded in getting signed by the sheikh of Bórnu and his vizier on the last of August, together with a map of all the parts of Central Africa which I had as yet visited, and containing at the same time all the information which I had been able to collect concerning the neighbouring provinces, I had forwarded home in the middle of October, addressing at the same time the request to H M's consul at Tripoli, to send me, by a special courier to Zinder, a certain sum of money. The road which I had before me was long, leading through the territories of a great many different chiefs, and partly even of powerful princes, and as soon as I should have left Zinder behind me, I could not expect to find fresh supplies, the sum of money which I had received on my return from Bagirmi being almost all spent in paying the debts which we had incurred when left without means. A sum of 400 dollars, besides a box containing choice English ironware, had been some time before consigned to a Telú of the name of Ahmed Háj 'Alí Billama but instead of proceeding at once with the caravan with which he had left Fezzán, as he ought to have done, he stayed behind in his native town Bilma to celebrate a marriage. The caravan, with about twenty horses and a hundred camels, arrived, on the 10th of November, without bringing me anything, except the proof of such reckless conduct, and as I could not afford to lose any more time in waiting for this parcel, I left orders that it should be forwarded to Zinder as soon as it should arrive. But I never received it.

Nearly three-fourths of the money in cash which we had received being required to pay off our debts, we had been obliged to give away a great portion even of the articles of merchandise, or presents, in order to reward friends who for so long a period had displayed their hospitality towards us, and rendered us services almost without the slightest recompense, so that, on the whole, it was only under the most pressing circumstances I could think of undertaking a journey to the west with the means then at my disposal. But, very luckily, a handsome sum of money was on the road to Zinder; I also expected to receive at

that place a few new instruments, as the greater part of my thermometers were broken, and I had no instrument left for making hypsometrical observations.

An inroad on a large scale, of a tribe of the Tuarek, or Kindín, as they are called in Bórnu, under their chief, Músa, into the province of Múniyó, through which lay my road to Zínder, delayed my departure for a considerable time. This inroad of the hordes of the desert claimed a greater interest than usual, especially when considered in connection with the facts which I have set forth on a former occasion, the Tuarek or Berbers having originally formed an integral part of the settled population of Bórnu. These Diggera of Músa, who appear to have occupied these tracts at a former period, had evidently formed the firm intention of settling again in the fine valleys of the province of Múniyó, which are so favourable to the breeding of camels, that even when the country was in the hands of the Bórnu people they used to send their herds there.

At length, after a long series of delays, the road to the west became open, and I took leave of the sheikh on the 19th of November, in a private audience, none but the vizier being present. I then found reason to flatter myself that, from the manner in which I had explained to them the motives which had induced me to undertake a journey to the chiefs of the Fúlbe or Felláta, there were no grounds of suspicion remaining between us, although they made it a point that I should avoid going by Kanó; and even when I rejected their entreaty to remain with them after my successful return from Timbúktu, they found nothing to object, as I assured them that I might be more useful to them as a faithful friend in my own country, than by remaining with them in Bórnu. At that time I thought that Her Majesty's Government would be induced to send a consul to Bórnu, and, in consequence, I raised their expectations on that point. But matters in Bórnu greatly changed during my absence in the west, and, in consequence of the temporary interregnum of the usurper Abd e' Rahmán and the overthrow and murder of the vizier, the state of affairs there assumed a less settled aspect. I concluded my leave-taking by requesting my kind hosts, once more, to send a copy of the history of Edris Alawóma, the most celebrated Bórnu king, to the British Government, as I was sure that, in their desire to elucidate the history and geography of these regions, this would be an acceptable present.

The vizier, in particular, took great interest in my enterprise, admiring the confidence which I expressed, that the sheikh el Bakáy, in Timbúktu, of whom I had formed an opinion merely from hearsay, would receive me kindly and give me his full protection; and I did not fail to represent to them that, if the English should succeed in opening these great highroads of the interior for peaceful intercourse, it would be highly advantageous even for themselves, as they would thus be enabled to obtain those articles which they were in want of from the regions of Western Africa, such as kola-nuts and gold, with much less expense and greater security, and they were thus induced to endeavour to derive a profit even from this my enterprise. The sheikh, who had

formed the intention of undertaking a journey to Mekka, wanted me to procure for him some gold in Timbúktu; but, uncertain as were my prospects, and difficult as would be my situation, I could not guarantee such a result, which my character as a messenger of the British Government would scarcely allow. The sheikh sent me two very fine camels as a present, which stood the fatigue of the journey marvellously, one of them only succumbing on my return journey, three days from Kúkawa, when, seeing that it was unable to proceed, I gave it as a present to a native mállem. Having finished my letters, I fixed my departure for the 25th of November, without waiting any longer for the caravan of the Arabs, which was soon to leave for Zínder, and which, though it held out the prospect of a little more security, would have exposed me to a great deal of inconvenience and delay.

Thursday, Nov. 25—It was half-past ten in the morning when I left the town of Kúkawa, which for upwards of twenty months I had regarded as my head quarters, and as a place upon which, in any emergency, I might safely fall back upon; for although I even then expected that I should be obliged to return to this place once more, and even of my own free will made my plans accordingly, yet I was convinced that, in the course of my proceedings, I should not be able to derive any further aid from the friendship and protection of the sheikh of Bórnu, and I likewise fully understood that circumstances might oblige me to make my return by the western coast. For I never formed such a scheme voluntarily, as I regarded it of much greater importance for the Government in whose service I had the honour to be employed, to survey the course of the great river from Timbúktu downwards, than to attempt, if I should have succeeded in reaching that place, to come out on the other side of the continent, while I was fully aware that, even under the most favourable circumstances, in going, I should be unable to keep along the river, on account of its being entirely in the hands of the lawless tribes of Tuarek, whom I should not be able to pass before I had obtained the protection of a powerful chief in those quarters. Meanwhile, well aware from my own experience how far man generally remains in arrear of his projects, in my letter to Government I represented my principal object as only to reach the Niger at the town of Sáy, while all beyond that was extremely uncertain.

My little troop consisted of the following individuals. First, Mohammed el Gatróni, the same faithful young lad who had accompanied me as a servant all the way from Fezzán to Kúkawa, and whom, on my starting for Adamáwa, I had sent home, very reluctantly, with my despatches and with the late Mr. Richardson's effects, on condition that, after having stayed some time with his wife and children, he should return. He had lately come back with the same caravan which had brought me the fresh supplies. Faithful to my promise, I had mounted him on horseback, and made him my chief servant, with a salary of four Spanish dollars per month—and a present of fifty dollars besides, in the event of my enterprise being successfully terminated. My second servant, and the one upon whom, next to Mohammed, I relied

most, was 'Abd-Alláhi, or rather, as the name is pronounced in this country, 'Abd-Alléhi, a young Shúwa from Kótokó, whom I had taken into my service on my journey to Bagirmi, and who, never having been in a similar situation, and not having dealt before with Europeans, at first had caused me a great deal of trouble, especially as he was laid up



Ábbega.

Dyrregu.

with the small-pox for forty days during my stay in that country. He was a young man of very pleasing manners and straightforward character, and, as a good and pious Moslim, formed a useful link between myself and the Mohammedans; but he was sometimes extremely whimsical, and, after having written out his contract for my whole journey to the west and back, I had the greatest trouble in making him

adhere to his own stipulations. I had unbounded control over my men, because I agreed with them that they should not receive any part of their salary on the road, but the whole on my successful return to Haúsa. 'Abd-Alláhi was likewise mounted on horseback, but had only a salary of two dollars, and a present of twenty dollars. Then came Mohammed ben Áhmed, the fellow of whom I have already spoken on my journey to Kánem, and who, though a person of very indifferent abilities, and at the same time very self-conceited on account of his Islám, was yet valued by me for his honesty, while he, on his part, having been left by his countrymen and co-religionists in a very destitute situation, became attached to myself.

I had two more freemen in my service—one, a brother of Mohammed el Gatróni, who was only to accompany me as far as Zinder, the other an Arab from the borders of Egypt, and called Shmán el Ferjáni, a fine, strong man, who had once formed part of the band of the Welád Shmán in Kánem, and who might have been of great service to me, from his knowledge of the use of fire-arms and his bodily strength, but he was not to be trusted, and deserted me in a rather shameful manner a little beyond Kátsena. Besides these freemen, I had in my service two liberated slaves, Dýrregu, a Haúsa boy, and Ábbega, a Marghi lad, who had been set free by the late Mr Overweg,—the same young lads whom on my return to Europe I brought to this country, where they promised to lay in a store of knowledge, and who on the whole have been extremely useful to me, although Ábbega not unfrequently found some other object more interesting than my camels, which were intrusted to his care, and which in consequence he lost repeatedly.

In addition to these servants, I had attached to my person another man, as a sort of broker, and who was to serve as a mediator between me and the natives, this was the Méjebri 'Alí el Ágeren, a native of Jálo, the small commercial place near Aújula, which has recently been visited and described by the Abbé Hamilton. He had travelled for many years in Negroland, and had traversed in various directions the region inclosed between Sókotó, Kanó, Baúchi, Záriya, and Gónja. But for the present, on my outset from Bórnu, I had not made any fixed arrangements with this man, but in the event of his accompanying me beyond Sókotó, he was to have two horses and a monthly salary of nine dollars, besides being permitted to trade on his own account. Such an arrangement, although rather expensive to me considering the means at my disposal, was of very great importance if the man did his duty, he being able, in his almost independent situation, to render me extraordinary assistance in overcoming many difficulties, but, as an Arab, I only put full confidence in him as long as circumstances were propitious, while his wavering character as soon as dangers began to surround me did not put me in any way out of countenance.

These people, besides an Arab, a so-called sherif, from Fás, who was going as far as Zinder, and who had likewise attached himself to my small party, composed the band with which I cheerfully set out on my journey towards the west, on the 25th of November, being accompanied

out of the town by the Háj Edris whom I have had frequent occasion to mention. In order to get everything in readiness, and to be sure of having neglected no precaution to secure full success to my enterprise, I followed my old principle, and pitched my tent for the first day only a couple of miles distant from the gate, near the second hamlet of Kaliluwá, in the scanty shade of a baúre, when I felt unbounded delight in finding myself once more in the open country, after a residence of a couple of months in the town, where I had but little bodily exercise. Indulging in the most pleasing anticipations as to the success of the enterprise upon which I was then embarking, I stretched myself out at full length on my noble lion-skin, which formed my general couch during the day, and which was delightfully cool.

Friday, Nov. 26.—This was one of the coldest, or perhaps the very coldest night which I experienced in the whole of my journeys since entering the fertile plains of Negroland, the thermometer in the morning, a little before sunrise, showing only 9° Fahr above the freezing point. The interior of Africa, so far removed from the influence of the sea (which is warmer in winter than the *terra firma*), forms, with regard to the cold season, an insulated cool space in the tropical regions, in opposition to the warm climate of the West Indies and the coasts and islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. We were all greatly affected by the cold. But it did us a great deal of good, invigorating our frames after the enervating influence of the climate of Kúkawa. We did not set out, however, before the sun had begun to impart to the atmosphere a more genial character, when we proceeded on our journey westward. The country which I traversed, passing by the frequented well of Beshér, although already known to me from previous travels, now presented a very different aspect from what it had done on my first journey from Kanó to Kúkawa,—those bleak and dreary hollows of black argillaceous soil being now changed into the richest corn-fields, and waving with a luxuriant crop of masákuwá, while the fields of small millet (*Pennisetum*) stood in stubble.

We encamped near the well Súwa-búwa, or, as it was called by others, Kabubiya, on the gentle slope of the rising ground towards the north, from whence the busy scene round the well, of cattle, asses, goats, and sheep being watered in regular succession, presented an interesting and animated spectacle, more especially coming after and contrasted with the dull life of the capital. The well measured fifteen fathoms in depth, and the inhabitants were so on the alert for gain that they thought it right to sell us the precious element for watering our camels. My whole party were in the best spirits, cheerful and full of expectation of the novelties, both in human life and nature, that were to be disclosed in the unknown regions in the far west. In order to protect ourselves from the cold, which had so much affected us the preceding night, we set fire to the whole of a large decayed tree, which, with great exertion, we dragged from some distance close to our tent, and thus enjoyed a very moderate degree of temperature in our open encampment.

Saturday, Nov. 27.—I now entered Koyám, with its straggling

villages, its well-cultivated fields, and its extensive forests of middle-sized mimosas, which afford food to the numerous herds of camels constituting the wealth of this African tribe, who in former times, before the Bórnu dynasty was driven away from its ancient capital Njimiye by the rival family of the Bulala, led a nomadic life on the pasture-grounds of Kánem. Having thus traversed the district called Wódomá, we encamped about noon, at a short distance from a well in the midst of the forest, belonging to a district called Gágadá. The well was twenty-five fathoms deep, and was frequented during the night by numerous herds of cattle from different parts of the neighbourhood.

While making the round in the night in order to see whether my people were on the look-out, as a great part of the security of a traveller in these regions depends on the vigilance exercised by night, I succeeded in carrying away secretly the arms from all my people, even from the warlike Ferjáni Arab, which caused great amusement and hubbub when they awoke in the morning, and enabled me to teach them a useful lesson of being more careful for the future.

Sunday, Nov. 28—Having taken an early breakfast—an arrangement which in this cold weather, when the appetite even of the European traveller in these regions is greatly sharpened, we found very acceptable—we pursued our journey, passing through the district of Garánda, with deep sandy soil, and rich in corn, cattle, and camels. A great proportion of the population consisted of Shúwa, or native Arabs, who had immigrated from the east. As we proceeded on our march, the trees gradually assumed a richer character, plainly indicating that we were approaching a more favoured district. There was the ngilísi, or haméd, a tree very common over the whole eastern part of Negroland, with its small leaves bursting forth from its branches; the karáge, or gáwo, now appearing as a small tree of scanty growth, further on spreading out with a large and luxuriant crown not ceding to the árdéb or tamarind-tree; and the kórna, which, extending over the whole of these immense regions, is remarkable for bearing almost everywhere the same name. The underwood was formed by the kálgo and gónda bush, which latter, however, did not seem to bear here that delicious fruit which had so frequently served to refresh my failing energies during my marches through other districts; and cold as had been the night, the sun even now was very powerful during the mid-day hours, there being a difference of 40°

We encamped after a march of about thirteen miles, having by mistake exchanged our westerly direction for a south-westerly one, near the well called Kagza,* and were very hospitably and kindly treated by a patriotic old man, a citizen of the old capital or birni of Ghasréggomo, who, when that splendid town was taken by the Fúlbe or Felláta, in the year 1809, had fled to Wádáy, and had lived there several years among the Welád Ráshid, waiting for better times. This good man described to me, with a deep feeling of sorrow, the taking of that large and wealthy town, under the command of the Fúlbe chiefs Malá-Rída, Muhtár, and Hanníma, when the king, with his whole host of

* The depth of the well measured twenty-two fathoms.

courtiers and his numerous army, fled through the eastern gate while the enemy was entering the western one, and the populous place was delivered up to all the horrors accompanying the sacking of a town. What with the pleasant character of the country and the friendly disposition of our host I should have enjoyed my open encampment extremely, if I had not been suffering all this time very severely from sore legs, ever since my return from Bagirmi, when I had to cross so many rivers and was so frequently wet through.*

Monday, Nov. 29—Pursuing still a south-westerly direction, our march led us through a district called Rédaní, in regard to which, the state of the cultivation of the ground (the géro, the wealth of this country, lying in large heaps or "bagga" on the fields) and the uninterrupted succession of straggling hamlets left the impression of ease and comfort. But we had great difficulty in finding the right track among the number of small footpaths diverging in every direction; and in avoiding the northern route, which we knew would lead us to a part of the river where we should not be able to cross it, we had, by mistake, chosen a too southerly path, which, if pursued, would have led us to Gújeba. While traversing this fertile district, we were astonished at the repeated descents which we had to make, and which convinced us that these sandy swells constitute a perfect separation between the komádugu and the Tsád on this side. The district of Rédaní was followed by another, called Kangállá, and, after a short tract of forest, a third one, of the name of Meggi, consisting mostly of argillaceous soil, and not nearly so interesting as Rédaní. We encamped at length, near a group of three wells, where, once a week, a small market is held. In the adjacent hollow a pond is formed in the rainy season. The wells were twenty fathoms in depth.

Tuesday, Nov. 30—The district through which we passed to-day, in a north-westerly direction, seemed to be rich in pasture-grounds and cattle. It was at the time inhabited by a number of Tebú of the tribe of the Dáza, or rather Búlgudá, who in former times having been driven from Ágadem, Bélkashí Farní, and Saw by the Tuarek, had found refuge in this district, where they preserve their nomadic habits to some extent, and by no means contribute to the security of the country. Having been warned that along the road no water was to be had, we encamped a little outside the track, near the farming village of Gógoró, where the women were busy threshing or pounding their corn, which was lying in large heaps, while the men were idling about. They were cheerful Kanúri people, who reside here only during the time of the harvest, and when that is over return to their village Dímmarruwá. The ground hereabout was full of ants, and we had to take all possible care, in order to protect our luggage against the attacks of this voracious insect.

Wednesday, Dec. 1.—We now approached the komádugu of Bórnu,

* This is a complaint to which almost every European in these climes is exposed, and from which Clapperton suffered very severely. I found the best remedy to be mai-kadefia butter, which is very cooling; but in the eastern part of Bórnu it is rarely to be met with.

presenting, with its network of channels and thick forests, a difficult passage after the rainy season. Fine groups of trees began to appear; and droves of Guinea-fowl enlivened the landscape. In order to give the camels a good feed on the rich vegetation produced in this favourable locality, we made even a shorter march than usual, encamping near a dead branch of the river, which is called Kulúgu Gússum, S.E. from the celebrated lake of Múggobí, which in former times, during the glorious period of the Bórnu empire, constituted one of the chief celebrities and attractions of the country, but which at present, being overwhelmed by the surrounding swamps, serves only to interrupt the communication between the western and eastern provinces. Allured by the pleasing character of the place, I stretched myself out in the shade of a group of majestic tamarind-trees, while the man whom I had taken with me as a guide, from the village where we had passed the night, gave me some valuable information with regard to the divisions of the Koyám, the present inhabitants of this region east of the komádugu, which had been conquered from the native tribe of the Sô. He told me that the Kíye, or, as the name is generally pronounced in Bórnu, the Kay (the tribe which I have mentioned in my historical account of Bórnu), originally formed the principal stock of the Koyám, together with whom the Mágumí and the Fáféré constitute the principal divisions, the chief of the latter clan bearing the title of Fúgo. The Temághen, of whom I have also had occasion to speak, and the Ngalága, fractions of both of whom are settled here, he described as Kánembú. But, besides these tribes, a great proportion of Tebú have mixed with the ancient inhabitants of this district, probably since the time of the king Edris Alawóma, who forced the Tebú settled in the northern districts of Kánem to emigrate into Bórnu. In connection with the latter widespread nation, my informant described the Túra (whose chief is called Dírkemá, being a native of Dírkí), the Débirí, or Díbbirí (also spoken of by me on a former occasion), the Ungumá, and the Káguwá. The Jetko or Jotko, who live along the komádugu, west from the town of Yó, he described to me as identical with the Keléti, the very tribe which is repeatedly mentioned by the historian of Edris Alawóma. Thus we find in this district a very interesting group of fractions of former tribes who have here taken refuge from the destructive power of a larger empire.

I took a long walk in the afternoon along the sheet of water, which was indented in the most picturesque manner, and was bordered all around with the richest vegetation, the trees belonging principally to the species called karáge and baggarúwa. Further on dùm-palms became numerous, and it was the more interesting to me, as I had visited this district, only a few miles further north, during the dry season. Guinea-fowl were here so numerous that one could hardly move a step without disturbing a group of these lazy birds, which constitute one of the greatest delicacies of the traveller in these regions. A sportsman would find in these swampy forests not less interesting objects for his pursuits than the botanist; for elephants, several species of antelopes, even including the *oryx* or tétel, nay, as it would seem,

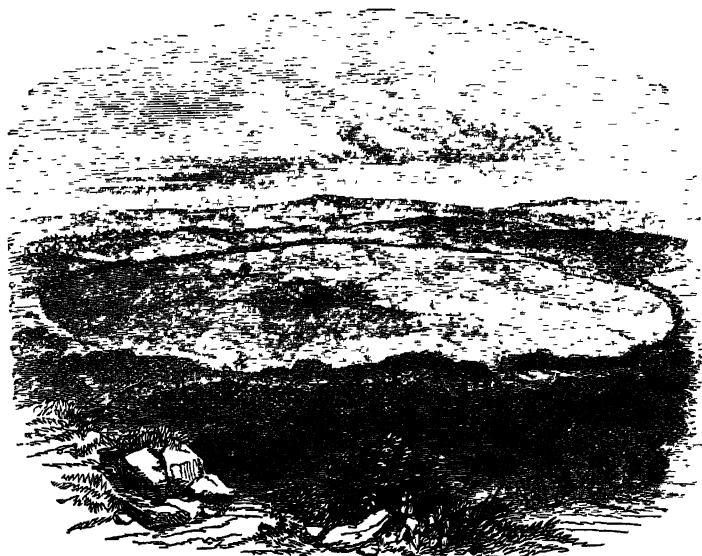
even the large *adān*, the wild hog, besides an unlimited supply of water-fowl, Guinea-fowl, and partridges, would prove worthy of his attention, while occasional encounters with monkeys would cause him some diversion and amusement.

At present the water was decreasing rapidly, but this part had been entirely dry at the beginning of September, when the late Mr Overweg had visited it, and the conclusion then drawn by him, that the river inundates its banks in November, was entirely confirmed by my own experience. There was a great deal of cultivation along this luxuriant border, and even a little cotton was grown; but a very large amount of the latter article might be obtained here with a greater degree of industry. Besides a village at a short distance to the S E, inhabited by Koyám, and which bears the same name as this branch of the river, there is a hamlet, consisting of about thirty cottages, inhabited by Fúlbe, or Felláta, of the tribe of the Hillega, the same tribe whom we have met in Adamáwa. They seemed to possess a considerable number of cattle, and appeared to lead a contented and retired life in this fertile but at present almost desolate region. But, unfortunately, they have been induced, by their close contact with the Kanúri, to give up the nice manner of preparing their milk which so distinguishes the Fúlbe in other provinces, and even the cheerful way in which the women offered us their ware could not induce me to purchase of them their unclean species of sour milk, which is prepared by means of the urine of cattle.

Beautiful and rich as was the scenery of this locality, it had the disadvantage of harbouring immense swarms of mosquitoes, and our night's rest, in consequence, was greatly disturbed.

Thursday, Dec. 2—Winding round the swamp (for the nature of a swamp or kulúgu was more apparent, at present, than that of a branch of the river), we reached, after a march of about three miles, the site of the ancient capital of the Bórnu empire, Ghasr-éggomo, which, as I have stated on a former occasion, was built by the king 'Alí Ghajidéni, towards the end of the fifteenth century, after the dynasty had been driven from its ancient seats in Kánem, and, after a desperate struggle between unsettled elements, began to concentrate itself under the powerful rule of this mighty king. The site was visited by the members of the former expedition, and it has been called by them by the half-Arabic name of Burni-Kadím, the "old capital,"—even the Bórnu people in general designating the place only by the name *burni*, or *burni*. The town had nearly a regular oval shape, but, notwithstanding the great exaggerations of former Arab informants, who have asserted that this town surpassed Cairo (or Masr el Káhira) in size, and was a day's march across, was little more than six English miles in circumference, being encompassed by a strong wall, with six or seven gates; which, in its present dilapidated state, forms a small ridge, and seems clearly to indicate that, when the town was conquered by the Fúlbe or Felláta, the attack was made from two different sides, viz, the south-west and north-west, where the lower part of the wall had been dug away. The interior of the town exhibits very little that is remarkable,

The principal buildings consist of baked bricks, and in the present capital not the smallest approach is made to this more solid mode of architecture. The dimensions of the palace appear to have been very large, although nothing but the ground plan of large empty areas can be made out at present, while the very small dimensions of the mosque, which had five aisles, seem to afford sufficient proof that none but the people intimately connected with the court used to attend the service, just as is the case at the present time; and it serves, moreover, clearly to establish the fact that even in former times, when the empire was most flourishing, there was no such thing as a *médresé*, or college,



attached to the mosque. The fact is, that although Bórnu at all times has had some learned men, study has always been a private affair, amongst a few individuals, encouraged by some distinguished men who had visited Egypt and Arabia. Taking into consideration the great extent of the empire during the period of its grandeur, and the fertility and wealth of some of its provinces, which caused gold dust at that time to be brought to market here in considerable quantity, it cannot be doubted that this capital contained a great deal of barbaric magnificence, and even a certain degree of civilisation, much more so than is at present to be found in this country; and it is certainly a speculation not devoid of interest to imagine, in this town of Negroland, a splendid court, with a considerable number of learned and intelligent men

gathering round their sovereign, and a priest writing down the history of the glorious achievements of his master, and thus securing them from oblivion. Pity that he was not aware that his work might fall into the hands of people from quite another part of the world, and of so different a stage of civilisation, language, and learning! else he would certainly not have failed to have given to posterity a more distinct clue to the chronology of the history of his native country.

It is remarkable that the area of the town, although thickly overgrown with rank grass, is quite bare of trees, while the wall is closely hemmed in by a dense forest; and when I entered the ruins, I found them to be the haunt of a couple of tall ostriches, the only present possessors of this once animated ground. But on the south-west corner, at some distance from the wall, there was a small hamlet.

The way in which the komádugu, assisted probably by artificial means, spreads over this whole region is very remarkable. The passage of the country at the present season of the year, covered as it is with the thickest forest, was extremely difficult, and we had to make a very large circuit in order to reach the village of Zéngurí, where the river could be most easily crossed. I myself went, on this occasion, as far south-west as Zarama, a village lying on a steep bank near a very strong bend or elbow of the river, which, a little above, seems to be formed by the two principal branches, the one coming from the country of Bedde, and the other more from the south. But, notwithstanding the great circuit we made, we had to ford several very extensive backwaters stretching out, in the deeper parts of the valley, amidst a thick belt of the rankest vegetation, before we reached the real channel, which wound along in a meandering course inclosed between sandy banks of about twenty-five feet in elevation, and, with its rich vegetation, presenting a very interesting spectacle. The forest in this part is full of tétel, or *Antilope oryx*, and of the large antelope called "kargum." The few inhabitants of this district, although they do not cultivate a great deal of corn, cannot suffer much from famine, so rich is the supply of the forest as well as of the water. Our evening's repast, after we had encamped near Zéngurí, was seasoned by some excellent fish from the river. However, I must observe here that the Kánuri in general are not such good hunters as the Háusa people, of whom a considerable proportion live by hunting, forming numerous parties or hunting clubs, who on certain days go out into the forest.

Friday, Dec. 3—Having made a good march the previous day, we were obliged, before attempting the passage of the river with our numerous beasts and heavy luggage, to allow them a day's repose, and I spent it most agreeably on the banks of the river, which was only a few yards from our encampment. Having seen this valley in the dry season, and read so many theories with regard to its connection with the Niger on the one side, and the Tsád on the other, it was of the highest interest to me to see it at the present time of the year, when it was full of water, and at its very highest point, and I could only wish that Captain William Allen had been able to survey this noble stream in its present state, in order to convince himself of the erroneous nature

of his theory of this river running from the Tsád into the so-called Chadda, or rather Bénawé. Though the current was not very strong, and probably did not exceed three miles an hour, it swept along as a considerable river of about one hundred and twenty yards breadth towards the Tsád, changing its course from a direction E 12° S to N. 35° E. While the bank on this side formed a steep sandy slope, the opposite one was flat, and richly adorned with reeds, of different species, and luxuriant trees. All was quiet and repose, there being no traffic whatever on the river, with the exception of a couple of homely travellers, a man and woman, who in the simple native style were crossing the river riding on a pair of yoked calabashes and immersed in the water up to their middle, while they had stowed away their little clothing inside those very vessels which supported them above the water, but notwithstanding their energetic labour, they were carried down by the force of the current to a considerable distance. Besides these two human beings, the river at present was only enlivened by one solitary spoonbill (or, as it is here called, *béja* or *kedébbu-búnibe*), who, like a king of the water, was proudly swimming up and down, looking around for prey.

The following day we crossed the river ourselves. I had had some difficulty in concluding the bargain, the inhabitants, who belong to the *Tebú-Zéngü*, making at first rather exorbitant demands,* till I satisfied them with a dollar; and we ourselves, camels, horses, and luggage, crossed without an accident, each camel being drawn by a man, mounted on a pair of calabashes, while another man mounted the animal close to its tail. The scenery, although destitute of grand features, was highly interesting. The river proved to be fifteen feet deep in the channel, and about one hundred and twenty yards broad, but there was a still smaller creek behind, about five feet deep.

At length we were again in motion, but our difficulties now commenced, the path being extremely winding, deeply hollowed out, and full of water, and leading through the thickest part of the forest—and I had to lament the loss of several bottles of the most valuable medicine, a couple of boxes being thrown from the back of the camel. The forest extended only to the border which is reached by the highest state of the inundation, when we emerged upon open country, and, leaving the town of *Nghurútuwa* (where Mr. Richardson died) at a short distance on our right, we encamped a few hundred yards to the south of the town of *Alaúne*, which I had also passed on my former journey.

Here we entered that part of the province of *Manga* which is governed by *Kashélla Belál*, and the difference in the character of this tract from the province of *Koyám*, which we had just left behind, was remarkable, the country being undulated in downs of red sand, famous for the cultivation of ground-nuts and beans, both of which constitute a large proportion of the food of the inhabitants, so that millet and beans are generally sown on the same field, the latter ripening later and

* These people wanted in general nothing but cloves. I however succeeded in buying a sheep from them for eight *gábaga*, at the rate of eight *drá* each.

constituting the richest pasture for cattle and camels. Of grain, Negro millet (*Pennisetum typhoides*) is the species almost exclusively cultivated in the country of Manga, sorghum not being adapted for this dry ground.

The same difference was to be observed in the architecture of the native dwellings,—the corn stacks which impart so decided a character of peace and repose to the villages of Háusa, but which are sought for in vain in the whole of Bórnu Proper, here again making their appearance. The Manga call them "sébe" or "gúsi." The cottages themselves, although they were not remarkable for their cleanliness, presented rather a cheerful aspect, the thatch being thickly interwoven with and enlivened by the creepers of various cucurbitaceæ, but especially the favourite kobéwa or *Melopepo*. The same difference which was exhibited in the nature of the country and the dwellings of the natives, appeared also in the character of the latter, the Kanúri horseman or the Koyam camel-breeder being here supplanted by the Manga footman, with his leather apron, his bow and arrow, and his battle-axe, while the more slender Manga girl, scarcely peeping forth from under her black veil, with which she bashfully hid her face, had succeeded to the Bórnu female, with her square figure, her broad features, and her open and ill-covered breast. I have observed elsewhere that, although the Manga evidently form a very considerable element in the formation of the Bórnu nation, their name as such does not occur in the early annals of the empire, and we therefore can only presume that they owe their origin to a mixture of tribes.

Having passed the important place of Kadagárruwá and some other villages, we encamped on the 5th near the extensive village of Mámmarí, where the governor of the province at that time resided.

Monday, Dec 6.—A small watercourse joining the komádugu Waúbe from the north, separates the province of Kashélla Belál from another part of Manga, placed under a special officer, who has his residence in Borzári. Close on the western side of this watercourse, which is only about thirty yards across, the Manga, at the time (in the year 1845) when, in consequence of the inroad of Wádáy, the whole empire of Bórnu seemed to be falling to ruin, fortified a large place in order to vindicate their national independence against the rulers of the kingdom, but having been beaten by 'Abd e' Rahmán, the sheikh's brother, the town was easily taken by another kókana or officer, of the name of Háj Sudáni. It is called Máikonómari-kurá, the Large Máikonómari, in order to distinguish it from a smaller place of the same name, and contains at present only a small number of dwellings, but was nevertheless distinguished from its more thriving neighbour by a larger supply of articles of comfort, such as a fine herd of cattle, well-filled granaries, and plenty of poultry, while the neighbouring province, which we had just left behind, appeared to be exhausted by recent exactions and contributions, the greater part of the population having even sought safety in a precipitate flight. The country, however, which we traversed on our march to Borzári was not remarkable in any way for the beauty of its scenery, although the former part of our march led

through a well-cultivated and populous district, and the heat reflected, during the middle of the day, from the bleak soil, clad only with a scanty vegetation, was oppressive in the extreme, although it was the month of December. Thus I passed the walled town of Grémari * without feeling myself induced, by the herd of cattle just assembled near the wall, to make a halt, the ground here becoming excessively barren and hot. On reaching the town of Borzári, I preferred encampment outside, although there was not the least shade; my heavy luggage and my numerous party rendering quarters inside the town rather inconvenient. The governor, to whom I sent a small present, treated me very hospitably, sending me a heifer, a large proportion of rice, several dishes of prepared food, and two large bowls of milk. This excellent man, whose name is Kashélla Manzo, besides the government of his province, had to regulate the whole intercourse along this road, being instructed at the time especially to prevent the exportation of horses from the Bórnu territory into the Háusa states.

The town, which is surrounded with a low crenellated wall and a ditch in good repair, is of considerable size and well built, and may contain from seven to eight thousand inhabitants; but there is no great industry to be seen, nor is there a good market. The wells measure ten fathoms in depth.

Our direct road from this point would have led straight to Zurrikulo; but an officer of the name of Ádama, who was to accompany me to Zinder, having joined me, I was induced to take a more southerly road, by way of Donári, which constituted his estate, and I was very glad afterwards that I did so, as this road made me acquainted with the peculiar character of the territory of Bedde, which I should not otherwise have touched at.

Tuesday, Dec. 7.—The first part of our march led through a more dreary tract of country, which was neither very picturesque nor exhibited any great signs of industry among the natives, but after a stretch of a little more than eleven miles, large, wide-spreading tamarind-trees announced a more fertile district, and a few hundred yards further on we reached the border of one of the great swampy creeks connected with the south-western branch of the komádugu, and intersecting the territory of Bedde, which we had now entered. We kept close along its border, which was adorned by fine, luxuriant trees, till we encamped at a short distance from Dáddeger, a place inhabited by Bedde, and at that time forming part of the estate of Malá Ibrám. The village is situated on a small mound close to the swamp or jungle; for the water

* I will here mention, as an instance how careful travellers, even those tolerably well acquainted with the languages of the country through which they travel, must be with regard to the names of places, that when first passing this town I asked a man its name, and, not having distinctly heard what he said, I asked another person who stood by; and he said "manna-wáji." Supposing at the time that this was the name of the place, I wrote it down, but soon convinced myself that it meant nothing but "he does not want to speak," or "refuses to answer," and I then learnt on further inquiry that the real name of the town was Grémari.

is so thickly covered with forest, that no portion of the aqueous element is to be seen. It forms rather what the Kanúni call a ngálám (that is to say, a swampy shallow creek or backwater, having little or no inclination) than a kulúgu; and there can be no doubt of its connection with the great komádugu of Bórnu. The natives call it at this spot Górágwa, and further on, Májé. They are pagans, and wear nothing but a leather apron or funó round their loins, with the exception of a few Kanúni, who are living amongst them, and who cultivate a small quantity of cotton, for which the banks of the swamp are very well suited, and would no doubt be extensively used for this purpose if the country were inhabited by civilised people.

The Bedde, according to their language, are closely related to the Manga, but, as far as I had an opportunity of judging, are much inferior to them in bodily development, being not at all distinguished for their stature, but it is very probable that the inhabitants of these places in the border district, who come into continual contact with their masters the Bórnu people, are more degenerate than those in the interior, who, protected by the several branches of the komádugu and the swamps and forests connected with them, keep up a spirit of national independence, possessing even a considerable number of a small breed of horses, which they ride without saddle or harness, and in the same barbaric manner as the Músgu.

Wednesday, Dec 8—The district which we traversed in the morning was distinguished by a great number of kúka or monkey-bread-trees, the first one we saw being destitute of leaves, though full of fruit; but gradually, as we approached a more considerable sheet of water, they became adorned with a profusion of rich foliage, and we here met several small parties laden with baskets, of an elongated shape, full of the young leaves of this tree, which, as "*kálu kúka*," constitute the most common vegetable of the natives. Besides the kúka, large karáge and kórna or jujube-trees (*Zizyphus*), and now and then a fine tamarind-tree, though not of such great size as I was wont to see, adorned the landscape.

We had just crossed a swamp, at present dry, surrounded on one side by fine fig-trees and gerredh of such luxuriant growth that I was scarcely able to recognise the tree, and on the other by talha-trees, when, about noon, we emerged into open cultivated ground, and were here greeted with the sight of a pretty sheet of open water, breaking forth from the forest on our left, and dividing into two branches, which receded in the distance. The Bedde call it Thaba-kenáma. The water is full of fish, which is dried by the inhabitants, and, either in its natural form or pounded and formed into balls, constitutes an important article of export. We met a good many people laden with it.

It was here that, while admiring this riverlike sheet of water, I recognised, among a troop of native travellers, my friend the sherif Mohammed Ben Ahmed, to whom I was indebted for a couple of hours very pleasantly and usefully spent during my stay in Yóla, and for the route from Mozambique to the lake Nyanja, or, as it is commonly called, Nyassi. I for a moment hoped that it might be my fate, in the company

of this man, to penetrate through the large belt of the unknown equatorial region of this continent towards the Indian Ocean. But as he was now on his way from Zinder to Kákawa, we had only a few moments allowed for conversation and the exchange of compliments, when we separated in opposite directions, never to meet again,—my fate carrying me westward, while he was soon to succumb to the effects of the climate of Negroland.

Three miles further on, turning a little more southward from our westerly direction, we reached the town of Gésbiya, once a strong place and surrounded by a clay wall, but at present in a state of great decay, although it is still tolerably peopled, the groups of conical huts being separated by fences of matting into several quarters. Here we encamped on the north side, near a fine tamarind-tree, where millet was grown to a great extent. The south and west sides were surrounded by an extensive swamp or swampy watercourse fed by the komádugu, and, with its dense forest, affording to the inhabitants a safe retreat in case of an attack from their enemies. All the towns of the Bedde are situated in similar positions, and hence the precarious allegiance of the people (who indulge in rapacious habits) to the ruler of Bórnu. The inhabitants of Gésbiya, indeed, have very thievish propensities, and as we had neglected to fire a few shots in the evening, a couple of daring men succeeded, during the light, in carrying away the woollen blanket in which my companion the Mújebrí merchant 'Alí el Ágeren was sleeping at the side of his horse. Although he was a man of hardihood and experience, he was dragged or carried along to a considerable distance, until he was forced to let go his blanket, and, threatening him with their spear in case he should cry out, they managed this affair so cleverly and with such dispatch, that they were off in the dark before we were up to pursue them. It was a pity that these daring rascals escaped with their spoil; but in order to prevent any further depredations of this kind, we fired several shots, and, with a large accordion, upon which I played the rest of the night, I frightened the people to such a degree, that they thought every moment we were about to ransack the town.

Thursday, Dec. 9—Keeping along the north-eastern border of the swamp, through a fine country where the tamarind and monkey-bread tree were often interlaced, as I have repeatedly observed to be the case with these species of trees, we reached, after a march of about three miles, the town of Gesma, which is girt and defended by the swamp on the south and east sides, the wall being distinguished by the irregularity of its pinnacles, if pinnacles they may be called, as represented in the accompanying woodcut. The inhabitants, clad in nothing but a leather apron, were busy carrying clay from the adjacent swamp, in order to repair the wall, which, however, on the west side, was in excellent condition.

Close to this town I observed the first rími, or silk-cotton tree, which in Bórnu Proper is entirely wanting; and as we proceeded through the fine open country, numerous species of trees which are peculiar to Háusa became visible, and seemed to greet me as old acquaintances.

I was heartily glad that I had left the monotonous plains of Bórnu once more behind me, and had reached the more favoured and diversified districts of this fine country. Small channels intersected the country in every direction, and immense fishing-baskets were lying in some of them, apparently in order to catch the fish which, during the period of the inundation, are carried down by the river. But the great humidity of this district made it swarm with ants, whose immense and thickly-scattered hills, together with the *dúm* bush, filled out the intermediate spaces between the larger specimens of the vegetable kingdom.

Having then crossed a tract of denser forest, we entered upon deep sandy soil, where the *kuka* became the sole tree, excluding almost



every other kind, with the exception of a few tamarinds, for whose company, as I have observed, the monkey-bread-tree seems to have a decided predilection. Thus we reached Donári, formerly a considerable place of the Manga, and surrounded with a low rampart of earth, but at present greatly reduced, the inhabited quarter occupying only a very small proportion of the area thus inclosed. But a good many cattle were to be seen, and, lying just in the shade of the majestic monkey-bread-trees which mark the place, afforded a cheerful sight. This was the residence of the Bórnu officer Ádama, who had accompanied me from Borzári, and who the previous day had gone on in advance to pass the night here. But having once made it a rule to encamp in the open country, I preferred the large though leafless trunk of a *kúka* at

a short distance from the eastern gate, to a cool shed inside the town; and the heat was by no means oppressive, a cool wind blowing the whole day.

Friday, Dec. 10—We exchanged the domain of the monkey-bread-tree for that of the dùm palm, by giving to our course a north-westerly direction towards Zurrikulo, the queen of the region of dùm palms and the residence of the hospitable Kashélla Sáíd, passing at some distance on our way a comfortable and populous little place, surrounded with a stockade, and bearing the attractive name of Kechídúniyá, "the sweetness of the world," where a little market was held, to which people were flocking from all sides, male and female, with sour milk, ground-nuts, grain, earthen pots, young cattle, and sheep.

In Zurrikulo I fell into my former route, which I had followed in the opposite direction in March 1851, and crossing the northern branch of the komádugu, which at present was two feet and a half deep, and following almost the same road, encamped the next day in Shechéri, the first village of the district of Búndi.

CHAPTER IX

THE MOUNTAINOUS TERRITORY OF MÚNIYÓ, AND ITS GOVERNOR.

Sunday, Dec. 12—In Shechéri I left my former route, which would have taken me to Búndi and Máshena, and followed a N.N.W. direction, towards the mountainous province of Múniyó, which before the time of our expedition was entirely unknown. Passing through the district of Chejéssemo, to which Shechéri belongs, we entered a forest where the kúsulu or magária, with its small berries, was very common, the ground being covered with tall jungle. We then reached the town of Ngárruwá, surrounded with a clay wall in decay, and here watered our animals. The wells were ten fathoms deep, and crowds of boys and girls were busy drawing water from two other richer wells situated on the north side of the place. The path was also frequented by numbers of people who were carrying the harvest into the town, in nets made from the leaves of the dùm palm, and borne on the backs of oxen. Further on, forest and cultivated ground alternated, and leaving a rocky mound called Míva, which marks the beginning of the north-western hilly portion of the Manga country on our right, we reached, after a good march of altogether about twenty-two miles, the rich well of Berbérúwá, a small miserable hamlet which lies at a short distance to the west.

The well, however, which was scarcely a fathom in depth, was surrounded by six fine wide-spreading tamarind-trees at regular distances from each other, and afforded quite a pleasant resting-place. The well is important as a station for travellers, while the hamlet is so poor that it does not possess a single cow or goat. It still belongs to the province of the ghaladíma, who about thirty years ago had a caravan of from six-

teen to twenty Arabs exterminated in this neighbourhood, when Mukní, the then ruler of Fezzán and one of the greatest slave-hunters of the time, penetrated as far as the Komádugu Wáúbe. Sheikh 'Omár also, when on his expedition against Zínder in order to subjugate the rebellious governor of that town (Ibráhm or Ibrám'), encamped on this spot. The temperature of the water of the well was 66° .

On inquiring to-day for the small territory of Auyók or Nkizám, the situation as well as the name of which had been erroneously given by former travellers, I learned that it is situated between Khadéja and Gummel, and that it comprises the following places: Táshina, Únik, S'agató, Shibiyay, Belángu, Badda, Rómeri, Sóngolom, Melebétiye, and Úmarí.

Monday, Dec. 13—A band of petty native traders or dangarúnfu, who carried their merchandise on their heads, here joined our party. Their merchandise consisted of cotton, which they had bought in Diggera, and were carrying to Sulléri, the market of Múnyó, where cotton is dear. While proceeding onwards, we met another party of native traders from Chelúgiwá, laden with earthenware. In the forest which we then entered, with undulating ground, the karáge was the predominant tree. Further on the road divided, and while I took the western one, which led me to Yámiyá, my people, mistaking a sign which some other persons had laid across the path as if made by myself, took the easterly one to Chelúgiwá, where Méle, the lord of this little estate, resided, so that it was some time before I was joined by my party.

The well (which, as is generally the case in this district, lies at the foot of a granite mount, where the moisture collects) in the afternoon presented an interesting scene, a herd of about one hundred and twenty head of fine cattle being watered here, and it was the more interesting, as the herdsmen were Felláta, or Fúlbe, of the tribe of the Hirlége. The well measured two fathoms in depth, and the temperature of the water was 80° at 1.20 p.m., while that of the air was 84° .

Tuesday, Dec. 14—After a march of about six miles through a fine country, occasionally diversified by a rocky eminence and adorned here and there by fine tamarind-trees, we reached Sulléri, a considerable place, consisting of several detached hamlets, where the most important market in the territory of Múnyó is held every Friday. The place contains about five thousand inhabitants, and was enlivened at the time by a considerable herd of cattle. Mullet is grown to a great extent, although dúm bush or ngille, with its obstructing roots, renders a great portion of the soil unfit for cultivation, and scarcely any cotton at all is raised, so that this forms an important article of importation. Towards the south lies another place, called Deggerári, and to the south-west a third one, called Dúgura. Granitic eminences dotted the whole country, but the foggy state of the atmosphere did not allow me to distinguish clearly the more distant hills.

Proceeding in a north-westerly direction through this hilly country, and leaving at a short distance on our right a higher eminence, at the western foot of which the village of New Búne is situated, we descended

considerably into a hollow of clayey soil of a most peculiar character. For all of a sudden an isolated date palm started up on our right, while on our left the unwonted aspect of a tall slender gónda, or *Erica Papaya*, attracted our attention, the intermediate ground being occupied by a rich plantation of cotton. Suddenly a large "sirge," or lake of natron of snowy whiteness, extending from the foot of the height which towers over Búne, approached on our right,—the rich vegetation which girded its border, along which the path led, forming a very remarkable contrast to the barrenness of the "sirge," for the whole surface of the basin, which at present did not contain a drop of water, was formed of natron, while people were busy digging saltpetre, from pits about six feet deep and one foot and a half in diameter, on its very border. A short distance off fresh water is to be found close under the surface, giving life to the vegetation, which bears a character so entirely new in this district, and I gazed with delight on the rich scenery around, which presented such a remarkable contrast to the monotonous plains of Bórnu. Wide-spreading tamarind-trees shaded large tracts of ground, while detached date palms, few and far between, raised their feathery foliage like a fan over the surrounding country. The ground was clothed, besides, with "retem" or broom, and dām bush, with the *Tamarix gallica* or "tarfa," which I scarcely remember to have seen in any other spot during the whole of my travels in Negroland.

Ascending from the clayey soil on a sandy bottom, we reached the western foot of the eminence of Old Búne, which is built in a recess of the rocky cliffs on the western slope of the mount. But the village, which has already suffered greatly by the foundation of New Búne at so short a distance, and which is important only as the residence of Yegúddi, the eldest son of Múnyóma, had been almost destroyed some time before by a great conflagration, with the exception of the clay dwelling of the governor, situated at the foot of the cliffs. It was just rebuilding,—only the déndal (or principal street) being as yet fit for habitation, while the rest of the place wore a very cheerless aspect.

Returning, therefore, a few hundred yards in the direction from whence I had come, I chose my camping-ground on an eminence at the side of the path, shaded by a majestic tamarind-tree, and affording an open prospect over the characteristic landscape in the bottom of the irregular vale. Here I spent the whole afternoon, enjoying this pleasant panorama, of which I made a sketch. I had now been suffering for the last two months from sore legs, which did not allow me to rove about at pleasure; otherwise I would gladly have accompanied my companion 'Alí el Ágeren on a visit to his friend Bashá Bú-Khalúm, a relative of that Bú-Khalúm who accompanied Denham and Clapperton. At this time he was residing in New Búne, where he had lately lost, by another conflagration, almost the whole of his property, including eight female slaves, who were burnt to death while fettered in a hut. As conflagrations are very common all over Negroland, especially in the dry season, a traveller must be extremely careful in confiding his property to these frail dwellings, and he would do well to avoid them entirely.

Wednesday, Dec 15—A cold northerly wind, which blew in the morning, made us feel very chilly in our open and elevated encampment, so that it was rather late when we set out, changing now our course entirely, from a north-westerly into a north-north-easterly direction. The whole neighbourhood was enveloped in a thick fog. The country, after we had passed the mountain Bóro, which gives its name to the village Bórmari, became rather mountainous. The path wound along through a succession of irregular glens and dells, surrounded by several more or less detached rocky eminences, all of which were clothed with bush. The bottom of the valleys, which consisted mostly of sand, seemed well adapted for the cultivation of sorghum. We passed a large store of grain, where the people were busy pounding or threshing the harvested corn. In many places, however, the ground was intersected by numerous holes of the *fenek* or *Megalotis*; and at times clay took the place of the sandy soil. Numerous herds of camels enlivened the landscape, all of which belonged, not to the present owners of the country, but to the Tuarek, the friends and companions of the people of Músa, who had lately made a foray on a grand scale into this very province. We encamped at length, after a march of about thirteen miles, near the second well of Súva-Kolólluwa, which was two fathoms in depth, and, unlike the first well, contained a good quantity of water.

The scenery had nothing very remarkable about it, but it exhibited a cheerful, homely character, surrounded as it was by hills, and enlivened by herds of camels, horses, and cattle, which towards evening gathered round the well to be watered, and the character of peace and repose which it exhibited induced me to make a sketch of it. Among the animals there were some excellent she-camels, which, as evening advanced, were crying and eagerly looking out for their young ones, that had been left in the surrounding villages. The inhabitants, who treated us hospitably, seemed to be tolerably well off, and the feasting in my little encampment continued almost the whole night long.

Thursday, Dec 16—With the greater eagerness we started early in the morning, in order to reach the capital of this little hilly country, which forms a very sharp wedge or triangle of considerable length, projecting from the heart of Negroland towards the border of the desert, and exhibiting fixed settlements and a tolerably well-arranged government, in contrast to the turbulent districts of nomadic encampments. Our direction meanwhile remained the same as on the preceding day, being mostly a north-easterly one. The situation of this province, as laid down from my route upon the map, seems very remarkable, but we must not forget that in ancient times, during the flourishing period of the empire of Bórnu, the whole country between this advanced spur and Kánem formed populous provinces subjected to the same government, and that it is only since the middle of the last century that, the Berbers or Tuarek having politically separated entirely from the Kanúri, the whole eastern part of these northern provinces has been laid waste and depopulated, while the energetic rulers of the province of Múniyó have not only succeeded in defending their little territory, but have even extended it in a certain degree, encroaching

little by little upon the neighbouring province of Díggera, a tribe of the Trarek, whom I have mentioned on a former occasion.

The country in general preserved the same character as on the previous day,—the narrow vales and glens inclosed by the granitic eminences being well cultivated, and studded with small hamlets, in some of which the huts approached the architecture usual in Kánem. Several troops of natives met us on the road, with pack-oxen, over the backs of which large baskets were thrown by means of a sort of network, they were returning from the capital, having delivered their quota of the áshúr or “kúngona máibe.” The system of tax-paying in these western provinces is very different from that usual in Bórnu Proper, as I shall soon have another opportunity of relating.

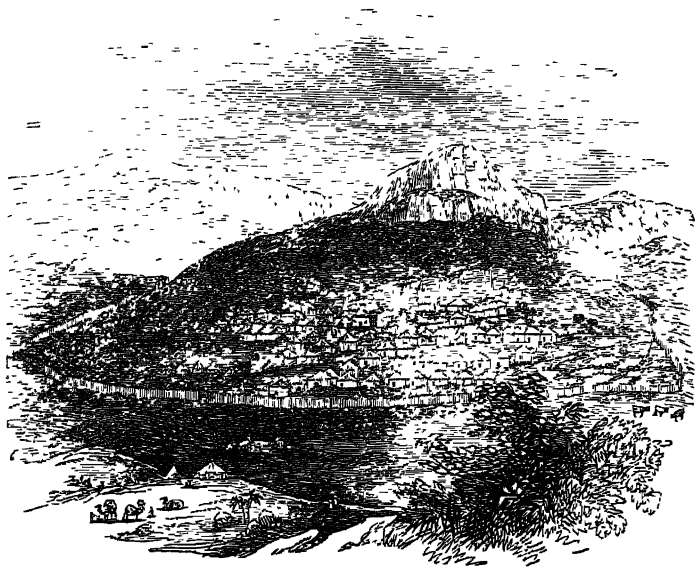
After a march of about six miles, an isolated date palm announced a different region, and a little further on we entered the valley of Turguré, running from west to east, and adorned with a fine plantation of cotton, besides a grove of about two hundred date palms. Having traversed this valley where the road leads to Billa Mállem Gárgébe, we entered a thicket of mimosas, while the eminences assumed a rounder shape. The country then became gradually more open, scarcely a single tree being met with, and we obtained a distant view of Gáire, situated at the southern foot and on the lower slope of a rocky eminence, when we began to descend considerably along the shelving ground of the expansive plain laid out in stubble-fields, with here and there a few trees, and intersected by several large and deep ravines.

Having first inspected the site of the town, I chose my camping-ground in a small recess of the sandy downs which border the south side of a concavity or dell surrounding the town on this side, and laid out in small kitchen-gardens and cotton plantations as shown in the accompanying woodcut; for, notwithstanding the entreaties of the governor, I did not like to take up my quarters inside the place.

In the evening I received a visit from Yusuf Mukni, the late Mr. Richardson's interpreter, who at present had turned merchant, and, having sold several articles to Múnyóma the governor of the country, had been waiting here three months for payment. He was very amiable on this occasion, and apparently was not indisposed to accompany me to Sókoto, if I had chosen to make him an offer, but I knew his character too well, and feared rather than liked him. He gave me a faithful account of the wealth and power of Múnyóma, who, he said, was able to bring into the field 1,500 horsemen, and from about 8,000 to 10,000 archers, while his revenues amounted to 30,000,000 of shells, equivalent, according to the standard of this place, to 10,000 Spanish dollars, besides a large tribute in corn, equal to the tenth part, or áshúr, which, in all the provinces of Bórnu north-west of the komádugu, in consequence of the governors of these territories having preserved their independence against the Fúlbe or Felláta, belongs to them, and not to the sovereign lord, who resides in Kúkawa. Each full-grown male inhabitant of the province has to pay annually 1,000 shells for himself, and, if he possess cattle, for every pack-ox 1,000 shells more, and for every slave 2,000.

I had heard a great deal about the debts of this governor; but I learned, on further inquiry, that they only pressed heavily upon him this year, when the revenues of his province were greatly reduced by the inroad of the Tawárek of which I have spoken before. As a specimen of his style of life, I may mention that he had recently bought a horse of Tarkiye breed for 700,000 shells,—a very high price in this country, equal to about 50*l* sterling.

Friday, Dec. 17.—Having got ready my presents for the governor I went to pay him a visit, and while waiting in the inner courtyard, I had sufficient leisure to admire the solid and well-ornamented style of



building which his palace exhibited, and which almost cast into the shade the frail architectural monuments of the capital. I was then conducted into a stately but rather sombre audience-hall, where the governor was sitting on a divan of clay, clad in a blue bernús, and surrounded by a great number of people whom curiosity had brought thither. Having exchanged with him the usual compliments, I told him that, as Mr. Richardson had paid him a visit on his first arrival in the country, and on his way from the north to Kúkawa, it had also been my desire, before leaving Bórnu for the western tribes, to pay my respects to him as the most noble, powerful, and intelligent governor of the country,—it being our earnest wish to be on friendly terms with all the princes of the earth,

more especially with those so remarkably distinguished as was his family. He received my address with great kindness, and appeared much flattered by it.

The number of people present on this occasion was so great, that I did not enter into closer conversation with the governor, the darkness of the place not allowing me to distinguish his features. I had, however, a better opportunity of observing his almost European cast of countenance when I paid him another visit, in order to satisfy his curiosity by firing my six-barrelled revolver before his eyes. On this occasion he did me the honour of putting on the white *heláhi bernús* which had constituted the chief attraction of my present, and which he esteemed very highly, as most noble people do in this country, while the common chief values more highly a dress of showy colours. The white half-silk *bernús* looked very well, especially as he wore underneath it a red cloth *kaftan*.

The real name of the governor is *Kóso*, *Múniyóma* being, as I have stated on a former occasion, nothing but a general title, meaning the governor of *Múniyó*, which, in the old division of the vast empire of *Bórnu*, formed part of the *Yeri*. In the present reduced state of the kingdom of *Bórnu*, he was the most powerful and respectable of the governors, and by his personal dignity had more the appearance of a prince than almost any other chief whom I saw in *Negroland*. Besides making himself respected by his intelligence and just conduct, he has succeeded in spreading a sort of mystery round his daily life, which enhanced his authority. The people assured me that nobody ever saw him eating. But, as far as I had an opportunity of observing, even his family harboured that jealousy and want of confidence which undermines the wellbeing of so many princely households based on polygamy.

Kóso at that time was a man of about sixty years of age, and, unfortunately, died shortly afterwards, in the year 1854. He had displayed a great deal of energy on several occasions. It was he who had transferred the seat of government of this province from *Búne* to *Gúre*, having conquered (or probably only reconquered) this territory from the *Diggera*, the *Tawárek* tribe formerly scattered over a great part of *Háusa*. But notwithstanding his own energetic character, he had manifested his faithfulness to his sovereign lord in *Kúkawa* at the time of the inroad of the *Wádáy*, when *Serki Ibrám*, the governor of *Zínder*, not only declared himself independent, but even demanded homage from the neighbouring vassals of the *Bórnu* empire, and, when such was denied him, marched against *Múniyóma*, but was beaten near the town of *Wúshek*. Such faithful adherence to the new dynasty of the *Kánemiyín* in *Kúkawa* is the more remarkable in this man, as the ruling family of *Múniyóma* seems to have been of ancient standing, and it was an ancestor of *Kóso*, of the name of *Sérniyó*, who once conquered the strong town of *Dáura*, the most ancient of the *Háusa* states.

But notwithstanding the more noble disposition which certainly distinguished this man from most of his colleagues, here also the misery connected with the horrors of slave-hunting and the slave-trade was very palpable. For, in order to be enabled to pay his debts, he was

just then about to undertake a foray against one of the towns of the Diggera, the inhabitants of which had behaved in a friendly manner towards the Tawarek during their recent inroad, and he begged me, very urgently, to stay until his return from the foray. But as I did not want anything from him, and as the road before me was a long one, I preferred pursuing my journey, taking care, however, to obtain information from him, and from the principal men in his company, respecting those localities of the province which most deserved my attention.

Kôso departed, with his troop in several small detachments, about noon on the 18th, the signal for starting not being made with a drum, as is usual in Bôrnú, but with an iron instrument which dates from the old pagan times, and not unlike that of the Mûsgu. It was also very characteristic, that during his absence the lieutenant-governorship was exercised by the *mágirá*, or the mother of the governor, who was said to have ruled on former occasions in a very energetic manner, punishing all the inhabitants, capable of bearing arms, who had remained behind. Before setting out, however, on his foray, the governor sent me a camel as a present, which, although it was not a first-rate one, and was knocked up before I reached Kátsena, nevertheless proved of some use for a few days. I presume that it had been his intention to have given me a better animal, and that his design had only been frustrated by some selfish people. He had expressed a wish to purchase from me a pair of Arab pistols, but although I possessed three beautifully-ornamented pairs, I wanted them myself as presents for other chiefs on my further march, and therefore could not gratify his wish. During my stay here he treated me very hospitably, sending me, besides numerous dishes of prepared food, two fat sheep as a present.

Gûre, the present residence of Mûnyóma, lies on the southern slope of a rocky eminence, and is separated, by irregular ground, into several detached portions containing, altogether, a population of about eight thousand inhabitants. In former years it was more spacious; and its circumference had only been lessened a short time before my arrival, in order to insure greater security. But it is only surrounded with a single, and in some places a double, fence or stockade, the south-western corner, which is most exposed to an attack, being protected in a curious way, by a labyrinth of fences, including a number of cotton-grounds and kitchen-gardens. But although in this manner the town is only very insufficiently protected against a serious attack, the inhabitants have the advantage of the rocky cone rising over their heads, where they might certainly retire in such a case.

Sunday, Dec. 19—I left Gûre, continuing my march towards Zinder not along the most direct road, but with the intention of visiting those localities which were likely to present the most interesting features. I therefore kept first in a westerly direction, passing through a mountainous district, and further on through more open country, with the purpose of visiting Wûshak, a place which had been mentioned to me as peculiarly interesting. The situation of the place has something very peculiar about it—a mixture of fertility and aridity, of cultivation and desolation,

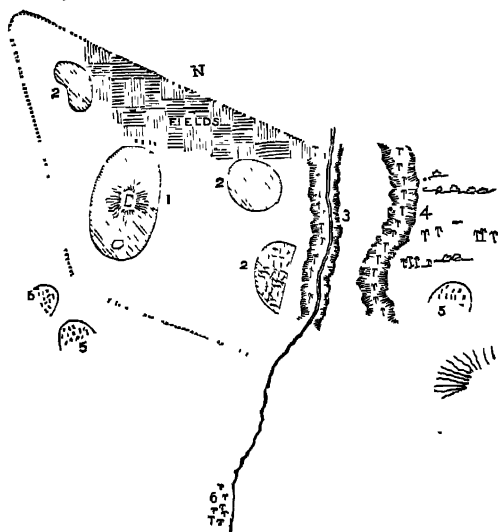
of industry and neglect—being situated at some distance from the foot of a mountain-range, and separated from it by a barren tract, while on the site itself the moisture percolates in several small dells and hollows, and thus, besides a good crop of wheat, several small groves of date-trees are produced. The largest of these groves, skirting the east side of the town, contains about eight hundred trees, while a little further east another dell winds along, containing about two hundred palms, and, joining the former, to the north of the village, widens to a more open ground richly overgrown with tamarind-trees, which are entwined with creepers and clad with herbage. This grove, which encompasses the whole of the north side of the place, exhibits a very pleasant aspect. Several ponds are formed here, and abundance of water is found in holes from a foot to two feet in depth.

Going round this depression, I entered the town from the north-east quarter, and here found a large open space laid out in fields of wheat, kitchen-gardens, with onions, and cotton-grounds, all in different stages of cultivation. Most of the beds where wheat was grown were just being laid out, the clods of dry earth being broken and the ground irrigated, while in other places the green stalks of the crop were already shooting forth. The onions were very closely packed together. Everywhere the fertilizing element was close at hand, and palm-trees were shooting up in several detached clusters, but large mounds of rubbish prevented my taking a comprehensive view over the whole, and the more so as the village is separated into four detached portions lying at a considerable distance from each other, and forming altogether a circumference of about three miles, with a population of from eight thousand to nine thousand inhabitants. But the whole is merely surrounded by a light fence. The principal cluster, or hamlet, surrounds a small eminence, on the top of which stands the house of the head man or mayor, built of clay, and having quite a commanding position, while at the north-eastern foot of the hill a very picturesque date-grove spreads out in a hollow. The ground being uneven, the dwellings, like those in Gúre, are mostly situated in hollows, and the courtyards present a new and characteristic feature—for although the cottages themselves are built of reed and stalks of Negro corn, the corn-stacks, far from presenting that light and perishable appearance which they exhibit all over Háusa, approach closely that solid style of building which we have observed in the Músgu country, being built of clay, and rising to the height of ten feet.

Wúshek is the principal place for the cultivation of wheat in the whole western part of Bórnu, and if there had been a market that day, it would have been most profitable for me to have provided myself here with this article, wheat being very essential for me, as I had only free servants at my disposal, who would by no means undertake the pounding and preparing of the native corn, while a preparation of wheat, such as mohamsa, can be always kept ready, but the market of Wúshek is only held every Wednesday. In the whole of this country, one hundred shells, or kúngona, which are estimated equal to one gábagá, form the standard currency in the market, and it is remarkable that this sum is

not designated by the Kanúri word "míye" or "yéro,"* nor with the common Háusa word "dan," but by the name "zango," which is used only in the western parts of Háusa and in Sókoto

I had pitched my tent near the south-eastern hamlet, which is the smallest of the four, close to the spot where I had entered the place, not being aware of its extent, and from here I made, in the afternoon, a sketch of the mountain-range towards the south, and the dry shelving level bordered by the strip of green verdure with the palm trees in the



WÚSHEK.

1. Principal hamlet surrounding the dwelling of the billama, which is situated on an eminence. 2. Several smaller clusters of huts. 3, 4. Shallow vales with palm trees. 5. Small depressions or cavities in the sandy soil, also with palm-trees. 6. Another group of palm trees on the border of a small brook formed by a source of living water.

foreground. In the evening I was hospitably regaled by each of the two billama who govern the town, and I had the satisfaction of making a "tailor to His Majesty Múnyóma," who was residing here, very happy by the present of a few large darning-needles for sewing the libbedi or wadded dress for the soldiers.

Monday, Dec. 20—On leaving Wúshek, we directed our course by the spur of the mountain-chain to the south-south-west, crossing several

* The Kanúri, in order to express "one hundred," have relinquished the expression of their native idiom, and generally make use of the Arab term "míye."

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hollows, one of which presented a very luxuriant cotton-ground carefully fenced in by the *euphorbiacea* here called *mágará*, which I have described on a former occasion. The country in general consisted of a broken sandy level clothed with tall reeds. Leaving then a small village of the name of Gédiyó in a recess of the mountains, we entered an undulating plain, the prairie of Nôgo, open towards the west, but bounded on the east by an amphitheatre of low hills, and densely clothed with herbage and broom, to which succeeded underwood of small mimosas, and further on, when we approached the hills on the other side of the plain, large clusters of "abisga," or *Capparis sudita*. Only here and there traces of cultivation were to be seen. The sun was very powerful, and as we marched during the hottest hours of the day, I felt very unwell, and was obliged to sit down for a while.

After having traversed the plain, we again had the mountain-chain on our left; and in a recess or amphitheatre which is formed by the eminences, we obtained a sight of Gabatá, the old residence of the Múnyóma, but at present exhibiting nothing but a heap of unsightly ruins, encompassed towards the road side by a wall built of different kinds of stone, but at present entirely in decay, while in the very angle of the recess at the foot of the mountains a stone dwelling is seen, where it was the custom, in olden times, for every ruler of the country, upon his accession to the throne, to remain in retirement for seven days. It had been my intention to visit this spot; but the present governor had urgently requested me to abstain from such a profane undertaking, the place being (as he said) haunted by spirits and my sudden indisposition prevented me from accomplishing my design. The natives say that there are caves leading from the stone dwelling into the rock.

Our left being bordered by the mountain-slope, which is beautifully varied, and having on our right a fine grove of magnificent trees and cultivated fields, we reached, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the well situated in a recess of the mountains, but had great difficulty in choosing a spot tolerably free from ants. Here I felt so weak that I did not care either about the ruins of Gabatá or anything else except the most profound repose.

Tuesday, Dec. 21.—The night was very cold and disagreeable, a heavy north-easterly gale not only bringing cold, but likewise covering us with clouds of the feathery prickly *Pennisetum distichum*; and we started in a condition anything but cheerful. The mountain-chain on our left now receded, and the country exhibited a rich abundance of timber and herbage, the forest being agreeably broken by a large extent of stubble-fields where millet and beans were grown, and distinguished among the cultivated grounds by the appearance of a certain degree of industry, were the fields of Chégchegá or Gámmachak, the oldest estate of the family of Múnyóma, which we had on our left. In the intervening tracts of forest the *úm-el-barka* or *kégo* (*Mimosa Nilotica*) was very common, but it was at present leafless. Granite protrudes now and then; and further on the whole country became clothed with retem or broom.

Close to the village of Baratáwa, we crossed a narrow but beautiful and regular vale adorned with the finest tamarind-trees I ever saw, which were not only developing their domelike umbrageous crowns in full splendour, but which were the more beautiful as the fruit was just beginning to ripen. Close to the well a group of slender dūm palms were starting forth, with their light fanlike foliage, in singular contrast to the domelike crowns of dark-green foliage which adorned the tamarind-trees. This beautiful tree further on also remained the greatest ornament to the landscape, but besides this the kómor or baúre also and other species were observed, and the fan palm was to be seen here and there. Cattle and camels enlivened the country, which presented the appearance of one vast field, and was dotted with numerous corn stacks.

I had entertained the hope of being able this day to reach the natron lake of Keléro, but I convinced myself that the distance was too great, and, although I reached the first hamlet, which bears the name of Keléro, I was obliged to encamp without being able to reach the lake. There had been in former times a large place of the same name hereabout, but the inhabitants had dispersed, and settled in small detached hamlets. Close to our encampment there was a pond of small size, but of considerable depth, which seemed never to dry up. It was densely overgrown with tall papyrus and melés. The core of the root of this rush was used by my young Shúwa companion to allay his hunger, but did not seem to me to be very palatable; and fortunately it was not necessary to have recourse to such food, as we were treated hospitably by the inhabitants of the hamlet. The baúre, or, as they are here called, kómor, have generally a very stunted and extremely poor appearance in this district, and nothing at all like that magnificent specimen which I had seen on my first approach to Sudán, in the valley of Bógheh.

Wednesday, Dec 22—The night was very cold, in fact one of the coldest which I experienced on my whole journey, the thermometer being only 8° above freezing-point; but nevertheless, there being no wind, the cold was less sensibly felt, and my servants were of opinion that it had been much colder the previous day, when the thermometer indicated 22° more.

As the natron lake did not lie in my direct route, I sent the greater part of my people, together with the camels, straight on to Badamúni, while I took only my two body-guards, the Gatróni and the Shúwa, with me. The country presented the same appearance as on the previous day; but there was less cultivation, and the dūm palm gradually became predominant. In one place there were two isolated deléb palms. Several specimens of the *Kajilia* were also observed. The level was broken by numerous hollows, the bottom being mostly covered with rank grass, and now and then even containing water. In front of us, three detached eminences stretched out into the plain from north to south, the natron lake being situated at the western foot of the central eminence, not far from a village called Magájiri. When we had passed this village, which was full of natron, stored up partly in large

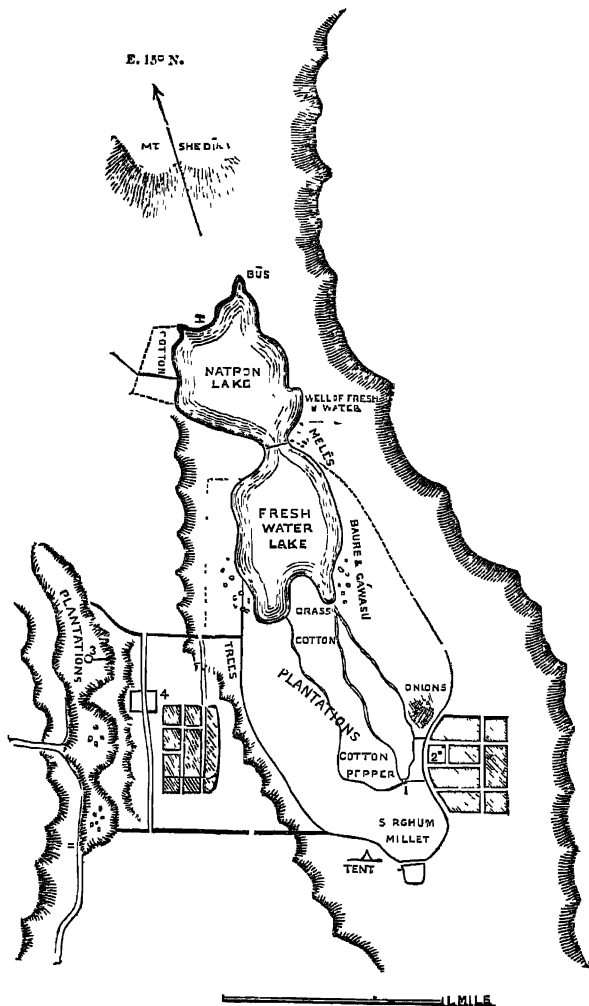
piles, partly sewn into "tákrufa," or matting coverings, we obtained a view of the natron lake, lying before us in the hollow at the foot of the rocky eminence, with its snow-white surface girt all round by a green border of luxuriant vegetation. The sky was far from clear, as is very often the case at this season; and a high wind raised clouds of dust upon the surface of the lake.

The border of vegetation was formed by well-kept cotton-grounds, which were just in flower, and by kitchen-gardens, where *derába* or *Corchorus olitorius* was grown, the cultivated ground being broken by dúm bush and rank grass. Crossing this verdant and fertile strip, we reached the real natron lake, when we hesitated some time whether or not we should venture upon its surface, for the crust of natron was scarcely an inch thick, the whole of the ground underneath consisting of black boggy soil, from which the substance separates continually afresh. However, I learned that, while the efflorescence at present consisted of only small bits or crumbled masses, during the time of the biggela, that is to say, at the end of the rainy season, larger pieces are obtained here, though not to be compared with those found in Lake Tsád,—the kind of natron which is procured here being called "boktor," while the other quality is called "kilbu tsaráfu." A large provision of natron, consisting of from twenty to twenty-five piles about ten yards in diameter, and four in height, protected by a layer of reeds, was stored up at the northern end of the lake. The whole circumference of the basin, which is called "ábge" by the inhabitants, was one mile and a half.

I here changed my course in order to join my people, who had gone on straight to Badamúni. The country at first was agreeably diversified and undulating, the irregular vales being adorned with dúm palms and fig-trees; and cultivation was seen to a great extent, belonging to villages of the territory of Gúshi, which we left on one side. Presently the country became more open, and suddenly I saw before me a small blue lake, bounded towards the east by an eminence of considerable altitude, and towards the north by a rising ground, on the slope of which a place of considerable extent was stretching out.

Coming from the monotonous country of Bórnu, the interest of this locality was greatly enhanced, and the nearer I approached, the more peculiar did its features appear to me, for I now discovered that the lake, or rather the two lakes, were girt all round by the freshest border of such a variety of vegetation as is rarely seen in this region of Negroland.

We had some difficulty in joining our camels and people, who had pursued the direct road from Keléno, for, having appointed, as the spot where we were to meet, the north-eastern corner of the town of Gadabúni, or Badamúni, towards the lake, we found that it would be extremely difficult for them to get there, and we therefore had to ride backwards and forwards before we fixed upon a place for our encampment, at the western end of this small luxuriant oasis. On this occasion I obtained only a faint idea of the richness and peculiarity of this locality; but on the following morning I made a more complete survey



BADAMÚNI.

1. Richest source at the south-western border of the plantation 2. Open square in the village, adorned with a luxuriant "karage" tree. 3. Another rich source in the northern vale 4. Market-place.

of the whole place, as well as my isolated situation and the means at my disposal would allow, the result of which is represented in the accompanying woodcut

The whole of the place forms a kind of shallow vale, stretching out in a west-easterly direction, and surrounded on the west, north, and south sides by hills rising from one to two hundred feet, but bordered towards the east by Mount Shedika, which rises to about five or six hundred feet above the general level of the country. In this vale water is found gushing out from the ground in rich, copious springs, and feeds two lakes, after irrigating a considerable extent of cultivated ground where, besides sorghum and millet, cotton, pepper, indigo, and onions are grown. These lakes are united by a narrow channel thickly overgrown with the tallest reeds, but, notwithstanding their junction, are of quite a different nature, the westernmost containing fresh water, while that of the eastern lake is quite brackish, and full of natron. It seems to be a peculiar feature in this region, that all the chains of hills and mountains stretch from north-east to south-west, this being also the direction of the lakes.

The chief part of the village itself lies on the north-west side of the plantation, on the sloping ground of the downs, while a smaller hamlet borders the gardens on the south-west side. The plantations are very carefully fenced, principally with the bush called *mágará*, which I have mentioned on former occasions, and besides *kúka* or monkey-bread trees, and *kórna*, or *nebek*, a few date palms contributed greatly to enliven the scenery. The monkey-bread trees, however, were all of small size, and of remarkably slender growth, such as I had not before observed, while the public place, or "*fáge*," of the smaller village was adorned by a *karáge* tree of so rich a growth that it even surpassed, if not in height, at least in the exuberance of its foliage, the finest trees of this species which I had seen in the *Músgu* country.

I began my survey of this interesting locality on the south side, following first the narrow path which separates the southern village from the plantation, and visiting again the principal source, the rich volume of which, gushing along between the hedges, had already excited my surprise and delight the previous day.

This lower village cannot be very healthy, both on account of its exuberant vegetation, and the quantity of water in which the neighbourhood abounds, but its situation is extremely pleasant to the eye. Keeping then close along the southern border of the plantation, I reached the eastern edge of the western lake, which is thickly overgrown with papyrus and *melés*, while, in the narrow space left between the plantation and the lake, the *baúre* and the *gawasú* are the common rees.

The presence of the latter at this spot seems very remarkable, as this tree, in general, is looked for in vain in this whole region, and I scarcely remember to have seen it again before reaching the village, a few miles to the N.E. of *Wurnó*, which has thence received its name.

The papyrus covers the whole shore at the point of junction of the two lakes, while in the water itself, where it first becomes brackish,

another kind of weed was seen, called "kumba," the core of which is likewise eaten by the greater part of the poorer inhabitants, and is more esteemed than the *melés*. It was highly interesting to me to observe that my young Shúwa companion, who was brought up on the shores of the Tsad, immediately recognised, from the species of reeds, the nature of the water on the border of which they grew, as this mixed character of brackish and sweet water is, exactly in the same manner, peculiar to the outlying smaller basins of that great Central African lagoon.

I found the junction of the two lakes from sixty-five to seventy yards broad, and at present fordable, the water being four feet and a half in depth. The difference in the appearance of the natron lake from that exhibited by the fresh-water basin was remarkable in the extreme,—the water of the one being of a dark-blue colour, and presenting quite a smooth surface, while that of the other resembled the dark-green colour of the sea, and, agitated by the strong gale, broke splashing and foaming on the shore in mighty billows, so that my two companions, the Shúwa lad and the Háusa boy, whom I had taken with me on this excursion, were quite in ecstasy, having never before witnessed such a spectacle. It would have been a fine spot for a water-party. The surrounding landscape, with Mount Shedika in the east, was extremely inviting, although the weather was not very clear and had been exceedingly foggy in the morning. But there was neither boat nor canoe, although the lake is of considerable depth, and is said always to preserve about the same level; for, according to the superstition of the inhabitants, its waters are inhabited by demons, and no one would dare to expose himself to their pranks, either by swimming or in a boat.

The brackish quality of the water arises entirely from the nature of the soil. In the centre it seems to be decidedly of such a quality, but I found that near the border, which is greatly indented, the nature of the water in the different creeks was very varying. In one it was fresh, while in a neighbouring one it was not at all drinkable, but nevertheless even here there were sometimes wells of the sweetest water quite close to the border. Swarms of water fowl of the species called "gármaka" by the Háusa people, and "gubón" by the Kanúri, together with the black *rejija* and the small sanderling, enlivened the water's edge, where it presented a sandy beach.

A little further on, the *melés* and *kumba* were succeeded by the tall bulrush called "*bús*," while beyond the north-easterly border of the lake an isolated date palm adorned the scenery, which in other respects entirely resembled the shores of the sea, a rich profusion of sea weed being carried to the bank by the billows. Then succeeded a cotton plantation, which evidently was indebted for its existence to a small brook formed by another source of fresh water which joins the lake from this side. From the end of this plantation, where the natron lake attains its greatest breadth of about a mile and a half, I kept along the bank in a south-westerly direction, till I again reached the narrow junction between the two lakes. Here the shore became very difficult to traverse, on account of an outlying branch of the plantation closely

bordering the lake, and I had again to ascend the downs from whence I had enjoyed the view of this beautiful panorama on the previous day. I thus re-entered the principal village from the north-east side, and while keeping along the upper road, which intersects the market-place, I saw with delight that the town is bounded on the north side also by a narrow but very rich vale, meandering along and clad with a profusion of vegetation, and I here observed another spring, which broke forth with almost as powerful a stream as that near the southern quarter, and was enlivened by a number of women busily employed in fetching their supply of water.

The market-place is formed of about thirty sheds or stalls, and there is a good deal of weaving to be observed in the place, its whole appearance exhibiting signs of industry. I could not, however, obtain a sheep, or even as much as a fowl, so that our evening's repast was rather poor; and a very cold easterly wind blowing direct into the door of my tent, which I had opened towards Mount Shedika in order to enjoy the pleasant prospect of the lakes and the plantation, rendered it still more cheerless. The whole of the inhabitants belong to the Háusa race; and the governor himself is of that nation. He is in a certain degree dependent on the governor of Zinder, and not directly on the sheikh; and he was treated in the most degrading manner by my trooper, although the latter was a mere attendant of Adama the governor of Donári.

Friday, Dec. 24—I made an interesting day's march to Mirriya, another locality of the province Demágherim, greatly favoured by nature. The first part of our road was rather hilly, or even mountainous, a promontory of considerable elevation jutting out into the more open country from SE, and forming in the whole district a well-marked boundary. The village Hándará, which lies at the foot of a higher mountain bearing the same name, and which we reached after a march of about two miles, was most charmingly situated, spreading out in several straggling groups on the slopes of the hills, and exhibiting a far greater appearance of prosperity than Badamúni. It was highly interesting to take a peep on horseback at the busy scenes which the court-yards exhibited. Poultry was here in great abundance.

While descending from the village, we crossed a beautiful ravine, enlivened by a spring, and adorned by a few detached groups of date and deléb palms spreading their feathery foliage by the side of the düm palms. Leaving then a cotton plantation, stretching out where the ravine widened, we ascended the higher ground, our route lying now through cultivated ground, at other times through forest; and after a march of about fourteen miles, we crossed a kind of shallow vale, richly adorned with vegetation, and bordered towards the north by sandy downs, over which lies the direct route to Zinder. A little lower down this valley we passed a small village called Potoró, distinguished by the extent of its cotton plantations. Along the lower grounds a few date trees form a beautiful fringe to this little oasis, here, also, springs seemed to be plentiful, and large ponds of water were formed.

Four miles beyond this place we reached the wall of the town of

Mirriya, which was beautifully adorned with large tamarind-trees. This town had been once a large place, and the capital of the whole western province of Bórnu. But when the town of Zinder was founded, about twenty-five years previously, by Slímán, the father of the present governor, Ibrám, Mirriya began to decline, and the chief of this territory fell into a certain degree of dependence upon the governor of Zinder. At the north side of the town there is an extensive district cultivated with cotton and wheat, and irrigated likewise by springs which ooze forth from the sandy downs, besides a few date trees, a group of slender feathery-leaved gónđa overshadowed the plantation, and gave it an uncommonly attractive character. Having proceeded in advance of my camels, which had followed for some time another path, I had to wait till long after sunset before they came up, and, while resting in the open air, received a visit from the governor of the town, who, in true Háusa fashion, arrived well dressed and mounted, with a numerous train of men on horseback and on foot, singing men, and musicians.

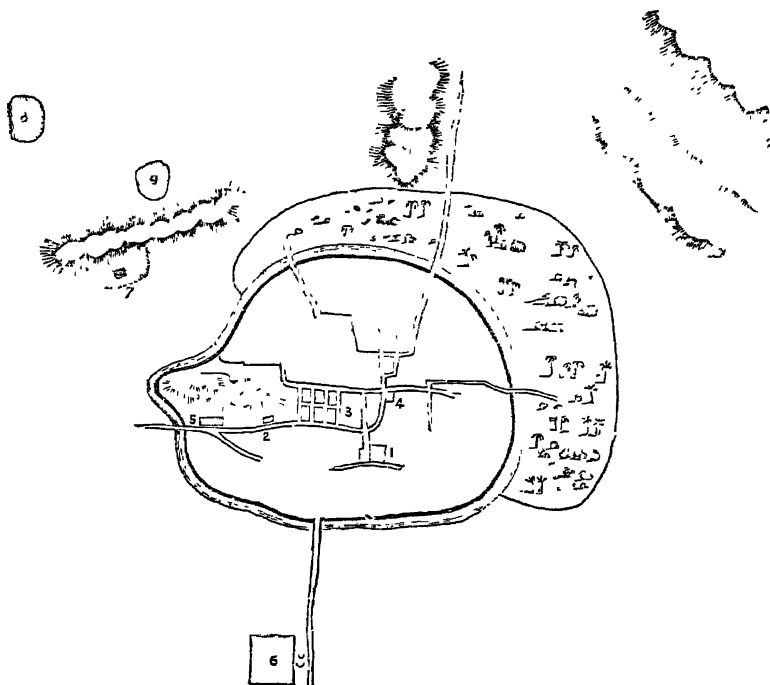
Saturday, Dec 25—This was to be the day of my arrival in Zinder—an important station for me, as I had here to wait for new supplies, without which I could scarcely hope to penetrate any great distance westward.

The country was more open than it had been the preceding day, and the larger or smaller eminences were entirely isolated, with the exception of those near Zinder, which formed more regular chains. The ground consisted mostly of coarse sand and gravel, the rocks being entirely of sandstone, and intersected by numerous small watercourses, at present dry. This being the nature of the ground, the district was not very populous, but we passed some villages which seemed to be tolerably well off, as they had cattle and poultry.

Pursuing our north-westerly direction, we reached the town of Zinder, after a march of about nine miles and a half, and, winding round the south side of the town, which is surrounded by a low rampart of earth and a small ditch, entered it from the west. Passing then by the house of the sherif el Fási, the agent of the vizier of Bórnu, we reached the quarters which had been assigned to us, and which consisted of two clay rooms. Here I was enabled to deposit all my property in security, no place in the whole of Sudán being so ill famed, on account of the numerous conflagrations to which it is subjected, as Zinder.

The situation of Zinder is peculiar and interesting. A large mass of rock starts forth from the area of the town on the west side, while others are scattered in ridges round about the town, so that a rich supply of water collects at a short depth below the surface, fertilizing a good number of tobacco-fields, and giving to the vegetation around a richer character. This is enhanced especially by several groups of date palms, while a number of hamlets, or zangó, belonging to the Tawárek chiefs who command the salt-trade, and especially one which belongs to Lúsú, and another to Ánnur, add greatly to the interest of the place. The larger plantation which the sherif el Fási, the agent of the vizier of Bórnu, had recently begun to the south of the town, although very promising and full of vegetables difficult to procure in

this country, was too young to contribute anything to the general character of the place. It was entirely wanting in larger trees, and had only a single palm tree and a lime. I am afraid, after the revolution of December 1853, which caused the death of that noble Arab, who was one of the more distinguished specimens of his nation, it has returned to the desolate state from which he called it forth.



1. Residence of governor, inclosed by matting-work 2 House of sherif el Fási.
3 Market-place 4 My own quarters. 5 Quarters built for the accommodation of
strangers 6 "Sania," or plantation, belonging to the sherif el Fási. 7 Hamlet,
"zango," belonging to Arnur, the chief of the Kel-owi 8 "Zango" belonging to
Lusu, the chief of the Kel-azaneres 9 "Zango" belonging to some other chiefs
among the Tawalek.

The accompanying ground-plan of the town and its environs will, I hope, convey some idea of its peculiar character, but it can give not the faintest notion of the bustle and traffic which concentrate in this place, however limited they may be when compared with those of European cities. Besides some indigo-dyeing, there is scarcely any

industry in Zinder; yet its commercial importance has of late become so great, that it may with some propriety be called "the gate of Sudán." But of course its importance is only based on the power of the kingdom of Bórnu, which it serves to connect more directly with the north, along the western route by way of G'át and Ghadames, which has the great advantage over the eastern or Fezzan route, that even smaller caravans can proceed along it with some degree of security, that other route having become extremely unsafe. It was then the most busy time for the inhabitants, the salt-caravan of the Kél-owí having arrived some time previously, and all the Lamlets situated around the town being full of these desert traders, who during their leisure hours endeavoured to make themselves as merry as possible with music and dancing. This gave me an opportunity of seeing again my friend the old chief of Tintellust, who, however, in consequence of the measures adopted towards him by Mr Richardson, behaved rather coolly towards me, although I did not fail to make him a small present.

Being most anxious to complete my scientific labours and researches in regard to Bórnu, and to send home as much of my journal as possible, in order not to expose it to any risk, I stayed most of the time in my quarters, which I had comfortably fitted up with a good supply of "siggedi" or coarse reed mats, taking only now and then, in the afternoon, a ride on horseback either round the town or into the large well-wooded valley which stretches along from N W. to S E, at some distance from the town, to the N E. Once I took a longer ride, to a village about eight miles S S E, situated on an eminence with a vale at its foot, fringed with dóm palms and rich in saltpetre.

On the 20th of January, 1853, I received from the hands of the Arab Mohammed el'Akerút, whom I have had occasion to mention previously, a valuable consignment, consisting of one thousand dollars in specie,* which were packed very cleverly in two boxes of sugar, so that scarcely anybody became aware that I had received money, and the messenger seemed well deserving of a present equal to his stipulated salary; but I received no letters on this occasion. I had also expected to be able to replace here such of my instruments as had been spoiled or broken, by new ones; but I was entirely disappointed in this respect, and hence, in my further journey, my observations regarding elevation and temperature are rather defective.

I then finished my purchases, amounting altogether to the value of 775,000 kurdi, of all sorts of articles which I expected would be useful on my further proceedings, such as red common bernúses, white turbans, looking-glasses, cloves, razors, chaplets, and a number of other things, which I had at the time the best opportunity of purchasing, as all Arab and European merchandise, after the arrival of the káfala, was rather cheap. Thus I prepared for my setting out for the west; for although I would gladly have waited a few days longer, in order to receive the other parcel, consisting of a box with English iron-

* Unfortunately they were not all Spanish or Austrian dollars; but there were among the number forty pieces of five francs, and more than one hundred Turkish mejidyfe.

ware and four hundred dollars, which was on the road for me by way of Kúkawa, and which, as I have stated before, had been entrusted, in Fezzán, to a Tebú merchant, it was too essential for the success of my enterprise that I should arrive in Kátsena before the Góberáwa set out on a warlike expedition against that province, for which they were then preparing on a grand scale. It was thus that the parcel above mentioned, which, in conformity with my arrangements, was sent after me to Zínder by the vizier, and which arrived only a few days after I had left that place, remained there, in the hands of the sherif el Fási, and, on his being assassinated in the revolution of 1854, and his house plundered, fell into the hands of the slaves of the usurper 'Abd e' Rahmán.

CHAPTER X.

DEPARTURE FROM ZINDER—THE BORDER REGION BETWEEN THE BÓRNU AND THE FULFULDE EMPIRES.—SECOND STAY IN KATSENA.

Sunday, Jan. 30, 1853—I left the capital of the westernmost province of the Bórnu empire in the best spirits, having at length succeeded, during my prolonged stay there, in getting rid of the disease in my feet, which had annoyed me ever since my return from Bagirmí to Kúkawa. I had, moreover, strengthened my little caravan by two very excellent camels, which I had bought here, and I was now provided with a sufficient supply of money, stores, and presents, the total value of which exceeded 2,000 dollars, and which seemed to guarantee success to my undertaking, at least in a pecuniary point of view, and gave me confidence once more to try my fortune with the Fúlbe, my first dealings with whom had not been very promising. However, the road before me was anything but safe, as I had again to traverse with my valuable property that border district, intermediate between the independent Háusáwa and the Fúlbe, which is the scene of uninterrupted warfare and violence, and unfortunately there was no caravan at the time; but nevertheless the most intelligent men in the place were of opinion that this route, by way of Gazáwa, was safer than that by Dáura, the unscrupulous governor of the latter province, under cover of his authority, which could not be withstood with a high hand, being apparently more to be feared than the highway robbers in the border wilderness, who by watchfulness and good arms might be kept at a respectful distance. But altogether this was a rather unfortunate circumstance for me, as I cherished the ardent desire of visiting the town of Dáura, which, as I have explained on a former occasion, seems to have been the oldest settlement of the Háusa tribe, who appear to have been, from their origin, nearly related to the Berber family,—the Díggera, a section of that nation, being formerly entirely predominant in the territory of Daura. At that time, however, I entertained the hope

that, on my return from the west, I might be enabled to visit the latter place, but circumstances prevented me from carrying out my design.

The whole country which we traversed on our way westward, besides being richly studded with fixed dwelling-places, was full of parties of Ásbenáwa salt-traders, partly moving on, partly encamped and having their merchandise carefully protected by fences of corn-stalks. But although these people greatly contributed to the animated character of the landscape, yet their presence by no means added to the security of the country, and altogether my order of march became now a very different one from what it had been. Throughout my march from Kúkawa to Zínder, with a few exceptions, it had been my custom to proceed far in advance of the camels, with my horsemen, so that I used to arrive at the camping-ground before the greatest heat of the day had set in, but, on account of the greater insecurity of the country, it now became necessary for me to pursue my march slowly, in company with my luggage train.

The ground along our track, as we proceeded from Zínder, was undulating, with hedges or small ridges and isolated masses of granite boulders starting forth here and there, but the country gradually improved, especially after we had passed a pond at the distance of about seven miles from the town, filling out a concavity or hollow, and fringed with wide-spreading trees and a fine plantation of cotton and tobacco, which were shaded by a few dúm palms. Thus we reached the village of Týrmení, lying at the border of a shallow vale and surrounded with a strong stockade. Here we fell in with a numerous body of Ikázkezan, mustering, besides a great many on foot, twelve or thirteen men well mounted on horseback, and thinking themselves strong enough, in their independent spirit, to pursue a contraband road along the border district between Dáura and Kátsena, in order to avoid paying any customs to the potentates of either. But the restless governor of Dáura keeps a sharp look-out, and sometimes overtakes these daring smugglers.

Near the village of Dámbedá also, which we reached after a march of two miles from Týrmení through a more hilly country, several divisions of the salt-caravan were encamped, and we chose our camping-ground near a troop of native traders, or fatáki. While we were pitching the tent, a Tárki or Amóshagh, mounted on horseback, came slowly up to us, apparently astonished at the peculiar character of the tent, which he seemed to recognise as an old acquaintance. But he was still more surprised when he recognised myself, for he was no other than Aghá Batúre the son of Ibrahim, from Selúfiyet, the chief instigator of the foray made against us at the time of our entering Áír, or Ásben, by the border tribes of that country.

In the depression of the plain towards the south from our encampment, where all the moisture of the district collected, cotton was cultivated to a great extent, while adjoining the village, which lay close to a ridge of granite, a small field of tobacco was to be seen. A petty market, which was held here, enabled us to provide ourselves with grain, poultry, and red pepper, as we had forgotten to lay in a store of the latter article, which is indispensable to travellers in hot countries.

Monday, Jan. 31.—The district through which we passed was densely inhabited, but it was rather scantily timbered, the ground being clad only with short underwood; detached hills were seen now and then; but after a march of about seven miles, the character of the country changed, *kálgo* appearing more frequently, while the soil consisted of deep sand. Towards the south the vegetation was richer, several *Tawárek* hamlets appearing in the distance. Thus we reached a large well, about thirteen fathoms deep and richly provided with water, where a large herd of cattle and a number of *Búzawe*, or *Tawárek* half-castes, of both sexes, were assembled; and I was agreeably surprised at the greater proof of ingenuity which I here observed—a young bull being employed in drawing up the water in a large leather bag containing a supply sufficient for two horses,—this being the only time during my travels in Negroland that I observed such a method of drawing up the water, which in general, even from the deepest wells, is procured by the labour of man alone. The young bull was led by a very pretty *Amóshagh* girl, to whom I made a present of a tin box with a looking-glass in it, as a reward for her trouble, when she did not fail to thank me by a curtsy, and the expression of an amiable “*agaishéka*,” “my best thanks.” In the whole of this country a custom still prevails, dating from the period of the strength of the *Bórnu* empire, to the effect that the horses of travellers must be watered, at any well, in precedence to the wants of the natives themselves.

The whole spectacle which this well exhibited was one of life and activity, and the interest of the scenery was further increased by a dense grove of fine tamarind-trees which spread out on the south side of the path. I learned, on inquiry, that this district belongs to the territory of *Tumtúmma*, the governor of which is a vassal of *Zinder*. Close to *Tumtúmma*, on the west, lies the considerable town of *Gorgom*.

Leaving the principal road on our right, and following a more southerly one, we encamped near the village of *Gúmda*, which consisted of two hamlets inhabited exclusively by *Tawárek* slaves. But the territory belongs likewise to the province of *Tumtúmma*. A troop of *fatáki*, or native traders, were encamped near us.

Tuesday, Feb. 1.—The surface of the country through which our road lay was broken by depressions of larger or smaller extent, where the *dúm* palm flourished in great numbers—a tree which is very common in the territory of *Tasáwa*, which we entered a short time before we reached the village of *Káso*. We had here descended altogether, most probably, a couple of hundred feet, although the descent was not regular, and was broken by an occasional ascent. The road was well frequented by people coming from the west with cotton, which they sell to advantage in *Zinder*.

We made a long stretch, on account of the scarcity of water, passing the large village of *Shabáre*, which attracted our attention from the distance by the beating of drums, but could not supply us with a sufficient quantity of water,—its well measuring twenty-five fathoms in depth, and nevertheless being almost dry; and thus we proceeded till we

reached Maïngi, after a march of almost twenty-five miles. The village is named from a *troughlike** depression, on the slope of which it is situated, and which, towards the south, contains a considerable grove of dùm palms. We encamped close to the well, which is fourteen fathoms deep, at some distance from the village, which has a tolerably comfortable appearance, although it had been ransacked two years before by the governor of Kátsena, but, in these regions, dwelling-places are as easily restored as they are destroyed. The inhabitants are notorious for their thievish propensities, and we had to take precautions accordingly. The whole of this country is rich in beans, and we bought plenty of dried bean-tressels, which are made up in small bundles, and called "haráwa" by the Arabs, affording most excellent food for the camels.

Wednesday, Feb. 2—Several native travellers had attached themselves to my troop. Amongst them was an abominable slave-dealer who was continually beating his poor victims. I was extremely glad to get rid of this man here, he, as well as the other people, being bound for Tasáwa, which I was to leave at some distance on my right. While my people were loading the camels, I roved about, making a very pleasant promenade along the vale, which was richly adorned with dùm palms. Having set out at length, keeping a little too much towards the west, and crossing the great high road which comes from Tasáwa, we passed several villages on our road, while dùm palms and tamarind-trees enlivened the country where the ground was not cultivated, but especially the many small and irregular hollows which we traversed. Having lost one of our camels, which died on the road, we encamped near a village (the name of which, by accident, I did not learn) situated in a large vale rich in dùm palms, and encompassed on the east side by a regular ridge of sandhills of considerable height. Rice was cultivated in the beds beside the onions, while wheat, which is generally raised in this way, was not grown at all. As I have frequently observed, there is no rice cultivated in the whole of Bórnu,—this village constituting, I think, the easternmost limit of the cultivation of this most important article of food, which is the chief staff of life in the whole of Kébbi and along the Niger. The wells in this valley were only three feet deep, and richly provided with water, and the whole vale was altogether remarkable.

Thursday, Feb. 3—The dense grove of dùm palms through which our road led afforded a most picturesque spectacle in the clear light of the morning sky, and reminded me of the extensive groves of palm trees which I had seen in more northern climes, while large piles of the fruit of the fan palm, stored up by the natives, excited the facetious remarks of those among my people who were natives of Fezzán; and they sneered at the poverty and misery of these negroes, who, being deprived by nature of that delicious and far-famed fruit of the nobler *Phoenix*, were reduced to the poor and tasteless produce of this vile tree. We then left the shallow bottom of the vale, with its wells seven fathoms in depth, at the side of a village a short distance to the east. The

* "Jirgi" means boat, as well as a large trough for watering the cattle.

country then became more open, and after a march of four miles, we reached the shallow *fáddama* of *Gazáwa*, and, leaving the town at a short distance on our right, encamped a little to the south, not far from a fine old tamarind-tree.

I was enjoying the shade of this splendid tree, when my friend the *serki-n-turáwa*, whom, on my first entrance into the *Háusa* country, I introduced to the reader as a specimen of an African dandy, came up, on a splendid horse, to pay his compliments to me. The petty chief of *Gazáwa* and his people had been much afraid, after they had received the news of my approach, that I might take another road, in order to avoid making them a present, which has the same value as the toll in a European country. He told me that they had already sent off several horsemen in order to see what direction I had pursued, and he expressed his satisfaction that I had come to him of my own free will, but, on the other hand, he did not fail to remind me that on my former passage through the country I had not given them anything on account of the powerful protection of *Elaiju*, which I enjoyed at that time. This was very true, and in consequence I had here to make presents to four different persons, although I only remained half a day: first, this little officious friend of mine, then the governor of the town himself, together with his liege lord, the chief of *Marádi*, and finally, *Sadiku*, the former *Púllo* governor of *Kátsena*, who at present resided in this town.

Having satisfied the *serki-n-turáwa*, I wrapped a *bernis* and a shawl or *zubéta* in a handkerchief, and went to pay my respects to the governor, whose name, as I have stated on a former occasion, is *Raffa*, and whom I found to be a pleasant old fellow. He was well satisfied with his present, though he expressed his apprehension that his liege lord the prince of *Marádi*, who would not fail to hear of my having passed through the country, would demand something for himself, and he advised me, therefore, to send to that chief a few medicines.

I then rode to *Sadiku*, the son of the famous *Mállem 'Omáro*, or *Ghomáro*, who had been eight years governor of *Kátsena*, after the death of his father, till having excited the fear or wrath of his liege lord, in consequence of calumnies representing him as endeavouring to make himself independent, he was deposed by 'Alíyu the second successor of *Bello*, and obliged to seek safety among the enemies of his nation. *Sadiku* was a stately person, of tall figure, a serious expression of countenance, and a high, powerful chest, such as I have rarely seen in *Negroland*, and still less among the tribe of the *Fúlbe*. However, he is not a pure *Púllo*, being the offspring of a *Bórnu* female slave. He had something melancholy about him; and this was very natural, as he could not well be sincerely beloved by those among whom he was obliged to live, and in whose company he carried on a relentless war against his kinsmen. *Sadiku's* house, which was in the utmost decay, was a convincing proof, either that he was in reality miserably off, or that he felt obliged to pretend poverty and misery. He understood Arabic tolerably well, although he only spoke very little. He expressed much regret on hearing of the death of *Mr. Overweg*, whom he had known during his residence in *Marádi*; but having heard how strictly

Europeans adhere to their promise, he expressed his astonishment that he had never received an Arabic New Testament, which Mr Overweg had promised him. But I was glad to be able to inform him that it was not the fault of my late lamented companion, who, I knew, had forwarded a copy to him, by way of Zinder, immediately after his arrival in Kúkawa. Fortunately I had a copy or two of the New Testament with me, and therefore made him very happy by adding this book to the other little presents which I gave him. When I left the company of this man, I was obliged to take a drink of fura with Serkin-turáwa—however, not as a proof of sincere hospitality, but as a means of begging some further things from me, and I was glad at length to get rid of this troublesome young fellow.

Friday, Feb 4—We had been so fortunate as to be joined here at Gazáwa by two small parties belonging to the salt-caravan of the Kél-owí, when, having taken in a sufficient supply of water, and reloaded all our firearms, we commenced our march, about half-past two o'clock in the morning, through the unsafe wilderness which intervenes between the independent Háusa states and that of the Fúlde. The forest was illumed by a bright moonlight, and we pursued our march without interruption for nearly twelve hours, when we encamped about five miles beyond the melancholy site of Dánkamá, very nearly on the same spot where I had halted two years before. We were all greatly fatigued, and a *soi-disant* sherif from Morocco, but originally, as it seemed, belonging to the Tákánt, who had attached himself to my caravan in Zinder in order to reach Timbúktu in my company, felt very sickly. He had suffered already a great deal in Zinder, and ought not to have exposed his small store of strength to such a severe trial. Not being able to have regard to his state of health, as there was no water here, we pursued our journey soon after midnight, and reached the well-known walls of Kátsena after a march of about six hours.

It was with a peculiar feeling that I pitched my tent a few hundred yards from the gate (*kófa-n-samrí*) of this town, by the governor of which I had been so great'y annoyed on my first entering this country. It was not long before several Ásbanáwa people belonging to Ánnur, followed by the servants of the governor, came to salute me; and after a little while I was joined by my old tormentor the Tawátí merchant Bel-Ghét. But our meeting this time was very different from what it had been when I first saw him, for as soon as he recognised me, and heard from me that I was come to fulfil my promise of paying a visit to the sultan of Sókoto, he could not restrain his delight and excitement, and threw himself upon my neck, repeating my name several times. In fact his whole behaviour changed from this moment, and although he at times begged a few things from me, and did not procure me very generous treatment from the governor, yet, on the whole, he behaved friendly and decently. He asked me repeatedly why I had not gone to Kanó, but I told him that I had nothing to do with Kanó, that in conformity with my promise I had come to Kátsena, and that here I should make all my purchases, in order to undertake the journey to Sókoto from this place under the protection of its governor Mohammed Bello.

Now, I must confess that I had another motive for not going to Kanó besides this, for the vizier of Bórnu had made it a condition that I should not go to Kanó, as my journey to the Fúlbe would else be displeasing to himself and the sheikh, by interfering with their policy, and I had found it necessary to consent to his wishes, although I foresaw that it would cause me a heavy loss, as I might have bought all the articles of which I was in want at a far cheaper rate in the great central market of Negroland than I was able to do in Kátsena.

I stayed outside the town until the following morning, while my quarters in the town were preparing. There was an animated intercourse along my place of encampment, between the old capital and the new place Wagóje, which the governor had founded two years before; and I received the compliments of several active Fúlbe, whose expressive countenances bore sufficient evidence of the fact that their habits were not yet spoiled by the influence of the softer manners of the subjected tribe, although such an amalgamation had already begun to take place in many parts of Háusa.

The house which was assigned to me inside the town was spacious, but rather old, and so full of ants that I was obliged to take the greatest care to protect not only my luggage, but my person from these voracious insects. They not only destroyed everything that was suspended on pegs from the walls, but while sitting one day for an hour or so on a clay bank in my room I found, when I got up, a large hole in my robe, —these clever and industrious miners having made their way through the clay walls to the spot where I was sitting, successfully constructed their covered walks, and voraciously attacked my shirt, all in an hour's time.

My present to the governor consisted of a very fine blue bernús, a kaftan of fine red cloth, a small pocket pistol, two muslin turbans, a red cap, two loaves of sugar, and some smaller articles. The eccentric man received me with undisguised pleasure as an old acquaintance; but being aware that I had a tolerable supply of handsome articles with me, he wanted to induce me to sell to him all the fine things I possessed but I cut the matter short by telling him, once for all, that I was not a merchant, and did not engage in any commerce. On the whole, he was well pleased with his presents, but he wanted me to give him another small pistol, and, in the course of my stay here, I was obliged to comply with his request. He had a cover made for the pair, and used to carry them constantly about his person, frightening everybody by firing off the caps into their faces.

It was, no doubt, a very favourable circumstance for me that the ghaladíma of Sókoto was at this time staying here, for under the protection of the unscrupulous governor of Kátsena, I should scarcely have reached the residence of the emír el Múmenín in safety. The ghaladíma, who was the inspector of Kátsena as well as of Zánfara, had collected the tribute of both provinces, and was soon to start, with his treasure and the articles he had purchased there, on his home journey, so that there did not seem to be time enough for sending some of my people to Kanó to make there the necessary purchases, but circum-

stances, which I shall soon mention, delayed us so much that there would have been ample opportunity for doing so, and thus saving a considerable sum of money. The ghaladima was a simple, straightforward man, not very intelligent, certainly, nor generous, but good-natured and sociable. Born of a female slave, he had very little about him of the general characteristics of the Fúlbe, being tall and broad-shouldered, with a large head, broad features, and tolerably dark complexion.

I made some considerable purchases in this place, amounting altogether to 1,308,000 shells, employing the greatest part of my cash in providing myself with the cotton and silk manufactures of Kanó and Nùpe, in order to pave my way, by means of these favourite articles, through the countries on the middle course of the Niger, where nothing is esteemed more highly than these native manufactures.* But, as I afterwards found out, I sustained a considerable loss in buying the Nùpe tobes here, at least twenty per cent dearer than I should have been able to do in Gando, but this I could not possibly know beforehand, nor was it my previous intention to make any stay in that place, where large parcels of these articles are never brought into the market. I also added to my store a few more articles of Arab manufacture, there having arrived, on March 5th, a very numerous caravan of Ghadámsi and other people from the north, with not less than from four hundred to five hundred camels, but without bringing me even a single line, either from my friends in Europe or even from those in Africa. Having likewise arranged with 'Alí el Ágeren the Méjebri who had accompanied me from Kúkawa, buying from him what little merchandise he had, and taking him into my service for nine dollars a month, I prepared everything for my journey, and I was extremely anxious to be gone, as the rainy season was fast approaching. On the 26th of February evident signs were observed of the approach of the wet season,—the whole southern quarter of the heavens being thickly overcast with clouds, while the air also was extremely damp, just as after a shower. Mounting on horseback, in

* I bought here altogether seventy-five túrkedis or woman-cloths, which form the usual standard article in Timbúktu, and from which narrow shirts for the males are made; thirty-five black tobes of Kanó manufacture; twenty ditto of Nùpe manufacture; twenty silk of different descriptions; two hundred and thirty-two black shawls for covering the face, as the best presents for the Tawárek. I also bought here, besides, four very good cloth bernúses from some Tawát traders lately arrived from their country with horses, and some other little merchandise, and half-a-dozen of "hamail," or sword-hangings, of red silk of Fas manufacture. I also provided myself here with water-skins and kulábu, or large skins for covering the luggage for the whole of my journey. No place in the whole of Negroland is so famous for excellent leather and the art of tanning as Kátsena: and if I had taken a larger supply of these articles with me it would have been very profitable, but of course these leather articles require a great deal of room. I also bought a good quantity of the tobacco of Kátsena, which is held in great estimation even in Timbúktu, whither the excellent tobacco from Wadí Nun is brought in considerable quantity.

order to observe better these forerunners of the "dámána," I clearly distinguished that it was raining in the direction of Zárya and Nùpe, and even in our immediate neighbourhood a few drops fell. In the course of the evening the freshness and coolness of the air was most delicious, just as is the case after a fall of rain, and summer lightning was flashing through the southern sky.

The ghaladíma also was very anxious to be gone, but the army of the Góberáwa being ready to start on an expedition, on a grand scale, against the territory of the Fúlbe, we could not leave the place before we knew exactly what direction the hostile army would take. They having at length set out on their foray, on the 7th of March, we began to watch their movements very anxiously, each of these two powers,—the independent pagans as well as the conquering Fúlbe,—having in their pay numbers of spies in the towns of their enemies. Only two days before the Góberáwa left their home, they killed Bú-Bakr the chief spy whom 'Alíyú, the sultan of Sókoto, entertained in their town.

In the company of the ghaladíma there was a younger brother of his, of the name of Al-háttu, who had lost the better portion of the character of a free man by a mixture of slave-blood, and behaved, at times, like the most intolerable beggar, but he proved of great service to me in my endeavour to become acquainted with all the characteristic features of the country and its inhabitants.

Besides this man, my principal acquaintance during my stay in Kátsena this time was a Tawáti of the name of 'Abd e' Rahmán, a very amiable and social man, and, as a fákí, possessing a certain degree of learning. He had been a great friend of the sultan Bello, and expatiated with the greatest enthusiasm on the qualities and achievements of this distinguished ruler of Negroland. He also gave me the first hints of some of the most important subjects relating to the geography and history of Western Negroland, and called my attention particularly to a man whom he represented as the most learned of the present generation of the inhabitants of Sókota, and from whom, he assured me, I should not fail to obtain what information I wanted. This man was 'Abd el Káder dan Taffa (meaning, the son of Mústapha), on whose stores of knowledge I drew largely. My intercourse with 'Abd e' Rahmán was occasionally interrupted by an amicable tilt at our respective creeds. On one occasion, when my learned friend was endeavouring to convince me of the propriety of polygamy, he adduced as an illustration, that in matters of the table we did not confine ourselves to a single dish, but took a little fowl, a little fish, a little roast beef, and how absurd, he argued, was it to restrict ourselves, in the intercourse with the other sex, to only one wife. It was during my second stay in Kátsena that I collected most of the information which I have communicated on a former occasion with regard to the history of Háusa.

Besides this kind of occupation, my dealings with the governor, and an occasional ride which I took through and outside the town, I had a great deal to do in order to satisfy the claims of the inhabitants upon my very small stock of medical knowledge, especially at the commencement of

my residence, when I was severely pestered with applications, having generally from one hundred to two hundred patients in my courtyard every morning. The people even brought me sometimes animals to cure, and I was not a little amused when they once brought me a horse totally blind, which they thought I was able to restore to its former power of vision.

Living in Kátsena is not so cheap as in most other places of Negroland—at least we thought so at the time, but we afterwards found Sókoto, and many places between that and Timbúktu, much dearer, but the character of dearth in Kátsena is increased by the scarcity of shells in the market, which form the standard currency, and, especially after I had circulated a couple of hundred dollars, I was often obliged to change a dollar for 2,300 shells instead of 2,500.

I had here a disagreeable business to arrange; for suddenly, on March 18th, there arrived our old creditor Mohammed e' Sfáksí, whose claims upon us I thought I had settled long ago by giving him a bill upon Fezzán, besides the sum of two hundred dollars which I had paid him on the spot but, to my great astonishment, he produced a letter, in which Mr Gaglhuffi, Her Majesty's agent in Múrzuk, informed him that I was to pay him in Sudán. Such is the trouble to which a European traveller is exposed in these countries, by the injudicious arrangements of those very people whose chief object ought to be to assist him, while at the same time all his friends in Europe think that he is well provided, and that he can proceed on his difficult errand without obstacle.

On March 19th we received information that the army of the Góberáwa had encamped on the site of the former town of Róma, or Rúma; and I was given to understand that I must hold myself in readiness to march at an hour's notice.

Meanwhile the governor of Kátsena, who had received exaggerated accounts of the riches which I was carrying with me, was endeavouring, by every means at his disposal, to separate me from the ghaladíma, in order to have me in his own power, and his measures were attended with a good deal of success, at least in the case of my Arab companion 'Alí el Ágeren, who, although a man of some energy, allowed himself too often to be frightened by the misrepresentations of the people. On his attempting to keep me back, I told him that, if he chose, he might stay behind, but that I had made up my mind to proceed at once, in company with the ghaladíma, whatever might happen. I had the more reason to beware of the governor, as just at the period of this my second stay here, when he knew that I was going to his hege lord, I had had another opportunity of becoming fully aware of the flagrant injustice exercised by him and his ministers. For the sherif, who, as I have said, had attached himself to my party in Zínder, having died here of dysentery soon after our arrival, he seized upon what little property he had left, notwithstanding that person had placed himself, in some respects, under my protection; and although he pretended he would send it to his relatives, there is no doubt that he or his people kept it back. The safety of the property of any European who should die in

these regions ought to be taken into account in any treaty to be concluded with a native chief; but no such contingency was provided for in draughts of the treaties which we took with us.

CHAPTER XI.

JOURNEY FROM KÁTSENA TO SÓKOTO.

Monday, March 21.—The whole town was in motion when we left; for the governor himself was to accompany us for some days' journey, as the whole country was exposed to the most imminent danger, and further on he was to send a numerous escort along with us. It was a fine morning, and, though the rainy season had not yet set in in this province, many of the trees were clad already in a new dress, as if in anticipation of the fertilizing power of the more favoured season.

The hájilí had begun, about the commencement of March, to put out new foliage and shoots of young fruit, and the dorówa or *Parkia* exhibited its blossoms of the most beautiful purple, hanging down to a great length from the branches. The dorówa, which is entirely wanting in the whole of Bórnu, constitutes here the chief representative of the vegetable kingdom. It is from the beans of this tree that the natives prepare the vegetable cakes called "dodówa," with which they season their food. Next to this tree another one, which I had not seen before, called here "rúnhu," and at present full of small yellow blossoms, was most common.

The first day we made only a short march of about three miles, to a village called Kabakáwa, where the ghaladíma had taken up his quarters. I had scarcely dismounted, under a tree at the side of the village, when my protector called upon me, and in a very friendly manner invited me, urgently, to take up my quarters inside the village, stating that the neighbourhood was not quite safe, as the Góberáwa had carried away three women from this very village the preceding day. I, however, preferred my tent and the open air, and felt very little inclination to confide my valuable property, on which depended entirely the success of my enterprise, to the frail huts, which are apt to catch fire at any moment; for while I could not combat against nature, I had confidence enough in my arms, and in my watchfulness, not to be afraid of thieves and robbers.*

In the afternoon the ghaladíma came out of the hamlet, and took his seat under a neighbouring tree, when I returned his visit of the morning, and endeavoured to open with him and his companions a free and unrestrained intercourse, for I was only too happy to get out of the hands of the lawless governor of Kátsena, who, I felt convinced, would not have been deterred by any scruples from possessing himself of my riches: indeed he had gone so far as to tell me that, if I possessed

* The wells here were eight fathoms.

anything of value, such as pistols handsomely mounted, I should give them to him rather than to the sultan of Sókoto, for that he himself was the emír el Múmenín, nay, he even told me that his liege lord was alarmed at the sight of a pistol.

Tuesday, March 22—In order to avoid the enemy we were obliged, instead of following a westerly direction, to keep at first directly southward. The country through which our road lay was very beautiful. The dorówa, which, the preceding day, had formed the principal ornament of the landscape, in the first part of this day's march gave place entirely to other trees, such as the tall rími or bentang-tree, the kúka or monkey-bread tree, and the deléb palm or gígíña (*Borassus flabelliformis*?), but beyond the village of Dóka, the dorówa, which is the principal tree of the provinces of Kátsena and Záriya, again came prominently forward, while the kadéña also, or butter-tree, and the alléluba, afforded a greater variety to the vegetation. The alléluba (which, on my second stay at Kanó, I saw in full blossom) bears a small fruit, which the natives eat, but which I never tried myself. Even the dúm palm, with its fan-shaped yellow-coloured foliage, gave occasionally greater relief to the fresher vegetation around. The country was populous and well cultivated; and extensive tobacco-grounds and large fields of yams or gwáza were seen,—both objects being almost a new sight to me, for tobacco, which I had been so much surprised to see cultivated to such an extent in the country of the pagan Músgu, is scarcely grown at all in Bórnu, with the exception of Zínder, and I had first observed it largely cultivated near the town of Kátsena, while yams, as I have already had repeatedly occasion to mention, are not raised at all in Central Negroland. Numerous herds of cattle were seen dotting the landscape, and contributed largely to the interest of the scenery. But the district of Máje especially, which we traversed after a march of about seven miles, impressed me with the highest opinion of the fertility and beauty of this country. Here, also, we met a troop of Itisan with their came's.

Having then proceeded for about two miles through a more open and well-cultivated country, with extensive cotton-grounds, large plantations of indigo, and wide fields planted with sweet potatoes, or dánkah, we reached the village called Kúlkadá, where the governor of Kátsena had taken up his quarters, but, leaving this outlay at a respectful distance, we followed in the track of the ghaladíma, who had been obliged to seek for quarters in a small Tawárek hamlet at the distance of a mile and a half towards the south-east,—a remarkable resting-place for a party proceeding to the westward. The heat was very great; and the dorówa trees, with their scanty acacia-like foliage, which, besides a few gonda-trees (*Carica Papaya*) and a solitary ngábbore, were the only members of the vegetable kingdom here seen, afforded but insufficient shade, the dryness of the country being the more felt, as the supply of water was rather limited.

I was hospitably treated in the evening, not only by the ghaladíma, who sent me a sheep, but even by the inhabitants of the hamlet, who came to visit me in large numbers. I learnt that they were Imghád,

natives of Tavár Nwajdúd, the village which I passed on my road from Tintéllust to Ágades, and that they had seen me in Ásben, and knew all about my affairs. They were settled here as tenants.

Wednesday, March 23.—I had just mounted my horse, and my camels had gone on in advance, when a messenger arrived, who had been sent after me from Kátsena, bringing a letter from Mr Gagluffi, Her Majesty's agent in Múrzuk, a mere duplicate of a letter already received, with reference to the sending of the box (which, however, did not reach me), but not a single line from Europe. We had to retrace our road all the way to Kúlkadá, and from thence, after a march of about six miles through a dense forest, reached the walled town of Kúrayé, and, not being aware that the country on the other side was more open and offered a far better camping-ground, pitched our tent on that side whence we had come, not far from the market-place, consisting of several rows of stalls or sheds. A market was held in the afternoon; and we bought grain and onions, but looked in vain for the favourite fruit of the tamarind-tree, to which we were greatly indebted for the preservation of our health.

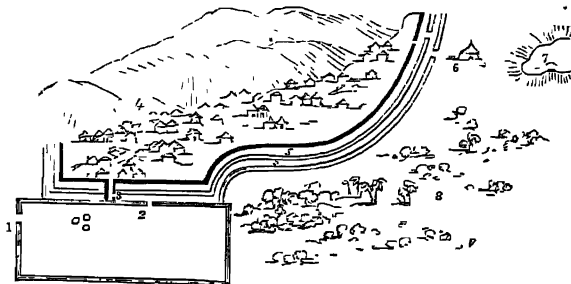
The town was of considerable size, and contained from six thousand to seven thousand inhabitants, but no clay buildings. The wall was in excellent repair, and well provided with loopholes for the bowmen, and it was even strengthened by a second wall, of lesser height, on the outside. The town has three gates. The wells were three fathoms in depth.

Thursday, March 24.—The country on the other side of the town of Kúrayé seemed to surpass in beauty the district which we had left behind us, and the bentage-tree, the sacred tree of the former pagan inhabitants, rose here to its full majestic growth, while, besides the dorówa and the butter-tree, the ngábbore (or sycamore) and the dúnnia appeared in abundance. The cultivation was here limited to sorghum or Indian millet. After awhile the ground became rather undulating, and we had to cross several small watercourses, at present dry, while boulders of granite protruded here and there. The path was enlivened by the several troops of horsemen which constituted our expeditionary corps. There was first the governor of Kátsena himself, with a body of about two hundred horse, then there was an auxiliary squadron of about fifty horse, sent by Démbo the governor of Kazáure, and lastly Káura, the serkí-n-yáki, or commander-in-chief of Kátsena, with a body of about thirty-five well-mounted troopers. This officer, at the present time, is the most warlike man in the province of Kátsena, and had greatly contributed to the overthrow and disgrace of Sadíku the former governor, in the hope that the government of the province might fall to his share; but he had been sadly disappointed in his expectations. As for the ghaladíma, he had about twenty mounted companions, the most warlike among whom was a younger brother of his, of the name of 'Omár, or Ghomáro, who was descended from a Púllo mother, and, on account of his noble birth, had better claims to the office of ghaladíma than his brother. Most of these troopers were very fantastically dressed, in the Háusa fashion, and in a similar manner to those I have described on

a former occasion. Some of the horses were fine, strong animals, although in height they are surpassed by the Bórnu horses

We watered our cattle in a kúrremi or dry watercourse, which contained a number of wells from one fathom to a fathom and a half in depth, and was beautifully skirted with deléb palms, while a granite mound on its eastern shore rose to an altitude of from eighty to a hundred feet. I ascended it, but did not obtain a distant view. Near this watercourse the cultivation was a little interrupted, but further on the country became again well cultivated, broken here and there by some underwood, while the monkey-bread tree, the dùm palm, great numbers of a species of acacia called "árred," and the "merké" dotted the fields. The latter tree, which I have mentioned on a former occasion, bears a fruit which, when mixed with the common native grain, is said to preserve horses from worms.

Thus we reached the town of Kúrefi, or Kúlfí, and were not a little puzzled by the very considerable outworks, consisting of moats, which



1 Outer entrance, leading into a large square surrounded with a double moat, and containing three huts for the guards. 2 Second entrance, leading from this outwork through the outer moat which surrounds the town. 3 Gate leading into the projecting angle of the wall, from which a second gate leads into the town. 4 Granite mounds inside the town. 5 Outer moats of the wall. 6 Situation of my tent. 7 Granite mound outside the town. 8. Open pasture-grounds.

the inhabitants had thrown up in front of their town, besides the three-fold wall, and the double moat which surrounded the latter, as shown in the woodcut.

The town was said to have been founded only three years before, being peopled from the remains of other places, which were destroyed by the enemy. It may contain from eight thousand to nine thousand inhabitants; but it had recently suffered from a conflagration. The wall was full of loop-holes, and it had a gate on each side except the eastern one.

Having made our way with great difficulty through the moats, instead of taking up our quarters inside the wall, to the great astonishment of the people we pitched our tent outside, at some distance from the western gate. Such was the confidence which we placed in our fire-arms. A rocky eminence, such as are met with also inside the town,

started up at some little distance from our camping-ground, and a majestic *dorówa*, the largest tree of this species which I saw on my journey, shaded the place to a considerable extent, but attracted a number of people, who disturbed my privacy. The ghaladima had taken a northerly road, to the town of Tsaurí, which he had recently founded, and did not arrive till the afternoon.

Friday, March 25.—On mounting my horse in the morning to pursue my march a Púlo came up to me and handed me a letter, which he begged me to take to a relative of his in Timbúktu. This showed his full confidence in my success, and it did not fail to inspire me with the same feeling. The inhabitants of the town marched out their band of musicians, who played a farewell to us, and the several troops of horsemen, in their picturesque attire, thronged along the path winding between the granite mounds which broke the level on all sides. Groups of *deléb* and *dúm* palms towered, with their fan-shaped foliage, over the whole scenery.

We had now entered the more unsafe border country between the Mohammedans and pagans, while changing our direction from south to west; and the cultivation was less extensive, although even here a little cotton was to be seen. After a march of about eight miles we traversed the site of a deserted town called Takabáwa, inclosed between rocky cliffs on all sides, and at present changed into a large cotton-ground, the inhabitants having sought refuge in the more rocky district towards the south. But although the destructive influence which war had exercised upon this province was plainly manifested by the site of another town which we passed soon afterwards, yet the country was not quite deserted, and even small herds of cattle were observed further on. Meanwhile the *dúm* palm became entirely predominant, and rocky cliffs and eminences continued to break the surface, but beyond a rocky ridge which, dotted with an abundance of monkey-bread trees, crossed our path, the country became more level and open, enlivened by herds, and exhibiting an uninterrupted tract of cultivation.

Thus we reached the walls of the considerable town of Zékka, and here again we had to make our way with difficulty through the moats which started out from the walls as a sort of outwork, when we pitched our tent on the west side, in the shade of two large *dorówa* trees. Even here I did not choose to take up my quarters inside the town, which was full of people. Besides those detachments which had come along with us, there arrived here also an auxiliary troop of one hundred and ten horse from Zarya, together with the governor of Úmmadaú with twenty horsemen. The Kanáwa, or people of Kanó, who were proceeding to Sókoto, had continued their march straight to Úmmadaú, in order to take up their quarters in that place.

Besides numbers of sick people from the town, who came to solicit my medical assistance, I received also a visit in the evening from one of the five governors of the place, who bears the title of *serki-n-Féllani*. He came to ask whether I had not for sale another pair of pocket pistols, such as I had given to the governor of Kátsena, for my eccentric friend played with the small arms I had made him a present of, all

the day long, to the great alarm of everybody, so that the rumour of my possessing such articles had spread over the whole of this part of Sudán, and even Kaŕra had pestered me greatly on this account.

In the town of Zékka resides also the former governor of the wealthy town or district of Rúma, mentioned repeatedly by Captain Clapperton, but destroyed by the Góberáwa after the period of his travels; that officer still bears the title of serki-n-Rúma. There was a pond of dirty water near our encampment, but good drinkable water was only to be obtained from a watercourse at a considerable distance, which, although dry at present, afforded wells at very little depth in its gravelly bottom.

Saturday, March 26—We remained here the whole forenoon, as we had had now the most difficult part of our journey before us, but instead of having leisure to prepare myself for an unusual amount of exertion, all my spare time was taken up by a disagreeable business,—the governor of Kátsena having succeeded in seducing from my service, in the most disgraceful manner, the Feráru Arab, whom I had hired for the whole journey to Timbúktu and back, and whom I could ill afford to lose. This lad, who had accompanied Ibrahim Bashá's expedition to Syria and an expedition to Kordofán, and who had afterwards resided with the Welád Slimán for some time in Kánem, might have been of great use to me in case of emergency. But, as it was, I could only be grateful to Providence for ridding me of this faithless rogue at so cheap a rate: and the insidious governor at least had no reason to boast of his conduct, for the Arab, as soon as he found himself well mounted, and dressed in a bernús, by his new master, took to his heels, and, following the track with which he had become acquainted in my company, succeeded in reaching Zínder, and from thence returned to his native country.

We here separated from most of our companions,—the governor of Kátsena, as well as the people from Kanó and Záriya, who were carrying tribute to the sultan of Sókoto, remaining behind, and only an escort or "rékkia" of fifty horsemen continuing in our company. The hostile army of the Góberáwa being in this neighbourhood, the danger of the road further on was very considerable, and the Kanáwa and Zozáwa or Zegézegé, of whom the latter carried 2,000,000 shells, 500 tobes, and 30 horses, as tribute, were too much afraid of their property to accompany us. There had also arrived a troop of about one hundred fatáki with asses laden entirely with the famous dodówa cakes; but they also remained behind. The governor himself, however, escorted us for a mile or two, to a large korámma called Mejídi, which no doubt forms one of the branches of the korámma of Búnka, and contains several wells, where we watered our horses and filled our water-skins for a night's march. Fine cotton-grounds and fields of onions fringed the border of the valley.

As soon as we left this winding watercourse, we entered a dense forest only occasionally broken by open spots covered with reed grass, and we pursued our march without interruption the whole night, with the exception of a short halt just in the dusk of the evening. I had taken the lead from the beginning; and the ghaladíma, who was fully

sensible of the great advantage of my firearms, sent messenger after messenger to me till he brought me to a stand, and thus managed to get all his slaves and camels in advance, so that I could only proceed very slowly. After a march of little more than twelve miles from the *korámma*, we entered a fertile and picturesque sort of vale, inclosed towards the north and south by rocky cliffs, and intersected by a narrow strip of succulent herbage, where water is apparently to be found at a little depth. This is the site of the town of *Moniya*, which had likewise been destroyed by the *Góberáwa* three years previously. Their army had even encamped here the previous day, and when our companions found the traces of their footsteps, which indicated that they had taken an easterly direction, all the people were seized with fright, and the intention which had been entertained, of resting here for a few hours of the night, was given up, and with an advanced guard of twenty horse, and a guard of from fifty to sixty, we kept cautiously and anxiously on.

About midnight we again entered dense forest, consisting chiefly of underwood. We marched the whole night, and emerged in the morning into open cultivated country. We then passed several small hamlets, and, crossing first a small and further on a larger watercourse, reached, a little before nine o'clock, the considerable place *Búnka*, surrounded by a clay wall about twelve feet in height, and by a half natural, half artificial stockade of dense forest. In this town, the governor of which is directly dependent upon the *ghaladima* of *Sókoto*, my protector had taken quarters; but, true to my old principle, I here also preferred encamping outside, and, turning round the town, on the south side, along a very winding and narrow passage through dense prickly underwood, I pitched my tent on the west side, in the midst of an open suburb consisting of several straggling groups of huts.

The inhabitants of the village proved to be industrious and sociable, and, soon after we had encamped, brought me several articles for sale, such as good strong ropes, of which we were greatly in want. In general a traveller cannot procure good ropes in these countries, and, for an expedition on a larger scale, he does well to provide himself with this article. The ropes made of *ngille* or the *dúm* bush last only a few days, and those made of hides, which are very useful in the dry season, for tying up the legs of the camels, and even for fastening the luggage, are not fit for the rainy season. We also bought here a good supply of tamarinds, plenty of fowls (for from thirty to forty *kurdi* each), and a little milk. Part of the inhabitants of this village, at least, consisted of *Ásbenáva* settlers; and they informed us that the army of the *Góberáwa* had come close to their town, but that they had driven them back.

The town itself, though not large, is tolerably well inhabited, containing a population of about five thousand. It is skirted on the east side by a considerable watercourse, at present dry, but containing excellent water close under the gravelly surface, and forming a place of resort for numbers of the grey species of monkey.

The approach of the rainy season was indicated by a slight fall of rain.

Monday, March 28—The ghaladíma, whom the imminence of the danger had induced to fix his departure for the next day, instead of allowing a day for repose, had already gone on in advance a considerable way, when we followed him, and soon after left on our right a large cheerful-looking hamlet, shaded by splendid trees, and enlivened by numbers of poultry. Extensive cultivated grounds testified to the industry of the inhabitants, who likewise belonged to a tribe of the Asberáwa, or rather to a mixed race of people. Having then crossed dense underwood, where the *Mimosa Nilotica*, here called "elkú," was standing in full blossom, while the ground consisted of sand, we reached, after a march of about a mile, the south-eastern corner of the wall of the considerable town of Zýrmi. The watercouse of Búnka had been close on our left, providing the inhabitants with a never-failing supply of excellent water, which is found close under the surface of the fine gravel which composes its bed.

Zýrmi is an important town even at present, but, being under the dominion of the Fúlbe, is only capable of preserving its existence by a constant struggle with Góber and Marádi. However, the governor of this town is not now master of the whole of Zánfara, as he was in the time of Captain Clapperton, who visited it on his journey to Sókoto, the Fúlbe, or Féllani, having found it more conducive to their policy to place each governor of a walled town, in this province, under the direct allegiance of Sókoto, in order to prevent the loss of the whole country by the rebellion of a single man. Some ninety or one hundred years ago, before the destruction of the capital, this province was almost the most flourishing country of Negroland, but it is at present divided into a number of petty states, each of which follows a different policy; hence it is difficult to know which towns are still dependent upon the dominion of Sókoto, and which adhere to their enemies the Góberáwa. The town is still tolerably well inhabited, the western more densely than the eastern quarter.

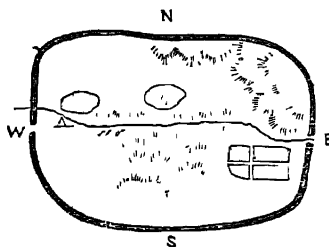
The direct road leads along the wall, and close beyond passes by the site of the former town Dáda, but, in order to water my horse, I descended into the korámma, which was here encompassed by banks about twenty-five feet high, the gradually shelving slopes of which were laid out in kitchen-gardens, where onions were cultivated. Passing then a tract thickly overgrown with monkey-bread trees, we traversed a straggling village, the whole appearance of which left a feeling of peace and comfort, rather than of the constant state of warfare which prevails in this country. But everything in human life depends on habitude; and these poor people, not knowing any better, bear the state of insecurity to which they are exposed without uneasiness.

Numerous neat cottages were just being built; and the western end of the village especially, being adorned by several groups of the gónđa tree, or *Erica Papaya*, had a very pleasant appearance. Dyeing-pits are not wanting in any of the larger towns of Zánfara, and a numerous herd of cattle met our view close beyond the village.

When we again reached the direct road the neighbourhood of our friends was distinctly indicated by a very strong and not quite aromatic

smell, which proceeded from the luggage of those of the caravan of native traders (or *fataki*) who had attached themselves to our troop in Zékka, leaving their more cautious brethren behind. The merchandise of these small traders consisted, for the most part, of those vegetable cakes called *dodówa*, which I have mentioned repeatedly, and which constitute an important article of trade, as the *dorówa* or *Parkia*, from the fruit of which those cakes are made, thrives in great abundance in the province of Zegzeg, while it is comparatively rare in the provinces of Kébbi and Góber. Three thousand of these cakes constitute an ass-load, and each of them in general is sold in Sókoto for five kurdí, having been bought on the spot for one urí; so that the profit, being not less than 500 per cent, makes this commerce attractive for poor people, notwithstanding the dangerous state to which this road is at present reduced. The return freight which these petty merchants bring back from Sókoto generally consists of the salt of Fúgha.

Our further road conducted us through a more rugged district, intersected by numerous small water-courses with very rocky beds, and mostly covered with dense forest only now and then broken by a small tract of cultivated ground producing even a little cotton.



Thus we reached the town of Dúchi, the name of which, meaning "the rocks," served well to indicate the peculiar nature of the place, which has a very wild and romantic appearance—a labyrinth of rocky eminences intersected by a small ravine, as shown in the woodcut: the dwellings, which are scattered about in several groups, can scarcely be seen, owing to the prevalence of rocks. Several groups of *dúm* palms contribute greatly to enhance the picturesque character of the place.

Having got inside the wall, which consisted of loose stones, we had some difficulty in finding a fit spot for encamping, and at length, having traversed the whole place, pitched our tent, not far from the western gate, but still inside the wall, in the shade of a fine *tsámia* or tamarind-tree, and close to a small group of huts. The principal hamlet lies nearer the east side. The little watercourse contained only a very small supply of water under the gravelly surface of the bed, but on my return from the west, in the autumn of the following year, a foaming brook was rushing along it. The interesting character of the scenery induced me, in the course of the night, to leave my tent and to sit down for a while on a rock, which commanded the whole interior of the town. There I had a charming prospect over the scene by clear moonlight, while people were busily employed the whole night, collecting the small supply of water from the channel, for their next day's wants.

Tuesday, March 29.—In order to pass the narrow gate, if gate it may be called, I was obliged to have the two posts which encompassed

it on each side removed. The whole country round about is rocky, with only a slight covering of fertile soil, so that nothing but Indian millet is cultivated, which thrives very well in rocky ground. But the country was adorned with a tolerable variety of trees, such as monkey-bread trees, most of which had young leaves, the *dorówa*, the *kadeña*, and the *merké*. While crossing a small rocky ridge, we were joined by a troop of people bearing large loads of cotton upon their heads, which they were carrying to the considerable market of Badaráwa. This cotton was distinguished by its snow-white colour, and seemed to be of very good quality.

Beyond the rocky ridge the country became more open, rich in trees and cultivated fields, and having passed a village, we turned round the south-western corner of the walled town of Sabón Birni, making our way with great difficulty, and not without some damage to the fences as well as to our luggage, through the narrow lanes of an open suburb. The western side of the town was bordered by a koramma containing a considerable sheet of stagnant water of very bad quality, and fringed all round by a border of kitchen-gardens, where onions were cultivated. The governor of Sabón Birni, like that of Zýrni, is directly dependent on the emír of Sókoto. The name or title of his dominion is Bázáy.

From hence, along a path filled with market people, we reached the walled town of Badaráwa, which, like most of the towns of Zánfara, is surrounded on all sides with a dense border of timber, affording to the archers, who form the strength of the natives, great advantage in a defence, and making any attack, in the present condition of the strategical art in this country, very difficult. In the midst of this dense body of trees there was a very considerable market, attended by nearly ten thousand people, and well supplied with cotton,* which seemed to be the staple commodity, while Indian millet (sorghum) also was in abundance. A great number of cattle were slaughtered in the market, and the meat retailed in small quantities. There was also a good supply of fresh butter (which is rarely seen in Negroland), formed in large lumps, cleanly prepared, and swimming in water; they were sold for 500 kurdí each. Neither was there any scarcity of onions, a vegetable which is extensively cultivated in the province of Zánfara, the smaller ones being sold for one urí, the larger ones for two kurdí each. These onions are mostly cultivated round a large *tebki*, about half a mile to the west of the town, which even at the present season was still of considerable size. Instead of entering the narrow streets of the town, I pitched my tent in the open fields, at a considerable distance from the wall; for I was the more in want of fresh air as I was suffering greatly from headache. The consequence was that I could not even indulge in the simple luxuries of the market, but had recourse to my common medicine of tamarind water.

There was some little danger here, not so much from a foreign foe as from our proximity to a considerable hamlet of Tuarek of the tribe of the Itisan, who have settlements in all these towns of Zánfara. While

* It was extensively cultivated in this province at the beginning of the sixteenth century. (Leo Africanus, lib. vii, c. 13.)

endeavouring to recruit myself by rest and simple diet, I received a visit from an intelligent and well-behaved young fáki, Mállem Dádi, who belonged to the suite of the ghaladíma, and whose company was always agreeable to me. He informed me that the Zánfaráwa and the Góberáwa had regarded each other with violent hatred from ancient times,—Babári, the founder of Kaláwa, or Alkaláwa, the former capital of Góber, having based the strength and well-being of his own country on the destruction of the old capital of Zánfara, ninety-seven years previously. Hence the people of Zánfara embarked heart and soul in the religious and political rising of the sheikh 'Othman against his hege lord the ruler of Góber. I learned also that the same amount of tribute, which I have before mentioned as carried on this occasion by the messengers of Zániya to the emír el Múmenín, was paid almost every second month, while from Kátsena it was very difficult to obtain a regular tribute, the governor of that town generally not paying more than 400,000 kurdi and forty articles, such as bernúses, kaftans, etc., annually. It was only an exceptional case, arising from the exertions of the ghaladíma, as I was told, that he had sent, this year, 800,000 shells, besides a horse of Tárkı breed, of the nominal value of 700,000 kurdi.

Wednesday, March 30—Allowing my camels to pursue the direct road, I myself took a rather roundabout way, in order to get a sight of the tebki from which the town is supplied, and I was really astonished at the considerable expanse of clear water which it exhibited at this time of the year (shortly before the setting in of the rainy season), when water in the whole of Negroland becomes very scanty. The ground consisted of fine vegetable soil, while the cultivation along the path was



scarcely interrupted, and in passing a hamlet we saw the inhabitants making the first preparations for the labours of the field. Cotton was also cultivated to a considerable extent. About a mile and a half further on, at the village of Sungúruré, which is surrounded with a strong keffi, I observed the first rúdu, a sort of light hut consisting of nothing but a thatched roof raised upon four poles from eight to ten feet in height, and affording a safe retreat to the inhabitants, during their night's rest, against the swarms of mosquitoes which infest the whole region along the swampy creeks of the Niger, the people entering these elevated bedrooms from below, and shutting the entrance between them, as represented in the accompanying woodcut.

Leaving, then, the walled town of Katúru close on our left, we entered a dense forest richly interwoven with creeping plants, and intersected by a large korámma with a very uneven bottom, affording sufficient proof of the vehemence of the torrent which at times rushes along

it. At present it contained nothing but pools of stagnant water in several places, where we observed a large herd of camels, belonging to a party of Itisan, just being watered, while tobacco was cultivated on the border of the korámma. A little further on, the torrent had swept away and undermined the banks in such a manner that they presented the appearance of artificial walls. We met several natives on the road, who, although Fúlbe or Féllani (that is to say, belonging to the conquering tribe) and themselves apparently Mohammedans, wore nothing but a leather apron round their loins.

Thus we reached, a little past noon, the town Sansanne 'Aisa, which was originally a mere fortified encampment or "sansanne. But its advanced and in some respects isolated position, as an outlying post against the Góberáwa and Mariyadáwa, rendered it essential that it should be strong enough by its own resources to offer a long resistance, and it has in consequence become a walled town of considerable importance, so that travellers generally take this roundabout way, with a strong northerly deviation. Here also the wall is surrounded with a dense forest, affording a sort of natural fortification.

Having entered the town and convinced myself of its confined and cheerless character, I resolved even here to encamp outside, though at considerable risk, and I went to the well, which was about half a mile distant to the south, and, being five fathoms in depth, contained a rich supply of excellent water. Here a small caravan of people from Ádar, laden with corn and about to return to their native home, were encamped; and I pitched my tent on an open spot, close to some light cottages of Itisan settlers, who immediately brought me a little fresh cheese as a specimen of their industry, and were well satisfied with a present which I made them in return, of a few razors and looking-glasses. These Tawárek are scattered over the whole of Western Súdán, not only frequenting those localities occasionally as traders, but even sometimes settled with their wives and children. Their women also did not fail to pay us a visit in the afternoon; for they are extremely curious and fond of strangers.

When I had made myself comfortable, I received a visit from the ghaladíma of the town, he brought me the compliments of the governor, who was a man of rather noble birth, being nobody else but 'Alí Káramí, the eldest son and presumed successor of 'Alíyu the emír el Múmenín. He bears the pompous title of serkí-n-Góber, "lord of Góber," although almost the whole of that country is in the hands of the enemy. Having taken his leave, the messenger soon returned accompanied by Alhátu, the younger brother of the ghaladíma of Sókoto, who was anxious to show his importance, bringing me a fat sheep as a present, which I acknowledged by the gift of a fine heláli bernú, besides a red cap and turban, and the governor expressed his satisfaction at my present by sending me also corn for my horses, and half-a-dozen fowls. In the evening we had a short but violent tornado, which usually indicates the approach of the rainy season, but no rain fell, and we passed the night very comfortably in our open encampment, without any accident.

Thursday, March 31.—We had a very difficult day's march before

us,—the passage of the wilderness of Gündumi,—which can only be traversed by a forced march, and which, even upon a man of Captain Clapperton's energies, had left the impression of the most wearisome journey he had ever performed in his life. But before returning into our westerly direction, we had first to follow a north-westerly path leading to a large pond or *tebki*, in order to provide ourselves with water for the journey. It was still a good-sized sheet of water, though torn up and agitated by numbers of men and animals that had preceded our party from the town; and we were therefore very fortunate in having provided ourselves with some excellent clear water from the well close to our place of encampment. The pond was in the midst of the forest, which towards its outskirts presented a cheerful aspect, enlivened by a great number of sycamore trees and even a few *deléb* palms, but which here assumed the more monotonous and cheerless character which seems to be common to all the extensive forests of Negroland.

The beginning of our march, after we had watered our animals and filled our water-skins, was rather inauspicious, our companions missing their way and with their bugles calling me and my people, who were pursuing the right track, far to the south, till, after endeavouring in vain to make our way through an impervious thicket, and after a considerable loss of time, anything but agreeable at the beginning of a desperate march of nearly thirty hours, we at length with the assistance of a Púlo shepherd regained the right track. We then pursued our march, travelling without any halt the whole day and the whole night through the dense forest, leaving the pond called *tebki-n-Gündumi* at some distance on our left, and not meeting with any signs of cultivation till a quarter before eleven the next morning, when, wearied in the extreme and scarcely able to keep up, we were met by some horsemen, who had been sent out from the camp at *Gáwasú* to meet us, provided with water-skins in order to bring up the stragglers who had lagged behind from fatigue and thirst. And there were many who needed their assistance—one woman had even succumbed to exhaustion in the course of the night; for such a forced march is the more fatiguing and exhausting as the dangers from a lurking enemy make the greatest possible silence and quiet indispensable, instead of the spirits being kept up with cheerful songs as is usually the case. But having once reached the cultivated grounds, after a march of two miles and a half more we arrived at the first *gáwasú* trees which surrounded the village which is named after them, "*Gáwasú*." In the fields or "*kárárá*" adjoining this village, *Alíyu* the emir *el Mümenín* had taken up his camping-ground, and was preparing himself for setting out upon an expedition against the *Góber* people.

It was well that we had arrived—having been incessantly marching for the last twenty-six hours, without taking into account the first part of the journey from the town to the pond; for I had never seen my horse in such a state of total exhaustion, while my people also fell down immediately they arrived. As for myself, kept up by the excitement of my situation, I did not feel much fatigued, but on the contrary felt

strong enough to search without delay through the whole of my luggage, in order to select the choicest presents for the great prince of Sokoto, who was to set out the following morning, and upon whose reception depended a good deal of the success of my undertaking. The afternoon wore on without my being called into the presence of the sultan, and I scarcely expected that I should see him that day, but suddenly, after the evening prayer, Allattu made his appearance with some messengers of the chief, not in order to hasten my present, but first to give me a proof of their own hospitality, and bringing me a very respectable present consisting of an ox, four fat sheep, and two large straw sacks or *tákrufa* containing about four hundred pounds weight of rice, with an intimation at the same time that 'Aliyu wished to see me, but that I was not now to take my present with me. I therefore prepared myself immediately; and on going to the sultan's we passed by the ghaladima, who had been lodged in a courtyard of the village, and who accompanied us.

We found 'Aliyu in the northern part of the village, sitting under a tree in front of his quarters, on a raised platform of clay. He received me with the utmost kindness and good humour, shaking hands with me and begging me to take a seat just in front of him. Having paid my compliments to him on behalf of the Queen of England, I told him that it had been my intention to have paid him a visit two years previously, but that the losses which we had met with in the first part of our journey had prevented me from carrying out my design. I had scarcely finished my speech, when he himself assured me that at the right time he had received the letter which I had addressed to him through the sultan of Ágades (informing him of the reason why we could not then go directly to pay him our compliments), and that from that moment up to the present time he had followed our proceedings, and especially my own, with the greatest interest, having even heard at the time a report of my journey to Ádamáva.

I then informed him that in coming to pay him my compliments I had principally two objects in view,—one of which was that he might give me a letter of franchise guaranteeing to all British merchants entire security for themselves and their property in visiting his dominions for trading purposes; and the second, that he might allow me to proceed to Timbúktu, and facilitate my journey to that place (which was greatly obstructed at the present moment by the rebellion of the province of Kebbi) by his own paramount authority. Without reserve he acceded to both my requests in the most cheerful and assuring manner, saying that it would be his greatest pleasure to assist me in my enterprise to the utmost of his power, as it had only humane objects in view, and could not but tend to draw nations together that were widely separated from each other. At the same time he expressed, in a very feeling way, his regret with regard to 'Abd Allah (Captain Clapperton), whose name I had incidentally mentioned, intimating that the then state of war, or "*gába*," between Bello and the sheikh el Kánemí, the ruler of Bórnu, had disturbed their amicable relations with that eminent officer, whom in such a conjuncture they had not felt justified in allowing to proceed

on his errand to their enemy. In order to give him an example how, in the case of foreign visitors or messengers, such circumstances ought not to be taken into account, I took this opportunity to show him that the ruler of Bornu, although in open hostility with the most powerful of his ('Aliyu's) governors, nevertheless had allowed me, at the present conjuncture, to proceed on my journey to them without the slightest obstacle. He then concluded our conversation by observing that it had been his express wish to see me the very day of my arrival, in order to assure me that I was heartily welcome, and to set my mind at rest as to the fate of Clapperton, which he was well aware could not fail to inspire Europeans with some confidence in the proceedings of the rulers of Sokoto.

With a mind greatly relieved I returned to my tent from this audience. The dusk of the evening, darkened by thick thunder-clouds, with the thunder rolling uninterruptedly, and lighted up only by the numerous fires which were burning round about in the fields where the troops had encamped under the trees, gave to the place a peculiar and solemn interest, making me fully aware of the momentous nature of my situation. The thunder continued rolling all night long, plainly announcing the approach of the rainy season, though there was no rain at the time. Meanwhile I was pondering over the present which I was to give to this mighty potentate, who had treated me with so much kindness and regard on the first interview, and on whose friendship and protection depended in a great measure the result of my proceedings, and thinking that what I had selected might not prove sufficient to answer fully his expectation, in the morning, when I arose, I still added a few things more, so that my present consisted of the following articles: a pair of pistols,* richly ornamented with silver, in velvet holsters, a rich *bernús* (Arab cloak with hood) of red satin, lined with yellow satin, a *bernús* of yellow cloth; a *bernús* of brown cloth; a white *heláli* *bernús* of the finest quality; a red cloth *kaftan* embroidered with gold, a pair of red cloth trousers, a *Stambúli* carpet; three loaves of sugar, three turbans and a red cap, two pairs of razors, half-a-dozen large looking-glasses, cloves, and benzoin.

Having tied up these presents in five smart handkerchiefs, and taking another *bernús* of red cloth with me for the *ghaladima*, I proceeded first to the latter, who received his present with acknowledgments, and surveyed those destined for his master with extreme delight and satisfaction. We then went together to 'Aliyu, and found him in a room built of reeds, sitting on a divan made of the light wood of the *tuk-kurúwa*; and it was then for the first time that I obtained a distinct view of this chief, for on my interview the preceding night it had been

* I may as well add, that the richly-mounted pistols which chiefly aided me in obtaining the friendship of this powerful chief, as well as another pair which I afterwards gave to Khahlu the ruler of Gando, and also several other things, were paid for with my own money, which was forwarded to Tripoli by my family at the suggestion of the Chevalier Bunsen, as well as two harmonica, one of which I gave to 'Aliyu, and the other to the sheikh el Bakáy.

so dark that I was not enabled to distinguish his features accurately. I found him a stout middle-sized man, with a round fat face exhibiting, evidently, rather the features of his mother, a Háusa slave, than those of his father Mohammed Bello a free and noble Púllo, but full of cheerfulness and good humour. His dress also was extremely simple, and at the same time likewise bore evidence of the pure Púllo character having been abandoned, for while it consisted of scarcely anything else but a tobe of greyish colour, his face was uncovered, while his father Bello, even in his private dwelling, at least before a stranger, never failed to cover his mouth.

He received me this time with the same remarkable kindness which he had exhibited the preceding evening, and repeated his full consent to both my requests, which I then stated more explicitly, requesting at the same time that the letter of franchise might be written at once, before his setting out on his expedition. This he agreed to, but he positively refused to allow me to proceed on my journey before his return from the expedition, which he said would not be long, and, acquainted as I was with the etiquette of these African courts, I could scarcely expect anything else from the beginning. He then surveyed the presents, and expressed his satisfaction repeatedly; but when he beheld the pistols, which I had purposely kept till the last, he gave vent to his feelings in the most undisguised manner, and, pressing my hands repeatedly, he said, "Nagóde, nagóde, barka, 'Abd el Kerím, barka"—"I thank you, God bless you, 'Abd el Kerím, God bless you." He had evidently never before seen anything like these richly-mounted pistols, which had been selected in Tripoli by the connoisseur eyes of Mr. Warrington, and surveyed the present on all sides. It was to these very pistols that I was in a great measure indebted for the friendly disposition of this prince, while the unscrupulous governor of Kátsena, who had heard some report about them, advised me by all means to sell them to himself, as his liege lord would not only not value them at all, but would even be afraid of them.

Soon after I had returned to my tent, the ghaladíma arrived, bringing me from his master 100,000 kurdí, to defray the expenses of my household during his absence, and I had afterwards the more reason to feel grateful for this kind attention, although the sum did not exceed forty Spanish dollars, as I became aware, during my stay in Wurno, how difficult it would have been for me to have changed my dollars into kurdí. I then satisfied my friend Alhátu the younger brother of the ghaladíma, whose behaviour certainly was far from disinterested, but who, nevertheless, had not proved quite useless to me.

Although we were here in the camp outside, and the people busy with their approaching departure, yet I received visits from several people, and amongst others, that of a Weled Ráshid of the name of Mohammed, who, on my return from Timbúktu followed me to Kúkawa in the company of his countryman the learned Ahmed Wadáwi. This man having left his tribe on the south-eastern borders of Bagírmi, had settled in this place many years before, and having accompanied several expeditions or forays, he gave me an entertaining description of the

courage of the Fëllani-n-Sókoto, although he had some little disposition to slander, and even related to me stories about the frailties of the female portion of the inhabitants of the capital, which I shall not repeat.

Sunday, April 3—Being anxious that the letter of franchise should be written before the sultan set out, I sent in the morning my broker 'Alí el Ágeren, with a pound of Tower-proof gunpowder, to the prince, in order to remind him of his promise; and he returned after a while, bringing me a letter signed with the sultan's seal, which on the whole was composed in very handsome terms, stating that the prince had granted the request of commercial security for English merchants and travellers, which I as a messenger of the Queen of England had made to him. But the letter not specifying any conditions, I was obliged to ask for another paper, written in more distinct terms; and although 'Alíyü's time was of course very limited, as he was just about to set out with his army, even my last request was complied with, and I declared myself satisfied. I was well aware how extremely difficult it is to make these people understand the forms of the articles in which European governments are wont to conclude commercial treaties. In regions like this, however, it seems almost as if too much time ought not to be lost on account of such a matter of form before it is well established whether merchants will really open a traffic with these quarters; for as soon as, upon the general condition of security, an intercourse is really established, the rulers of those countries themselves become aware that some more definite arrangement is necessary, while, before they have any experience of intercourse with Europeans, the form of the articles in which treaties are generally conceived fills them with the utmost suspicion and fear, and may be productive of the worst consequences to any one who may have to conclude such a treaty.

The sultan was kind enough, before he left in the afternoon, to send me word that I might come and take leave of him, and I wished him with all my heart success in his expedition, as the success of my own undertaking, namely, my journey towards the west, partly depended upon his vanquishing his enemies. Giving vent to his approval of my wishes by repeating that important and highly significant word not more peculiar to the Christian than to the Mohammedan creed, "Amin, amin," he took leave of me, in order to start on his expedition, accompanied only by a small detachment of cavalry, most of the troops having already gone on in advance. I had also forwarded a present to Hámmedu, the son of 'Atiku an elder brother and predecessor of Bello; but he sent it back to me, begging me to keep it until after his return from the expedition. The ghaladíma also, who was to accompany the sultan, called, before his departure, in order that I might wind round his head a turban of gaudy colours, such as I then possessed, as an omen of success.

After all the people were gone, I myself could not think of passing another night in this desolate place, which is not only exposed to the attacks of men, but even to those of wild beasts. Even the preceding night the hyenas had attacked several people, and had almost succeeded in carrying off a boy, besides severely lacerating one man, who

was obliged to return home without being able to accompany the army. An hour, therefore, after the sultan had left his encampment, we ourselves were on our road to Wurno, the common residence of 'Alíyú, where I had been desired to take up my quarters in the house of the ghaladima; but I never made a more disagreeable journey, short as it was, the provisions which the sultan had given me encumbering us greatly, so that at length we were obliged to give away the heifer as a present to the inhabitants of the village of Gáwasú. It thus happened that we did not reach our quarters till late in the evening, and we had a great deal of trouble in taking possession of them in the dark, having been detained a long time at the gateway, which itself was wide and spacious, but which was obstructed by a wooden door, while there was no open square at all inside the gate, nor even a straight road leading up from thence into the town, the road immediately dividing and winding close along the wall.

CHAPTER XII.

RESIDENCE IN WURNO.

I SHALL preface the particulars of my residence in Wurno with a short account of the growth of the power of the Fúlbe or Fèllani in this quarter, and of the present condition of the empire of Sòkoto.

There is no doubt that, if any African tribe deserves the full attention of the learned European, it is that of the Fúlbe (*sing* Púllo), or Fúla, as they are called by the Mandingoes; Fèllani (*sing* Bafèllanchi), by the Hausa people, Felláta, by the Kanúri, and Fullán, by the Arabs. In their appearance, their history, and the peculiar character of their language, they present numerous anomalies to the inhabitants of the adjacent countries. No doubt they are the most intelligent of all the African tribes, although in bodily development they cannot be said to exhibit the most perfect specimens, and probably are surpassed in this respect by the Jolof. But it is their superior intelligence which gives their chief expression to the Fúlbe, and prevents their features from presenting that regularity which we find in other tribes, while the spare diet of a large portion of that tribe does not impart to their limbs all the development of which they are capable, most of them being distinguished by the smallness of their limbs and the slender growth of their bodies. But as to their outward appearance, which presents various contrasts in complexion as well as in bodily development, we must first take into account that the Fúlbe, as a conquering tribe, sweeping over a wide expanse of provinces, have absorbed and incorporated with themselves different and quite distinct national elements, which have given to their community a rather varying and undecided character.

Moreover, besides such tribes as have been entirely absorbed, and whose origin has even been referred to the supposed ancestors of the

whole nation, there are others which, although their pedigree is not brought into so close a connection with that of the Fúlbe, nevertheless are so intermingled with them, that they have quite forgotten their native idiom, and might be confounded with the former by any traveller who is not distinctly aware of the fact. Prominent among these latter are the Sissilbe, as they call themselves, or Syllebáwa, as they are called in Hausa, whom I shall have occasion to mention on my visit to Sókoto, and who are nothing but a portion of the numerous tribe of the Wákore or Wángaráwa, to whom belong also the Súsu and the so-called Mandingoes, and while that portion of them who are settled in Háusa have entirely forgotten their native idiom, and have adopted, besides the Fulfulde language, even the Háusa dialect, their brethren in the more western province of Zaberma use their own idiom at the present time almost exclusively.

On the other hand, foremost among those tribes who have been entirely absorbed by the community of the Fúlbe are the Toróde or Torunkáwa, who, although they are considered as the most noble portion of the population in most of the kingdoms founded by the Fúlbe, yet evidently owe their origin to a mixture of the Jolof element with the ruling tribe,* and in such a manner that, in point of numbers, the former enjoyed full superiority in the amalgamation; but it is quite evident that, even if we do not take into account the Toróde, the Jolof have entered into the formation of the remarkable tribe of the Fúlbe or Fúla, in a very strong proportion, although the languages of these two tribes at present are so distinct, especially as far as regards grammatical structure, and it is highly interesting that Áhmed Bába (who, by occasional hints, allows us to form a much better idea of the progress of that tribe, in its spreading over tracts so immense, than we were able to obtain before we became acquainted with his history of Súdán) intimates distinctly that he regards the Jolof as belonging to the great stock of the Fullán or Fúlbe, although at the present time the terms "Jolof" and Púllo" seem to be used in opposition, the one meaning a person of black, the other an individual of red complexion.

It is this element of the Toróde in particular which causes such a great variety in the type of the Fúlbe community, the Toróde being in general of tall stature and strong frame, large features, and of very black complexion, while the other sections of that tribe are always distinguished by a tinge of red or copper colour.

But besides the Toróde, who, as I have said, in most cases as well in Fúta as in Sókoto, at present form the ruling aristocracy, there are many other nationalities which have been absorbed in this great conquering nation, and which, on the contrary, are rather degraded. The most interesting among these latter, at least in the more eastern tracts occupied by the Fúlbe, are certainly the Jawámbe, as they are called by the Fúlbe, but rather, as they call themselves, Zoghorán, or as they

* It is, however, remarkable that, according to Sultan Bello's account, in a passage not translated by Silame, the original idiom of the Toróde was the Wákoro or Wákore, which, if it be true, would render the Toróde the near kinsfolk of the Sissilbe.

are named by the Háusa people, Zoromáwa. This tribe, which we find at present quite absorbed by the Fèllani, and, at least in the provinces of Háusa and Kébbi, reduced to the occupation of mere brokers, we still find, during the period of the Áskia, that is to say, in the sixteenth century of our era, quite distinct from the community of the Fúlbe or Fèllani, as a tribe by themselves, settled to the S E of the Great River, where it enters the province of Másina, and it was this tribe which, having been continually persecuted by the Songhay during the height of their sway, at a later period, when that empire had been laid prostrate by the musketeers of Morocco, contributed the most to its ruin and conquered great part of it, particularly the most fertile provinces, such as Bára and Kármína.

Nearly the same character distinguishes the tribe of the Laúbe on the Senegal, who, in general, at the present time have been reduced to the rank of carpenters, but, nevertheless, at a former period evidently constituted a distinct tribe*. It is these degraded tribes—viz besides those above mentioned, the Mábube or Mábe, considered in general as weavers, the Gergasábe, or shoemakers, the Wailube, or tailors, the Wambaibe, or singing men, the Waúlube, or beggars,—who impart to the community of the Fúlbe the character of a distinction into castes, especially as all of them, in the imaginary pedigree of the Púllo stock, have been carried back to one common progenitor called Só, but we find the same degraded families among the Jolof†.

The absorbing of these western tribes, especially the Jolof and

* M. Eichwaldt, from the account given of them by various French travellers, makes, as to this tribe, the following interesting statement, regarding them as gipsies:—"En effet, les ethnographes considerent habituellement les Laobes comme une branche des Foulahs. mais ce fait n'est nullement demontre, et nous avons nous-mêmes connu des voyageurs qui affirmaient que les Laobes possedaient une langue nationale differente du Foulah." (*Journal de la Société Ethnologique*, 1841, vol. i., p. 62)

† The Fulbe in general divide all the tribes belonging to their stock into four groups or families, but they by no means agree as to the particulars of the division. I will here give one which is commonly assumed.—

1 The Jel, comprising the following sections—the Torobe; Ulérbe; Fittobe; Jebtobe; Súdube; Úrube, Tarabe; Jéllube; Báabe, Símburankóbe, also called Ndojiga, from their dwelling-place, Feroibe; Núkkobe; Sílube; Sosobe; Tongabe, Wajobe. Of these the Úrube are again subdivided into five sections,—the U. Bube, U. Feroibe (distinct from the Feroibe before mentioned), U. Dude, U. Síkam, U. Wajobe. The Jéllube, again, are subdivided into three sections,—the J. Yorónka, J. Haire, and J. Másina.

2. The Baá, comprising the sections of the Gnara or Ghara, the Síndega, and the Daneji.

3 The So, comprising the Jawámbe, the Mábube or Mabe, Gergasábe, Wailube, Laube, Wambaibe, and Waulube.

4 The Berí, comprising the Siwálbe, Jaléji, Kombangkóbe, and Kíngiran-kobe.

But besides these there are a great many other divisions of this widespread tribe, called from localities, some of which I shall mention as opportunity occurs.

Wákoré by the Fulfulde nation, furnishes at the same time an unquestionable and unmistakable proof that the march of conquest of the latter proceeded from west to east, and not in an opposite direction, as has been the generally-adopted view of those who have touched upon the subject. No doubt it is impossible for us with our faint knowledge of the migration of tribes in general, and of African tribes in particular, to explain how this tribe came to settle in the region along the lower course of the Senegal, as their type is distinguished in so very remarkable a manner from the character of the other tribes settled in that neighbourhood, and evidently bears more resemblance to some nations whose dwelling-places are in the far east, such as the Malays, with whom M. Eichwaldt, in his ingenious but hypothetical essay on the Fúla,* has endeavoured to connect them by way of Meroë. I myself am of opinion that their origin is to be sought for in the direction of the east; but this refers to an age which for us is enveloped in impenetrable darkness, while what I have said about the progress of their conquest from west to east relates to historical times, comprising the period from the fourteenth century downwards.† In this respect the mission of two religious chiefs of this tribe from Melle (where they resided at the time) to Biri the king of Bórnu, who ruled about the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, is of the highest interest, as it shows at once that this tribe, even at that early period, was distinguished by its religious learning, and gives a proof of the progress of the tribe from west to east. Some other facts which have come to our knowledge with regard to the progress of this tribe eastward will be mentioned in the chronological tables; here I will only call the reader's attention to the circumstance, that we find, among the most intimate friends and most staunch supporters of Mohammed el Háj Askia, a man of the name of 'Alí Fulánu, while in general it was the policy of the Songhay dynasty, which was begun by that great ruler of Negroland, to keep in check this tribe, the conquering tendency of which could not but become apparent to intelligent rulers, notwithstanding the humble character of "berroróji," under which they used to immigrate and settle in foreign countries, and this is the acknowledged reason why the Gabéro, a tribe whom we shall meet in the course of

* Eichwaldt, in *Journal de la Société Ethnologique*, 1841, vol. 1, p. 2, *et seq.* Among all the arguments brought forward by this gentleman in order to show a relation of the Fúlbe with the Malays, there is none of any consequence; and all his specimens of words brought forward with this object are either taken from bad sources or prove nothing, the only striking similarities in the language of these two nations being the words for fish and spear. I speak here of a special and direct relationship of the Fulbe with the Malays, without taking into consideration the vestiges of the general relationship of the whole human race, which have lately been pursued and demonstrated with such industry by Mr Logan.

† There may be some remote affinity between the Fúlbe and the South African tribes, but this refers to an age probably not later than the rule of the Pharaohs; and the idea that the Fúlbe proceeded from South Africa is certainly entirely erroneous. The identity of a few numerals in the Fulfulde and Kaffir languages is curious, but may be explained on historical grounds,

our proceedings on the river below Gágho, have entirely forgotten their Fulfúle idiom, not having been allowed, for a certain period, to use it. Whether it be true, as the Fállani-n-Háusa assert, that Kanta, the founder of the homonymous dynasty of Kébbi in the very beginning of the sixteenth century, was originally a slave of a party of Fúlbe settled in the country, a fact which, if confirmed, would prove the early settlement of the tribe in this country, I am unable to decide, although it is certainly true that in the course of the sixteenth century the Fúlbe became strong enough, in the regions on the east side of the Ísa or Kwára, to exercise a great influence in the struggles which ensued between the successors of the first Kanta, while it was a chief of their tribe, the ruler of Danka, or Denga, who, according to Áhmed Bába, first began his predatory incursions into the Songhay territory, laying waste the fertile and once extremely populous region along the Rás el niá. It is thus explained how, even in the beginning of the seventeenth century, Fúlbe tribes were settled in several places of Bagirmi.

But just on account of the vastness of the region over which they were scattered, were these people, while pursuing only their own local interest, powerless even in these loosely-connected and almost crumbling kingdoms, where they had found a new home, with the exception of Bághena, where they appear to have formed a nucleus of greater strength, but destitute of any religious impulse.

A new epoch for this widespread tribe did not open till the beginning of this century, when, in the year 1802, Báwa the ruler of Góber summoned to his presence the sheikh 'Othmán, together with the other chiefs of the tribe, and severely reprimanded them on account of the pretensions which they were beginning to put forward. It was then that 'Othmán, who, being settled in the village Dághel, performed the office of imám to his countrymen, and had begun to give them a new religious impulse, which raised them above their petty interests, filled with indignation at the manner in which he, the great Moslim, was treated by those pagans, was roused to the attempt of making himself and his tribe independent of the will of the native ruler of the country, and having assembled his countrymen, who now conferred upon him the dignity and authority of a sheikh, raised the standard of revolt, but his proceedings, at least as far as regarded Góber and the capital Alkaláwa, were far from proving successful at the beginning, he being vanquished in almost every encounter but the fanatical zeal of his followers, whom he continually inspired with fresh energy by his religious songs, was so great that gradually he overcame all these obstacles, and at length succeeded in laying the foundation of a vast empire, being greatly assisted in his career by his brother 'Abd Alláhi, who, although his senior, had been the first to pay him homage, and by his son Mohammed Bello. He took up his residence first at Gando, where he was besieged for a long time, and afterwards at Sifáwa, till, as described by Captain Clapperton in the excellent and concise account of this struggle which he has given in the report of his second journey, Othmán ended his life in a sort of fanatical ecstasy or madness.

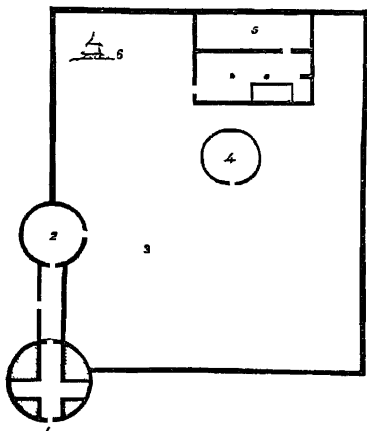
He was followed by Mohammed Bello, who endeavoured to introduce

more order into the empire thus consolidated, and who, on the whole, must rank high among the African princes, being distinguished not less by his great love of learning and science than by his warlike spirit, although his military achievements were far from being always successful. But he has had the misfortune, after enjoying a great name in Europe, for a short time, for the kind and generous spirit in which he received Captain Clapperton on his first journey, to incur the severest condemnation on account of the manner in which he treated that same enterprising traveller on his second journey. No doubt he was a distinguished ruler, but he must not be judged according to European ideas. He had to struggle hard, not less against the native tribes anxious to assert their independence, than against his great rival Moham-medel Kánemí the king of Bórnu, who, just at the time of Clapperton's second stay, pressed him very closely, and having successfully overrun the eastern provinces of the Fulfúlde or Felláta empire, threatened Kanó. Hence this political position, together with the instigations of the Arabs, who feared for their commerce with Negroland if the road from the south should be opened, will account in some measure for his treatment of the English traveller, who perhaps urged his going to the sheikh of Bórnu with too much energy. However, there is no doubt that Bello's successor and brother, 'Atíku, who ruled from the year 1832 till 1837, would have weakened the interest of the European public in the example which Bello gave of an energetic and generous ruler in those distant and out-of-the-way regions, if his career had become known to them, for he seems to have fully belied the expectation, of "a mean prince," which he raised when still living in his retirement, as a jealous king's brother, without power and influence. But his reign was too short for consolidating sufficiently the loosely-connected empire, although, as long as he lived, full security is said to have reigned. The spirit of independence broke out more strongly under his successor 'Alíyu, a son of Bello by a female slave, who, save a well-meaning and cheerful disposition, does not appear to have inherited many of the noble qualities of his father, and least of all his warlike spirit, and hence the lamentable condition in which I found this extensive kingdom, while there is scarcely any hope that affairs will assume a more consolidated character before another more energetic ruler succeeds to 'Alíyu. Nevertheless the kingdom or empire, even at the present time, still comprises the same provinces which it did at its most flourishing period, with the exception of Khadéja, the governor of which has made himself independent, but the military strength of these provinces, especially as regards cavalry, as well as the amount of revenue, is greatly impaired, although the latter, collected from all the provinces * together, certainly exceeds one hundred millions of shells, or about ten thousand pounds sterling, besides an equal value in slaves and native cloth or articles of foreign produce. The whole strength of the empire, if the distracted state of each province allowed its quota to be withdrawn from thence, would certainly still form an imposing force,—viz, the

* There are inspectors of the provinces residing in Sokoto, who are responsible for the tribute being duly delivered.

cavalry of the seat of government, together with the subjected parts of Kébbi and Zánfara, about 5,000, the cavalry of Kanó, from 5,000 to 7,000, that of Baúchi, from 1,500 to 2,000, that of Zegzeg, 3,000, Adamawa, 2,000, Kátsena and Mésaw, each about 1,000; Katágum, 1,200, Marmar and Snera, each 500, Botéru, 600, Dáura, 400; Kazáure, about 200. But we have seen to what a state Zánfara is at present reduced, while the curious manner in which Kébbi is portioned out between the rulers of Sókoto and Gando cannot fail to cause a great deal of jealousy and controversy between the two courts, at the very centre of power, and as for Adamáwa, there are still so many hostile elements in the interior of that half-subdued province, that it is impossible to withdraw from thence a particle of its home force, nay, even the province of Kanó is so harassed and distracted by the continual inroads of the governor of Khadéja, that the ruler of that province is scarcely able to send a few hundred horsemen to join the army of his liege lord. We have seen how that same rebel governor of Khadéja repeatedly defeated a numerous host taken from almost all the provinces of the empire, which had been sent against him, and we shall see what were the inglorious manœuvres of Aliyu himself, when he led out, in person, his army against the enemy during my stay in Wurno, of which I shall now proceed to give a short diary.

Monday, April 4.—Having entered my quarters in the dark, I had no idea of their character, and it was not till the following day that I became aware of it. They consisted, as shown in the accompanying woodcut, of a spacious courtyard containing nothing but a clay building, which comprised two apartments, besides a small granary, built of



1. Entrance hut or parlour, furnished with two seats of clay and two couches of the same material.
2. Second hut, without couches.
3. Open courtyard, overgrown with grass.
4. Hut for my chief servant.
5. Clay hall, with a store-room at the back.
6. Small granary.

clay, but which was covered all round with straw at the setting-in of the rainy season, in order to protect it from violent rains. The clay hall had been built by Ábú, the elder brother and the predecessor of the present ghaladíma, who greatly surpassed the latter in warlike energy, and who fell in Zánfara during that unfortunate expedition against the Góbeíáwa, the preparations for which Mr Overweg witnessed during his stay in Marádi, in the beginning of the summer of 1851. The principal apartment of this clay hall, supported by two massive columns,

with an average temperature of 94°, was an excellent abode during the hottest part of the day, when it felt very cool and pleasant, but it was rather oppressive in the morning and evening, when the air outside was so much cooler. But in the courtyard there was not the slightest shade, all the trees in this quarter of the town, as well as the huts consisting of reed, having been swept away by a great conflagration the preceding year, a young *kórna* tree, which had been planted at a later period, only just beginning to put forth its foliage. The whole courtyard, also, was in a most filthy state, characteristic of the manners of the natives in their present degraded moral and political situation. The first thing, therefore, that I had to do, in order to make myself tolerably comfortable, was to cleanse out this Augean stable, to build a hut for my servants, and a shady retreat for myself. I was well aware that the latter, which it was not easy to make water-tight, would become useless with the first considerable fall of rain, but I entertained the hope that, before that time, I should be able to set out on my journey.

It was market-day, there being a market held here every Monday and Friday, although the great market of Sókoto, which is much more important, even in the present reduced condition of that place, still serves to supply the wants of the inhabitants of all the neighbouring towns and villages at large. Sending, therefore, into the market in order to supply my most urgent wants, I found that corn, as well as meat, was even dearer here than in Kátsena,—100 shells scarcely sufficing for the daily maintenance of one horse, and 800 shells buying no more corn than 500 would have done in Kátsena, while an ox for slaughtering cost 7,000 shells, and I bought two milking-goats, in order to enjoy the luxury of a little milk for my tea, for 2,700 shells. The only article which was at all cheap was onions. The market is held on a natural platform spreading out in front of the north-western gate, and surrounded and fortified by a ditch, as, in the present weak state of the Fúlbe, the market people are liable to be suddenly attacked by the enemy. This place, as well as the whole of the town, I visited the following day, in company with my friend Alhátu, who, in acknowledgment of the present I had given him in Gáwasú, and in expectation of more, took me under his special protection, but in crossing the town, in a westerly direction from our quarters, I was surprised at its neglected and dirty appearance,—a small ravine which intersects the town forming a most disgusting spectacle, even worse than the most filthy places of any of the deserted capitals of Italy. Emerging then by the western gate (the *kófa-n-sábuwa*), through which leads the road to Sókoto, and which was just being repaired by the people of the *ghaladima*, in order to make it capable of withstanding the effects of the rainy season, we turned northwards round the town. In front of each gate, on the slope of the rocky eminence on which the town is built, there is a group of wells, each with a little round clay house, where the proprietor of the well has his usual residence, levying on each jar of water a small contribution of five shells; but there are also a great number of wells facing the north-western gate, close to the market.

presented a very different aspect on my return journey the next year, at the end of the rainy season. Góber is distinguished for its general dryness, and for this very reason is esteemed exceedingly well adapted for cattle-breeding. The frontiers of the three different provinces or territories (viz Kebbi, Góber, and Ádar) join in this corner; and this is the reason that, while Sókoto is regarded as lying within the borders of the province of Kebbi, Wurno is considered as belonging to the conquered territory of the province of Góber; while just beyond the gulbi-n-ríma, in a northerly direction, the province of Ádar or Tadar commences.

But, to return to my first promenade round Wurno, having surveyed the broad dry valley of the gulbi, we turned round the precipitous cliffs over which winding paths lead up to the town, and, having skirted for a while a small branch or korámma which further on turns away, we kept along the eastern side of the town, and re-entered the place from the south-eastern corner, through the gate by which we had made our first entrance. On the preceding page the reader will find a woodcut which will serve to show its situation much better than any description could do.

Meanwhile the town became more and more deserted, and on April 6th Alháttu and 'Omár, or Ghomáro, the two brothers of the ghaladima, with numbers of other people, went to join the expedition: but these fighting men, with a few exceptions, care only about their bodily comfort, and for a few "goriye" or Kóla nuts would be willing to sell the whole of their military accoutrements. It was a great matter with these warriors, that, while the old goriye were nearly finished, the new ones, which were just then brought into the market, were sold for the high price of a hundred and twenty shells each. In scarcely any place of Negroland did I observe so little true military spirit as in Wurno; and almost all the leading men seem to be imbued with the melancholy conviction that their rule in these quarters is drawing to an end.

Friday, April 8—It was again market-day, and I made sundry purchases, including a small ox, for almsgiving, as I had made it a rule, in every large town where I stayed any considerable time, to distribute alms amongst the poor. I was astonished at the great quantity of cotton which was brought into the market, and which showed what these fine vales are capable of producing, if the inhabitants, instead of being plunged in apathy and exposed to the daily incursions of a relentless enemy, were protected by a strong government. This very day we received the news that the rebellious Kábáwa, or natives of Kebbi,* had made a foray against Señina, a town situated on the most frequented road between Sókoto and Gando, the two capitals and central seats of the power of the Fúlbe in these quarters. The neighbouring Fállani had come to the rescue of the town, and had prevented the enemy from

* The national name Kabáwa is taken from the ancient form of the name, Kábi, which was formerly in use (exactly like the form Málí, Maláwa), but has given place to the form Kebbi, which is thus distinctly written, even in Arabic, by authors of the seventeenth century.

taking it ; but six horses had been carried away. Only a few days later the news arrived of another attack having been made by the rebels upon the town of Gándi, the residence of Dyang-rúwa, one day's distance to the south from Bírni-n-Kebbi, although this time they were less fortunate, and were said to have been driven back with the loss of twenty-two horses. Meanwhile the sultan himself, with his sluggish host of cavalry, instead of attacking the Góberáwa, who already, before we left Kátsena, had taken the field with a numerous army, was said to be stationed in Katúru. He had been joined by the governor of Záriya in person, while Kanó had sent only the ghaladíma with the whole of their cavalry.

From Katúru, 'Alíyu with his army, after some useless delay, betook himself to Káuri-n-Namóda, whence we received news on the 11th, the Góberáwa having meanwhile taken up a strong position in front of him, without being able to induce him to offer them battle. The dread of these effeminate conquerors for the warlike chief of the Góberáwa, the son of Yakúba, is almost incredible. He has ruled since 1836, and, the preceding year, had roused the whole of the indigenous population of the various provinces to a struggle for their national and religious independence against the ruling tribe. This dread of him has been carried so far, that they have quite obliterated his real name, calling him only Mayáki, or "the warrior." While 'Alíyu was stationed at Káuri-n-Namóda, and part of his army was in Dankárba, the Ázena made an attack upon Ráya, a town situated at a day's distance from the former place. But the whole condition of the country, to the west as well as to the east, was most deplorable, and three native merchants, of the Zoromáwa or Zoghorán, when speaking about my projected journey towards the Niger, and beyond that river westward, told me in the most positive manner, "bábo haña," "there is no road," that is to say, "the country is closed to you, and you cannot proceed in that direction." And taking into consideration the low ebb of courage and enterprise among the natives—the weakness and unwarlike spirit of 'Alíyu—the complete nullity of Khalilu—the vigour of the young and warlike Mádémé the rebel chief of Kebbi, who, starting from his residence Argúngo, distant only a couple of hours' march from that of Khalilu, was carrying the flame of destruction in every direction—the revolted province of Zabérma, with an equally young and energetic ruler, Dáúd the son of Hammam, Jýmma—the province of Déndina in open revolt and cutting off all access to the river,—all these circumstances rendered the prospect of my accomplishing this journey very doubtful. Moreover, besides the weakness of the two rulers of the Fúlbe dominions, there is evidently a feeling of jealousy between the courts of Sókoto and Gando, and here we find the spectacle of two weak powers weakening each other still more, instead of uniting most cordially in an energetic opposition against the common foe. For instance, the young chief of Kebbi, who at present caused them so much trouble, had been previously a prisoner in Wurno ; but when Khalilu wanted to take his life, 'Alíyu procured his liberty, and gave him a splendid charger to boot.

But a European will achieve what the natives of the country themselves deem impossible, and my friends the Zoromáwa merchants, who wanted to induce me to relinquish my project, had perhaps their own private interests in view. They probably entertained the hope that, in case of my being prevented from penetrating westward, I should be obliged to sell my stock here, which I now kept back as a provision for the road before me. By way of consoling them, I gave them a parcel of beads of the kind called dankasáwa, which I found useless for the countries through which I had to pass, in exchange for some shells I was in want of for the daily expenses of my household.

Meanwhile I collected a good deal of information concerning the topography of the neighbouring provinces, and the remarkable manner in which the province of Kebbi has been portioned out between the two empires of Gando and Sókoto. I also compiled an outline of the history of this country, which began greatly to attract my attention. Meanwhile, in order to preserve my health, I took a ride almost every day, out of the town, and was in particular much interested in an excursion which I made in the afternoon of the 16th, in a northerly direction, on the road to Saláme, which is at the same time the great highroad to Ádar and Ágades. A cheerful aspect was especially exhibited by the village of Fáchi, stretching out to a considerable length from east to west, and skirted by a small watercourse, which inundates and fertilizes the neighbouring grounds during the rainy season, so that the people are able to raise, besides two species of yams, namely, gwáza and rógo, a good deal of tobacco and cotton. Beyond, a wide open plain spreads out, covered with the plant "kakma," which looks very much like aghúl (*Hedysarum Alhaggi*). But the whole of this ground so near the capital is now very unsafe under the weak rule of 'Alíyu, and exposed to continual inroads of the energetic Góberáwa; and a few days later the village of Saláme itself was ransacked by the enemy, and a good many slaves carried off. The more desperate the condition of the country was, the more remarkable appeared to me the outward show of dominion which was maintained, in proof of this I may state that the very day we received the news of a new outbreak of the general mutiny of the native tribes, the tribute from the provinces of Kanó and Záriya entered the town.

Wednesday, April 20.—A highly interesting and delightful interruption to my protracted and involuntary stay in Wurno was caused by an excursion which I made to Sókoto. The first part of this road I had already become acquainted with on a former ride, which had extended as far as Dankému, but at that period, being more intent upon inhaling the fresh air than upon laying down the country, I had not paid much attention to the extensive cultivation of rice which is going on in this valley, while on this occasion the features of the country, and in particular this branch of cultivation, formed a special object of attraction to me. For it was the first time during my travels in Negroland that I had seen rice cultivated on a large scale; and as we were winding along the foot of the rocky hills to the south-east, crossing the various small channels which descend from them and afterwards join the greater rivulet which

we saw at some distance on our right, the country became dotted with small villages, or "rugga," as they are called by the Fúlbe, some of them of historical renown, such as Dághel or Dággel, the village where 'Othmán the Reformer had his usual residence before he rose to that great political importance which he attained in after times. But such is the degraded state of these conquerors at the present time, that even this village, which, if they had the slightest ambition or feeling of national honour, ought to be a memorable and venerable place to them for all ages, has been ransacked by the Góberáwa, and lies almost deserted.

It is at Dághel that the valley attains its greatest breadth; but as we advanced in a south-westerly direction, it was narrower, till, at the village called Gida-n-mánomí, it became greatly contracted, shortly after which, the river turning away to a greater distance, the path ascended the rocks. It is the same path along which Clapperton, on his second journey, went so repeatedly from Sókoto to Magányá, but which, from the scanty information obtained from his papers in this respect, has been laid down so very erroneously. In general, I cannot praise too highly the zeal and accuracy (allowance being made for his positions of longitude) with which this eminent and successful traveller, who crossed the whole breadth of the African continent between the Mediterranean and the Bight of Benín, has laid down his various journeys. On the other hand, the companion of his former travels, Major Denham, has shown great inaccuracy, both with respect to distances as well as to the direction of his various routes.

The ground was enlivened by the cultivation of "rógo," which, when attaining a certain growth, contributes greatly to the beauty of the scenery, but kúka or baobab trees were almost the only larger vegetable production which adorned the country during the first part of our ride, sometimes shooting out from between the very blocks of sandstone with which the hills were strewn. Further on, another tree, called "kádasí," and a few small tamarind-trees also appeared, and the tops of the ant-hills, which at times form regular rows, were often adorned with the fine fresh-leaved bush "sérkeki." The ground, which consists of black argillaceous soil, "láka," or "firki," as it is called in Bórnu, not yet fertilized by the rainy season, was cracked and torn asunder, while the white "káli bálbale" (*Buphaga Africana*), which enliven every district of Negroland where cattle are common, were stalking about in the fields, looking out for food. But cattle at the present time were sought for in vain. Here they would have found no pasture, and in consequence were driven to a great distance, as is the general custom with the Fúlbe or Fállani of these quarters, even those settled in the province of Kátsena having at times their herds of cattle pasturing in the far-distant grassy and healthy grounds of Zabérma.

While the cultivation of rice prevails in the north-easternmost part of the valley, more cotton and sorghum were observed towards the village of Gida-n-mánomí, although the state of the fields did not argue a great deal of industry on the part of the inhabitants, being rather obstructed by weeds and thorny bushes. But far more native corn is grown on

the other side of Wurno, so that it even forms a mercantile speculation, on a small scale, to carry corn from Wurno to Sókoto, nay, even sheep are transported in this way for a very small profit, being bought in Wurno for 1,200, or, when on credit, for 1,400 shells, and sold in Sókoto for 1,500.

Having ascended the rising ground close beyond a source of limpid water producing a narrow spot of fresh verdure, the rocky surface was soon succeeded by a fertile plain of sand covering the rock to the depth of a foot, while the fields of the various farmers were separated from each other by slabs of sandstone. The labours of the fields, however, had not yet begun, and trees also here were scanty, a small mimosa indicating the halfway or "marárraba" between the two towns, while another village was distinguished by a single deléb palm. Having reached the highest point of the path, from whence we obtained the first sight of Sókoto, we descended into a deeper hollow or irregular valley, adorned by fine green fields of "rógo," and bordered by living hedges of the *Nux purgans*, the nut being still green, but having just attained its full size.

This was the valley of Bamúrna, which is distinguished on account of its fertility and abundance of water, but for this same reason is rather unhealthy, and, during and shortly after the rainy season, becomes quite impassable for travellers. Close to the source, which rushes forth from the western cliffs, a small market is held, where travellers generally make a short halt; but this spot being very narrow, and affording but little comfort for a midday halt, we went on a little further, and halted for an hour or two at the end of the vale, under two fine dúrremi trees a little to the right of the path. Here, where the principal vale is joined by a side branch, and where the greatest amount of moisture is collected, the vegetation is especially rich, and a beautiful limún tree full of fruit adorned the place, besides young offshoots of the plantain. But more interesting still was a small plantation of sugar situated at the foot of the hill, although the stalks were at present only about sixteen or eighteen inches high, and I was not a little surprised when I learned that this piece of ground belonged to a man who not only cultivated, but even prepared sugar. but I did not then make his acquaintance, as he was absent at the time. Meanwhile enjoying our cool shade, we partook of a very moderate but wholesome African l ncheon, consisting of a few onions boiled in water, seasoned with some tamarind fruit and a little butter, which forms a very refreshing treat during the hot hours of a tropical climate, for the onions hereabout are of excellent quality and extremely cheap, fifteen being sold for ten kurdí.

Soon after starting in the afternoon, we fell in with a long marriage procession, consisting of a bride and her mother, both mounted on horseback, accompanied by a considerable number of female servants and attendants, carrying the simple household furniture on their heads. At the same time that this interesting procession caused a cheerful intermezzo, a greater variety of vegetation was perceptible at a village on our right. Besides kórna, there were a few dúm and deléb palms,

and the fields were adorned with a great number of tamarind-trees, but of small growth

Proceeding thus over the rocky ground, we reached the small rivulet of Sókoto, the "gulbi-n-Rába" or "Búgga," or, as it is called in its upper course, where I fell in with it on my return journey, gulbi-n-Bakúra. Even at the present season it had a small current of water, but only about ten yards wide and ten inches deep, and just sufficient for us to water our horses. The water is regarded as unwholesome for man, and at this season of the year shallow wells or holes are dug in the gravel at some distance from the stream, in order to supply the poor people. The wealthier classes are believed to be supplied from other quarters, although such a presumption is very often false, the water from this stream being merely sold to them under a more pompous title.

Ascending then the slope of the eminence on which the town is built, and which rises to about one hundred feet, and leaving a spacious "máriná" or dyeing-place on the slope of the hill on our left, we entered the walls of Sókoto by the kófa-n-rími, and although the interior did not at present exhibit that crowded appearance which made such a pleasing impression upon Clapperton, the part nearest the wall being rather thinly inhabited, and the people being evidently reduced to a state of great poverty and misery, it made a cheerful impression on me, on account of the number of dúm palms and kórna trees by which it is adorned.

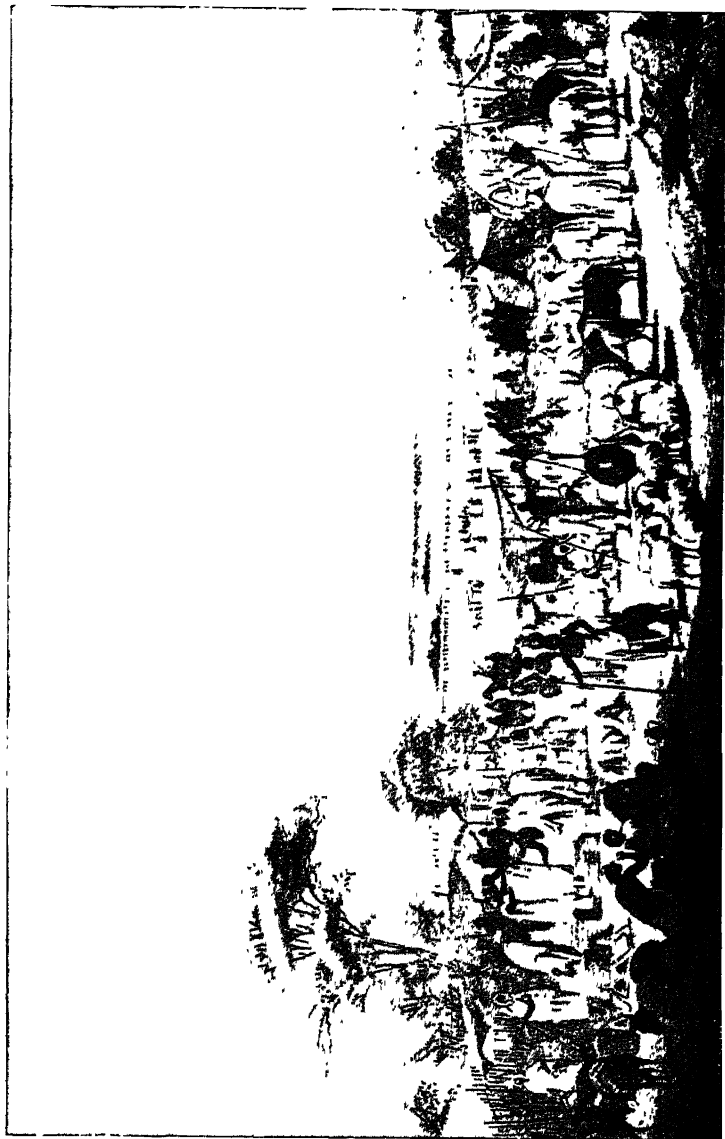
Orders having been sent beforehand, I was quartered without delay in the house of the ghaladima—a clay dwelling in tolerable repair, but full of white ants, so that I was glad to find there a "gadó" or couch of reeds, where I was able to rest myself and put away my small effects, without being continually exposed to the insidious attacks of these voracious insects. Having thus made myself comfortable, my first visit the following morning was to Módibo 'Alí, who had already testified his friendship for me by sending me a fat sheep to Wurno. Differing entirely from the present generation of beggars, whose ignoble habits make a long stay in Wurno or Sókoto intolerable, he is a cheerful old man of noble demeanour, and with pure Fúlbe features, with which his middle height and rather spare growth exactly correspond. He was simply but neatly dressed in a white shirt and a shawl of the same colour. Módibo 'Alí is the oldest member of the family of the Reformer still alive, being the son of 'Alí an elder brother of 'Othmán the Jehádi, and about seventy-five years of age. He was seated in the antechamber of his house, before the door of which his little herd of milch cows were assembled, and he received me with unaffected kindness. I immediately saluted him as an old friend and acquaintance, and we had a very pleasant and cheerful conversation, after which I delivered to him my present, consisting of a heláli bernús, a piece of white muslin, a high red cap or "mátri," a small flask of "óttár" of roses, two razors, a pound of cloves, a loaf of sugar, and a looking-glass, and he was particularly delighted with some of these articles, which, on account of the insecurity of the road at the present time, are imported more rarely even from Kanó. In former times a great many Arabs used to visit this

place, partly for purposes of trade, partly in order to obtain a present from the sultan, but the danger of the communication in the present reduced state of the empire is so great, that not a single Arab merchant visits the town. This circumstance cannot fail to render the conquering tribe more favourably disposed towards opening an intercourse with the English, or Europeans in general, by way of the Niger. At present almost the whole traffic in foreign merchandise is in the hands of the people of Ghât and Agades, especially in those of Mohammed Bôro, my friend the fugger of Agades, who, being a native of Adar, and having a numerous host of full-grown sons, exercises a great influence upon commercial and even political affairs in these quarters.

Having thus commenced an acquaintance with the most respectable man in the town, I made a longer promenade through its interior, when I found the chief quarter, which had been the residence of Bello, greatly dilapidated, and the royal mansion itself in a state of the utmost decay. No doubt a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of the town, especially the males, had joined the expedition of 'Alîyu to Zânfara but as the greater part of the population consists of Zoromáwa or Zoghorán, or, as they are called further westward, Jawámbe, a peculiar tribe which I have mentioned before and about which I shall say more in another place, mixed here with the Imóshagh of Adar, who do not join the army, the war could not exercise so great an influence upon the desolate appearance of the place. The Zoromáwa, in fact, are the artisans of the town, and the small tradesmen and brokers, and exercise a sort of monopoly in the art of working in leather, in which they are very expert, having probably learned it from the Emgedesiye.

In endeavouring to survey the town, I first paid a visit to the market, which is situated at its north-eastern corner, on the brink of the rugged slope which descends into the valley. It was empty at the present time,—only a few slight sheds being made ready for the following day, when the great market was to be held; and the prospect over the broad flat valley to the north and north-west, in the direction of Dúnday, was uninterrupted, presenting at this season a scorched-up savanna, while the deep nil of the river was scarcely to be distinguished. A number of blind women, leaning on their staves or led by young children, were seen carrying pitchers of water up the cliff, affording a sad proof of the unhealthiness of the situation of the town, where blindness is very frequent. Turning then westwards from the market, I reached the house of the late king 'Atîku, where at present his son Hámedu resides, who formerly had his residence at Bakúra, till that place was taken by the Góberáwa. The house is in good repair, and the quarter adjacent is tolerably well inhabited—at least, better than any other part of the town, for Hámedu is the chief of the Sissílbe or Syllebáwa,*

* I shall say more in another place about this interesting tribe, who, originally belonging to the Negro stock of the Wákore, have been swallowed up in the remarkable migration and conquest of the Fúlbe eastward; here I will only mention the various sections into which they are divided, at least as far as these eastern quarters are concerned. These are the Lobárde, Lómbe, Seníngbe, Yírobe, Wárbe, Jakkóbe, Walárbe, Jagálbe, and Jatíbe.



MARKET OF SOKOTO.

who form the principal stock of the population of the neighbouring hamlets or *rugga* of Sókoto. The different nationality of these Syllebáwa, causing a diversity of interests and pursuits, is stated to be one of the reasons why 'Alíyu, who has been made sultan chiefly through the influence of the Tórobe, does not like to reside at Sókoto as well as at Wurnó, although his residence at the latter place is greatly needed in the present reduced state of his power, in consequence of the continual danger from the Góberáwa, who, if the sultan should stay in Sókoto, would endanger the safety of all the people living in the open villages and hamlets between the former and the present residence, and it was on this account that Bello built the town of Magáriya (the site of which, a little to the north-east of the latter, I have indicated on a former occasion), which, however, was soon abandoned for Wurnó.

The chief, Hámedu, was at present absent; but I have mentioned already that I sent him a present immediately on my arrival in Gáwasú, on account of his influential position, although I thought it politic afterwards to keep out of his way as much as possible, in order not to excite any jealousy, Hámedu being one of the nearest, if not the very nearest, to the succession, but opposed by the greater part of the present courtiers. Passing, then, along the well-frequented road which leads out of the town, we emerged from the *kófa-n*-'Atíku, in order to obtain a first glimpse of the country which I was to traverse on my road to Gando.

It was an open level tract, at present without many signs of vegetation; but that part nearest the town was agreeably enlivened by a thriving suburb extending as far as the *kófa-n*-Tarámmia, and burned in a thicket of shady trees and hedges, thus presenting altogether a more animated spectacle than the interior of the town itself. Keeping along the machicolated wall, here only about twelve feet high and surrounded by a ditch, and following the path between it and the suburb, we entered the town, and turned our steps to the house of the *gedádo*, where Captain Clapperton closed his meritorious career as an African explorer.

The house is still in tolerable repair, 'Abdú, the son of the *gedádo*, who, although not very energetic, and still less warlike, is a man of cheerful disposition and good principles, having too great a veneration for his father, who did so much towards embellishing and adorning this town, to allow his residence to go to ruin. The old *gedádo* had long outlived his master, Bello; and if I had proceeded to Sókoto directly from Agades, I should still have found him alive; for he only died during my presence in Kanó, in February 1851. I will here only mention that it was believed for a moment in England that Clapperton died from the effects of poison; but the amount of fatigue, privations, and sickness to which this most eminent of African travellers was exposed on his circuitous journey, by way of Núpe and Kanó, from the coast as far as this place, explains fully how he was unable to withstand the effects of the shock which mental disappointment exercised upon him: nay, it is wonderful how he bore up so long, if his own hints with regard to the state of his health are taken into account.

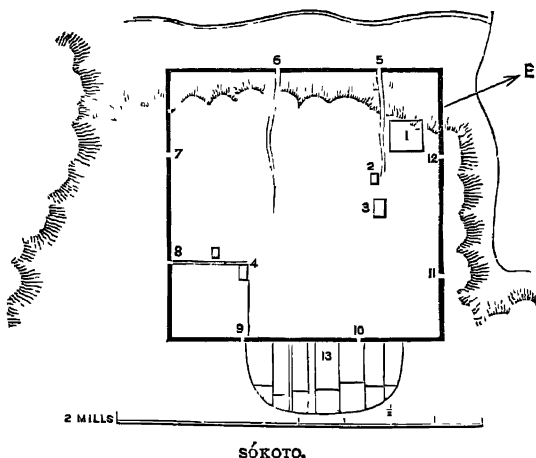
In the evening, my old friend Mòdibo 'Alí, and the mother of Abú, the elder and more warlike brother of the present ghaladíma, who was slain by the Góberáwa two years before my visit to this place, treated me hospitably, and I sent a present to Sáídu, a younger son of Bello, who resides in Sókoto, and is considered as a sort of mayor.

Friday, April 22—It was the great market-day, which was of some importance to me, as I had to buy a good many things, so that I was obliged to send there a sum of 70,000 shells, but the market did not become well-frequented or well-stocked till between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, when I myself proceeded thither. I had taken a ride in the morning through the south-eastern quarter of the town, proceeding through the kófa-n-'Atiku, thence along the wall, towards the west, and re-entered the town by the kófa-n-'Alí Jédu, where the whole quarter is very desolate, even the wall being in a state of decay, and the fine mosque, built by the gedádo during Clapperton's stay here, fallen entirely to ruins. But, even in the present reduced condition of the place, the market still presented a very interesting sight, the numerous groups of people, buyers as well as sellers, and the animals of various descriptions, being picturesquely scattered over the rocky slope. The market was tolerably well attended, and well supplied, there being about thirty horses, three hundred head of cattle for slaughtering, fifty takérkere, or oxen of burden, and a great quantity of leather articles (this being the most celebrated branch of manufacture in Sókoto), especially leather bags, cushions, and similar articles, the leather dressed and prepared here being very soft and beautiful. There were more than a hundred bridles for sale, the workmanship of which is very famous throughout all this part of Negroland; but especially a large quantity of iron was exposed for sale, the iron of Sókoto being of excellent quality and much sought for, while that of Kanó is of bad quality. A good many slaves were exhibited, and fetched a higher price than might be supposed,—a lad of very indifferent appearance being sold for 33,000 shells, I myself bought a pony for 30,000. It being just about the period when the salt-caravan visits these parts, dates also, which usually form a small addition to the principal merchandise of those traders of the desert, were to be had; and I filled a leather bag, for some 2,000 shells, in order to give a little more variety to my food on the long road which lay before me.

Saturday, April 23.—I took another interesting ride through the kófa-n-Dúnday, not following the direct road to that village, which lies close to the junction of the gulbi-n-Ríma with the gulbi-n-Rába, but not far from the decayed northern wall, and thus crossed a considerable channel, a branch of the river, full of water, being even at the present time about fifteen yards wide, and a foot and a half in depth, and then, keeping away from the village, reached the other branch, which was narrower but more richly bordered by bushes, and, following it up in an easterly direction, reached the point of junction, or "megangámu."

The whole valley here formed one uninterrupted rice-field; and how different was the aspect of the country from what it exhibited on my home journey, at the end of the rainy season of the following year! A

number of small boats were lying here, at the side of the narrow channel, but all of them separated into two halves, which had to be sewn together when their services were required for the rainy season. From this point I crossed over to the road leading to the village of Koré, where, two days later, a party of Kél-geres made a foray; and returning along this road towards the town, at a distance of about five hundred yards from the wall, we crossed another small arm of the river, which during the rainy season forms an extensive swamp. Leaving then the kófa-n-Koré on our right, we turned round the north-eastern corner of the wall, and ascended towards the kófa-n-Marké, which has received this name



1. Market-place. 2. House of Gedádo, at present 'Abdú. 3. House of Bello, now of 'Alíyú, very much in decay. 4. House of 'Atiku, at present Hamedu, and close to it the mosque built by Gedádo, now in ruins. 5. Kofa-n-Koré. 6. Kofa-n-Dunday. 7. Kofa-n-Kade. 8. Kofa-n-'Alí Jedu. 9. Kofa-n-'Atiku. 10. Kofa-n-Taramnia. 11. Kofa-n-Rimi. 12. Kofa-n-Marke. 13. Suburb.

from a tree of the marké kind, although at present none are to be seen here. Above is a sketch of a ground-plan of the town

Altogether my visit to Sókoto formed a most interesting intermezzo to my involuntary stay in the capital, although it could not fail to give me a further insight into the frail character of the dominion of the Fúlbe over these regions; and during my stay here I certainly had no cause to complain of inhospitable treatment, as my friend Módibo 'Alí sent me, every day, a large basin of furá, the favourite drink of ghussub water, two dishes of hasty pudding, and two bowls of milk. Having given, by this excursion to the former capital, fresh energy to my spirits, I returned to my quarters in Wurno on the 24th, accomplishing the

distance in little more than four hours, and it was time that I returned, for in the evening of that same day the joyful news arrived that the sultan had reached Gándi. However, he did not enter Wurno till the 23rd, having forwarded a message to me the preceding evening from Yan-serki, in the territory of Rába, requesting me to meet him the following morning outside the town. In consequence of this I mounted on horseback with the first dawn of day, but found the sultan already close to the gate, descending the rocky path which leads from the above-mentioned place. He then made a halt, with his whole suite, and saluted me in the kindest manner, calling me by my name, 'Abd el Kerím. The sultan was followed by the ghaladíma, and I here first made the acquaintance of the learned 'Abd el Káder dan Taffa (Mustapha), whom I was most anxious to see, in order to obtain from him some historical information. As soon as the people had dispersed quietly, returning to their various quarters, I sent him a present, when he paid me a visit in the evening, and furnished me immediately with some positive data with regard to the history of the dynasty of the Asáki, or Áskia, the rulers of Songhay, which he had perfectly in his head, and which were of the greatest importance in giving me an insight into the historical relation of the western countries of these regions with that of Central Negroland.

Friday, April 29—In the forenoon I went to 'Aliyu, in order to pay my compliments to him upon his safe return from this expedition, which, although not very glorious, had yet proved not quite unprofitable, he having reduced to subjection the poor little hamlets of the rocky district of Kotórkoshé, the inhabitants of which had previously placed themselves under the protection of the enemy, but even this insignificant victory he had only achieved through the bravery of the horsemen from Kátsena, while his own men had, as usual, exhibited the greatest cowardice. As long as the Fúlbe do not defeat the host of the Góberáwa, who take the field every year and offer them battle, the state of this empire will become daily worse and worse, while at present each of the two parties, the indigenous inhabitants as well as the conquerors, do nothing but accelerate the ruin of the country, without dealing a decided blow.

Although I had made the chief a very respectable present on my first arrival, I thought it well to give greater impulse to his friendly disposition towards me by adding something also this time, presenting him with a cloth waistcoat and several smaller articles, besides a musical box, with the performance of which he was extremely pleased; but unfortunately, when, anxious to impart his delight to his greatest friend and principal minister, 'Abdú the son of Gedádo, he had called the latter to witness this wonder, the mysterious box, affected by the change of climate and the jolting of the long journey, was silent for a moment, and would not play. I may observe here, that I think it better for travellers not to make such presents as musical boxes, which so easily get out of order. The sultan fully granted my request for a speedy departure, promising also to assist me in my dangerous undertaking with a small "rékkua" or escort, and it was very essential to me to

hasten my proceedings, as the following day brought the first evident proof of the approach of the rainy season.

Having made a present to the ghaladima also, I thought it better, in order to make up for the deficiency of the musical box, to satisfy the musical taste of the sultan by making him a present of one of the harmonica which the Chevalier Bunsen, in consideration of the great effect which the Rev Mr. Knoblecher had produced, with the aid of such an instrument, upon the inhabitants of the shores of the Nile, had procured for me; but I succeeded afterwards in repairing, in some measure, the musical box, which caused the good-natured chief inexpressible delight, so that he lost no time in writing for me a commendatory letter to his nephew Khalilu the chief of Gando. But I was extremely anxious to get away from this place, as I was sorely pestered by begging parties, the inhabitants of Wurnó and Sókoto being the most troublesome beggars in the world, and besides them there being also many strangers in the town, especially the Kélgeres, who had brought the salt.

I was sitting one day in the entrance-hall of my house, in the company of some of these sons of the desert, when Góme, the brother of the sultan 'Abd el Káder, from Ágades, who had lately been de-throned in order to make way for a new chief, Áhmed e' Rufáy, called upon me, and, with a very important and mysterious air, requested me to give him a private audience. After I had dismissed my other visitors, he began by reminding me of the kind manner in which his brother had received me, and finished by urgently begging me to use my influence in order to restore 'Abd el Káder to his former dignity. I had great difficulty in convincing him that I had very little influence with the emír el Múmenín, and that I was afraid my intercession would have little or no effect, although, as well by way of private acknowledgment for the kindness of my host in that place, where I began to acquire more confidence in the success of my proceedings, as from a persuasion of the influence which a great service rendered by me to this man would have upon my future prospects, I should have desired nothing better than to be the means of reinstating him in his former position.

Among the people who sought my acquaintance there was also Khalilu dan Hassan, one of the presumptive heirs to the royal power—Hassan being a younger brother of Bello—a young man of gentlemanly manners, but not of a very generous disposition, as he plainly evinced on my home journey the following year, when he wanted to oblige me to send him, after my safe return home, a pair of pistols in exchange for a black shirt scarcely worth five thousand shells, or two dollars.

All this time I had employed my leisure hours in reading a manuscript work which had given me the first insight into the history of the western portion of these Féllani dominions. It had been composed by 'Abd Alláh, the brother of 'Othmán the Reformer, to whom the western portion of the conquered region was awarded as his share. But although this work, the title of which is "*Tezén el aúrékát*," contained, besides a great deal of theological matter, some important historical data, it did not satisfy my curiosity, and I had been endeavouring in

vain to obtain the work of Bello, entitled "*Infāk el misūrī fi fat-hā el Tekrūrī*," which had been earnestly recommended to me by my friend the fakī 'Abd el Kāder in Kātsena, but I did not succeed in getting it into my hands till a few days before I left this place, when I found that the greater part of its contents, which had any geographical or historical importance, were identical with those documents brought back by Captain Clapperton, on his first journey, and which have been partly translated by Mr Salame, in the appendix to the account of those travels.

Meanwhile the country became more unsafe; and on May 5th the cattle of the village of Salāme were driven off by the people of Chéberī, to the great loss of my friend 'Abd el Kāder dan Taffa, who had considerable property there; but strongly reminded of the effects of the rainy season, by a heavy shower which fell on the 6th, driving me out of my cool shed, I urged my departure, and in the afternoon of the 8th took leave of 'Aliyu with a cheerful spirit, it being evident to me, not only that he entertained not the slightest mistrust of my future proceedings, but on the contrary even took considerable interest in me, as he found that it was my earnest desire to become well acquainted with the country and the people, and that I was anxious to establish friendly relations with the most distinguished and learned among them. But he gave me repeatedly to understand that he wished me not to go to Hamdallāhi, to present my compliments to their countrymen and co-religionists there and their chief or his successor, we having just received a few days previously the news of the death of Shékho Ahmedu, while he had not the slightest objection to my going to Timbúktu, and paying a visit to the sheikh el Bakáy, who had spent some time in Sókoto, and was on friendly terms with the family of Fódiye.

CHAPTER XIII.

STATE OF INSECURITY ALONG THE MOST FREQUENTED HIGHROAD.— GANDO.

Sunday, May 8—At length I was able to pursue my journey, which now, as soon as I had passed Sókoto, was to lead me into almost unknown regions, never trodden by European foot. I was escorted out of the town, in grand style, by the ghaladíma with six horsemen, and then pursued my former track to Sókoto, the character of which was but little changed, on account of the vegetation having only just begun to be vivified and restored by the first showers of the rainy season. The little stream which skirts the foot of the hill on which the town of Sókoto is situated, and where we had watered our horses on our former excursion, now began gradually to increase, although as yet it exhibited but few signs of that considerable volume which I found here on my home journey the next year.

I was lodged in my old quarters, in the house of the ghaladíma, and

was treated by my old friends Módibo 'Alí and Sáíd with great hospitality. Although most anxious, on account of the season, to continue my journey with the shortest possible delay, I remained here the four following days, in order to procure what was still wanted in my outfit for the long journey before me, but principally from regard to the interests of my companion 'Alí el Ágeren, who had here to arrange some business, hence we did not set out until May 14th.

There had been so heavy a shower the preceding afternoon that a large stream broke through the roof of my dwelling, and placed my whole room several inches under water. I passed, therefore, a most uncomfortable night, and when I got up in the morning I had a very bad headache. Everything, also, was extremely wet, so that it took us a long time to get ready our camels, and it was eight o'clock when we left the kófa-n-Tarámnia, which, though the widest of the gates of the town, did not allow my two largest boxes to pass without damage.

A grandson of Módibo 'Alí, together with Shékho the chief of the Zoromáwa, escorted me outside the town. The first was certainly sincere: but as for the second, I could not expect that he was in earnest in wishing me success in my undertaking, for the Zoromáwa, who are the chief traders of the country, viewed my enterprise with a great deal of mistrust, as they were told I wanted to open an intercourse along the river. Thus we entered the large open plain, which is only bounded, at the distance of about three miles to the north, by a low chain of hills, and scarcely dotted with a single tree. But the monotonous country at present was not quite wanting in signs of life, the plentiful fall of rain having inspired the inhabitants of the several villages which were scattered about with sufficient confidence to trust their seed to the ground. Having then passed a larger village, called Kaffaráwa, we crossed a considerable depression or hollow, stretching from S W. to N E, with plenty of water, and with extensive grounds of yams, a branch of cultivation which, in these swampy valleys of Kebbi, is carried on to some extent, and this depression was soon succeeded by others of a like nature. Numerous herds of cattle were here grazing on the intervening pasture-grounds, which were adorned with *sy camores* and monkey-bread trees; and this continued till we reached Bodinga, and took up our quarters in a small cluster of huts lying on the outside, close to the wall. This time I did not enter the town, but I did so on my return journey, when I satisfied myself of the considerable size of the town, and the state of decay and desolation into which it has at present relapsed.

Sunday, May 15—While we were loading our camels the governor of the town, who is a son of Módibo 'Alí, of the name of Mohámmedu, came out to pay me his compliments. He was of a cheerful disposition, and had treated us hospitably the preceding evening. He even accompanied me to a considerable distance, till we left, on our right, the town of Sifáwa or Shifáwa, an important place in the history of the Fúllo reformer 'Othmán dan Fódíye, but at present almost desolate and reduced to great misery, presenting a fair specimen of the state of the province of Gando, which we here entered.

The country here, as well as near Bodinga, is almost exclusively adorned with monkey-bread trees, and the soil seemed to be very parched; but a little further on we descended into a depression which, having been already fertilised by the rain, was just being sown. Further on, the ground continuing undulating, we watered our horses at a rich source of living water which rushed out from the rocks at the side of a small hamlet. We then passed a large and comfortable-looking place called Dendi (perhaps after a portion of that tribe, which settled here) and adorned with a profusion of trees, among which the *dorówa* or *Parkia*, the *góreba* or *dúm* palm, and the *gigíña* or *deléb* palm were most conspicuous. Towards the south-east side it was bordered by a depression full of yams and fresh herbage, and fringed by numbers of monkey-bread trees. Even a little market-place was to be seen; and the place seemed so attractive to my people, that they would fain have spent here the rest of the day, and they were not at all pleased when I insisted on continuing our march. A little after noon we passed a pretty village with a small dyeing-place. Besides corn-fields, where the crops were already two inches out of the ground, indigo was cultivated to a great extent. We then entered upon rocky ground, and, five miles further on, reached the place *Shagál*, separated into two groups along the northern slope of an eminence, and surrounded on three sides by a deep and wide ravine, which made the access to it very difficult. Here we were rather inhospitably received,—the former mayor having been deposed, and a new one not yet installed in his place.

Monday, May 16—Early in the morning we pursued our journey, through a rather hilly country broken by several small watercourses, full of cultivated ground and fine timber, principally monkey-bread trees, which now exhibited a more cheerful appearance, as they were clad in fresh foliage. We passed several villages, where we again observed some signs of industry in the shape of dyeing, and, about six miles and a half from *Shagál*, left the considerable place *Señina* (the same town which a few days before had been attacked by the enemy) on our left, situated on a small hilly chain. Here we entered a tract of country at present desolate, and thickly covered with underwood, and greatly infested by the independent inhabitants of *Kebbi*, but it was only of small extent, and, about four miles beyond *Señina*, we entered, by a steep rocky descent, the fine valley of *Sála*, which is intersected by a considerable sheet of water.

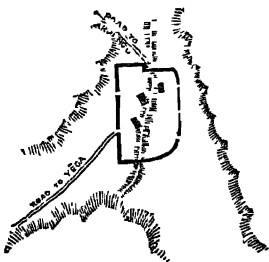
We took up our quarters in the walled town of *Sála*, the dwellings of which were almost lost in the most splendid vegetation, among which one of the finest tamarind-trees I have ever seen was greatly distinguished, attracting to its dense foliage countless flights of birds, which were gathering from all sides to pass the night here in cheerful communion. The wider-spreading foliage of the tamarind and monkey-bread trees was very picturesquely diversified by a large number of *gón*da trees, or *Carica Papaya*, while in front of the principal gate a most splendid rimf or bentang tree, was starting forth as a proud landmark, pointing out to the traveller the site of the gate. The camels, who

suffered greatly from thirst, immediately on our arrival were sent off to the brook of living water, which is formed at the foot of the rocky cliff a little to the north of the place where we had descended from the higher ground.

Tuesday, May 17—We reached Gando, the residence of another powerful Púlo prince (as powerful as that of Sókoto), after a march of six hours, through a country richly provided by nature, and partly, at least, well inhabited. Hill and dale alternated, the depressions and cavities offering suitable grounds for the cultivation of yams. The vegetable kingdom also displayed its larger members in great variety. In the village Babanidi, which we passed about two miles from Sála, we observed the three species of palms which are common to Negroland, in the same locality—viz, the dúm, the date, and the deléb palm, while, near a swampy sheet of water before we came to Masáma, I caught sight of the first banána or áyaba tree that I had seen since I had left Adamáwa, with the exception of those young offshoots which I had observed in Bamúrna. Near this latter place, which was situated at the border of a deep valley, a large swamp spread out covered with rank reed-grass, and beyond the town of Masáma we had to cross another large and irregular valley or fád dama, where, even at this season of the year, a large sheet of water was formed, which, according to the statement of the natives, was full of alligators.

The towns also exhibited a considerable degree of industry in their dyeing-places, and a short distance from our halting-place we even passed large hollows about two fathoms in depth, and one in particular where iron had been dug out. Small marketing stalls in some places lined the road, and the town of Masáma, with its straggling suburbs, presented an animated spectacle, but cattle were greatly wanting, nothing but sheep being seen, as all the horned cattle had been carried away by the predatory bands of Argúngo.

As we approached the town of Gando, I could not help wondering how the people had been led to choose this locality as the seat of a large empire, commanded as it was by hilly chains all around, in the manner shown in the accompanying woodcut, while the rising ground would have offered a far more suitable locality. But the situation of the town is on a par with the character of its dominion—without commanding strength, and quite incapable of keeping together that large agglomeration of provinces which have gathered around it. However, for a provincial town, the interior is very pleasant and animated, being adorned with a variety of trees, among which the banana is prominent.



Having sent a messenger in advance, I soon obtained quarters in the house of El Khassa, the chief eunuch of the court, but they were extremely narrow and unpleasant, although I had a very good clay house for myself.

Thus I had entered the residence of another very important Púilo chief, whose dominion extended several hundred miles over the country which I had to traverse, and whose friendship it was of the utmost importance for me to secure, as his provinces inclose both banks of the Níger, while the dominion of the Sultan of Sókoto does not reach the principal branch at all. It was the more unfavourable that the present ruler of this very extensive kingdom should be a man without energy, and most inaccessible to a European and a Christian. His name is Khalilu, and he is the son of 'Abd Alláhi, the brother of the great Reformer 'Othmán, to whom that remarkable man, at his death, gave the western part of his vast domains, while he installed the celebrated Sultan Bello over the eastern portion. Khalilu succeeded to his brother Mohammed Wám about seventeen years ago, and has since lived in a state of the greatest seclusion, well fitted for a monk, but by no means suited to the ruler of a vast empire, employing one of his brothers in order to keep up a certain show of imperial dignity where it was absolutely necessary. Thus, during the first few years of his reign, he had employed 'Abd el Kádír, and was now employing Halíru, or, as the name is written, Hadhíru. Even by Mohammedans he is scarcely ever to be seen except on Fridays. It appeared, from my first arrival, extremely doubtful whether he would allow me to see his holy face, and after a vain struggle, merely in order that, by an untimely obstinacy in matters of form, I might not frustrate all my schemes of discovery, I agreed at length to deliver my present to the messengers of the sultan, in his palace, without seeing him. This present consisted of almost the same number of articles as I had given to the emír of Sókoto, with the exception of the silver-mounted pistols. I gave him three bernúses—one of yellow, one of red cloth, and the third of the kind called heláli; a háik or jerid of the finest quality, a Stambúli carpet, two entire pieces of muslin, a red cap, four loaves of sugar, three phials of rose oil, a pair of razors, five looking-glasses, a pound of cloves, and another of benzoin.

It was very unfortunate that a foreigner and an adventurer, who had no other interest than his own selfishness, became the go-between with me and the sultan, and found ample opportunities, owing to the monkish character of the latter, for advancing his own interests, in the thousand embarrassments which he caused me. This was El Bakáy, a person who made me hate his very name, though it afterwards became so dear to me on account of my protector in Timbúktu being called by the same. However, he also was an Arab from the west, and from the tribe of the Kunta, but not connected in any way with the family of the sheikh. After having tried his fortune in several other places along the Niger, especially in Zágha and Yélu, he had at length settled down here, constituting himself a sort of consul of the Arabs, and, in the miserable state into which affairs were plunged in this court, soon exercising a great influence over the principal and the secondary rulers; for, besides Khalilu, his several brothers enjoyed a large share of authority, to all of whom I had, in consequence, to make suitable presents besides. The most remarkable amongst them were the above-

mentioned Halíru and Bú-Bakr Maiguña, the latter an aspiring and restless man, who occasionally distinguished himself by acts of great violence, and to whom, in consequence, I had to make a more respectable present, in order to ensure myself against any predatory proceedings on his part.

My present to the sultan himself seemed at first to have given great satisfaction; but after a few days matters assumed a different aspect, and I was told that the pistols which I had given to 'Aliyu were of more value than the whole of the presents which Khalílú had received from me, while the empire of the latter extended over a larger tract of country than that of the former; and I was clearly given to understand that it was not in my power either to proceed or even to retrace my steps, unless I gave much larger presents. After a protracted and serious dispute with El Bakáy and my broker 'Ali el Ágeren, I came at length to the determination of sacrificing the second handsome pair of silver-mounted pistols which I possessed, and then at length I had some prospect of being allowed to proceed on my journey, although the state of the country before me was really such as to make progress appear very difficult, and it was certainly very doubtful whether I should be able to reach the river. After much trouble and a great number of presents, however, which I had to give to the crafty Aiab, I managed even to obtain a letter of franchise from Khalílú written with his own hand, but in so general a style that it had not much the character externally of an official document, although its contents were altogether very satisfactory, guaranteeing full security to any Englishmen visiting his territories, and commanding the officers of the various provinces to respect their property and to facilitate their proceedings.

Besides the presents to be given to all these people, I had also to make a fresh sacrifice to my Arab 'Ali el Ágeren, for, notwithstanding the arrangement which I had previously made with him, when he saw the difficulties I was in, and being aware that the easy part of my journey was now over, he threatened to leave me if I did not accept the conditions which he prescribed to me. I had also the misfortune to lose, during my stay here, my best camel, which I had bought from the governor of Kálsena for 60,000 shells, so that I was obliged to purchase another animal from Bú Bakr Maiguña at the price he demanded, camels here being very scarce.

Notwithstanding all this disagreeable business, which occasionally cost me much bitter reflection, greatly enhanced by the advance of the season, the month of May being at an end, and that of June having set in with violent rains, I passed the time during my residence in this place not quite uselessly, especially as I was so fortunate as to obtain here, from a learned man of the name of Bokhári, a son of the late Mohammed Wáni, a copy of that most valuable historical work of Ahmed Bába, to which my friend 'Abd el Káder, in Sókoto, had first called my attention, but without being able to satisfy my curiosity, and I spent three or four days most pleasantly in extracting the more important historical data of this work, which opened to me quite a new insight into the history of the regions on the middle course of the

Niger, whither I was bending my steps, exciting in me a far more lively interest than I had previously felt in a kingdom the great power of which, in former times, I here found set forth in very clear and distinct outlines, and I only lamented that I had not time enough to copy the whole.

As for the town of Gando itself, there was not much to be seen; and the situation of the place, hemmed in as it is in a narrow valley, did not admit of long excursions; moreover, the insecurity of the neighbourhood was so great that it was not possible, at least in a northerly direction, to proceed many yards from the wall. Several times during my stay the alarm was given that the enemy was approaching; and the whole political state of the place was plunged into the most terrible disorder, the enemy being established in several strong places at scarcely half a day's journey distance, Argúngo being the residence of Dáúd the rebellious chief of the independent Kábáwa. A numerous foray ("yáki," or, as the Fúlbe say, "konno") left early in the morning of 29th May, but returned the same evening amid the noisy manifestations of the inhabitants. They had, however, only given an additional proof of their cowardly disposition, inasmuch as they had not even dared to attack the enemy, who had just succeeded in ransacking the town of Yára, and were carrying all the unfortunate inhabitants into slavery.

The interior of the place was not quite without its charms, the whole of the town being intersected, from north to south, by the broad and shallow bed of a torrent, which exhibited fine pasture-grounds of fresh succulent herbage, while it was skirted on both sides by a dense border of exuberant vegetation, which altogether is much richer in this place than either in Sókoto or Wurno, being surpassed only by the fine vegetable ornament of Kanó. The rains are extremely plentiful in Gando, causing here quite an exceptional state in the productive power of the soil; and to this circumstance we have partly to ascribe the fact that very fine bananas are grown here in considerable quantity: and the fruit being just ripe at the time, formed a very pleasant variation to my usual food. The onion of Gando is remarkable for its size and quality, compared with that of all the neighbouring districts; and it is well for the traveller, in whatever direction he may intend to go, to lay in a supply of this wholesome article. But the place is extremely dull, and the market very insignificant—a fact easily to be explained by the desperate state of the provinces around, although the situation of the capital, as a central place for commerce, is rather favourable. But the town of Jéga has not yet lost, in this respect, the whole of its former importance, and is still the great *entrepôt* for that coarse kind of coloured silk which is imported from the north, and which, notwithstanding its very inferior character, is nevertheless so greatly sought after by the natives for adorning their leatherwork. It is, perhaps, in consequence of the little trade which is carried on, that the people of Gando have applied themselves with more industry to supplying their own want of cotton cloth—and no one can deny that their cotton strips are of first-rate quality: their dyeing, on the contrary, is very coarse,

and they seem quite unable to give to the dyed cloth that lustre which so eminently distinguishes the manufactures of Núpe and Kanó; but nevertheless this cloth of Gando is in great demand as far as Libtáko.

The kingdom or empire of Gando, according to its titles, comprises a number of wealthy provinces, all lying along that great West African river which opens such an easy access into this continent, or on its branches; although nobody who stays in the capital for any length of time would suppose that it holds such a pre-eminent rank. I shall here only enumerate the provinces by name. They are, the western half of Kebbi, Maúri or Árewá, Zabérma, Déndina (comprising Kenga-koy and Zágha), a great part of Gurma (comprising the provinces of Galajo, Toróde, Yágha, and Libtáko), with a small portion of Borgu or Barba, a large portion of Yóruba with the capital Alóri or Ilórin, and, on the east side of the river, the provinces of Yaúri and Núpe or Nyffi. But at that time most of these provinces were plunged into an abyss of anarchy, which could not fail to impart to the capital a more sombre aspect than it may possess in general

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PROVINCE OF KEBBI AND ITS RIVER.—THE SALT VALLEY OF FÚGHA.—REACH THE NIGER.

Saturday, June 4.—At length I was allowed to proceed on my journey, which now soon promised to become of overwhelming interest, as I was approaching that great African river which has been the object of so much discussion and individual ambition for so long a period. There had been a very heavy thunderstorm during the night, accompanied by a great abundance of rain, which lasted till late in the morning, and delayed my setting out for a considerable time. It was almost eleven o'clock when we at length left the western gate of the town, or the kófa-n-Jéga, and entered the open fields, where the crop was already shooting forth. Keeping along the rocky ground bordering the valley on the north side, we soon had a specimen of the swamps which during the rainy season are formed in these deep valleys of Kebbi, while we beheld here also extensive rice-grounds, the first which I saw under actual cultivation. But the guide, who was to accompany me to the very western extremity of the territory of Khalílu, having not yet arrived, we made only a short march of about six miles, and took up our quarters in a comfortable hut lying outside the walls of Kámbasa, which, by a separate wall, is divided into two distinct quarters.

This town lies on the north side of a large swamp, which fills the bottom of the faddama, and affords excellent grounds for the cultivation of rice. The governor treated me hospitably, sending me everything that was wanted for a good African dinner, from a sheep down to a

bit of salt and a few cakes of *dodówa*; and I made him a suitable present in return. During the night we suffered greatly from mosquitoes, giving us a fair idea of what we were to expect on our journey through these swampy valleys.

Sunday, June 5—Another storm again delayed our departure this morning; and being now in the middle of the rainy season, I had a fair sample of what I should have to endure on my long journey to Timbúktu. In consequence of the rain, it was again eleven o'clock before we could start. The principal road leads along the northern bank of the *fáddama*, by way of *Zóro*, the residence of *Cháfo* a son of *Khalilu*; but it was deemed too unsafe in the present unsettled state of the country,—that very town of *Zóro*, although situated on the north side of the *fáddama*, at present being only accessible from the south, and it was decided, therefore, to cross the swamp close to *Kámbara*, in order that it might afford us protection, in our further progress through this unsafe region, against any sudden attack from the rebels in the northern part of the province. Thus proceeding along the south side of the sheet of water, here about two hundred yards broad and thickly overgrown with tall reeds of different species, including a large proportion of papyrus, we reached, after a little less than two miles, another walled town, likewise called *Kámbara*,—a civil war having broken out among the inhabitants of the former town, and a portion of them having separated from the original tribe, and settled in this place. We then continued along the southern side of the valley, till, after a march of about four miles, we had to cross a small branch which joins the chief trunk of the valley from the south, and opened a view of Mount *Bóbye*, over the saddle of which the road leads from *Támbaré* to *Jéga*, the great market-place of this quarter of the country, while the *fáddama*, here spreading out in a large sheet of water, receded behind a walled town called *Badda-badda*. A track frequented by the elephant, of which for a long time I had seen no traces, led through the rich pasture-ground, to the edge of the water. Almost the whole cultivation along this fertile but swampy valley consisted of rice. It was about twelve hundred yards broad, and even at the present season, before the rains had set in, was full of water. A couple of months later it inundates its low borders, and almost precludes any passage, so that, on my home journey from the west, I was obliged to pursue another path. The crops of Negro corn were here already three inches high, numbers of people being busily employed in the labours of the fields, while an isolated *deléb* palm gave a peculiar character to the landscape. The prevailing representatives of the vegetable kingdom were the *dorówa* and the useful *kadeña* tree. The pasture-grounds were full of cattle; and everything testified to the rich nature of the district, which is still very populous. After passing another walled town perched on the high border of the swampy valley, three miles and a half beyond *Badda-badda*, we reached *Gaúmaché*, at present reduced to a small hamlet, or rather "*rúmde*," inhabited exclusively by slaves, and adorned by a few specimens of the butter tree and the *dorówa*. It was once a large walled town; but in the sanguinary war between the native

Kábáwa and the conquering tribe of the Fúlbe, it was destroyed by the former.

Having crossed here a considerable stream of running water, which testified to the quantity of rain which had fallen in this district, we passed, on our left, the large walled town of Talba, where the beating of drums gave proof of warlike preparation. The fields around were adorned with numbers of deléb-palms.

At a short distance from Talba lies Dáube. The whole of this district had attained a high degree of power and prosperity under the dominion of the Kanta, and had only recently begun, in consequence of the war of independence, to lose many of its former centres of human industry. An obvious illustration of this desolation was afforded by the little town of Yára, which we reached after another three miles. We had left the fáddama at some distance on our right, and kept along rocky ground occasionally broken by patches of fine sandy soil. But we were urgently warned, by people whom we met on our road, of the danger of an approaching ghazzia.

This place, which a short time ago was the seat of human well-being, had been destroyed by the enemy on the 29th of the preceding month, and all the inhabitants carried into slavery, notwithstanding the presence of the expedition which, as I have mentioned above, marched out from Gando to the succour of their countrymen. The aspect of the place was doleful and melancholy in the extreme, corresponding well with the dangerous situation in which we found ourselves; and while traversing the half-ruined village, which from a bustling little place had become the abode of death, I almost involuntarily snatched my gun, and held it steadily in my hand. But life and death in these regions are closely allied, and we had scarcely left the ruined village behind us, when, in a widening of the fáddama, which again opened on our right, we were greeted by a most luxuriant rice-field, where the crops were already almost three feet high, and girt by the finest border of a rich variety of shady trees, such as the dorówa, kadé, and kágim, overtopped by a number of tall deléb palms, the golden fruit of which, half ripe, was starting forth from under the feathery foliage. But our attention was soon diverted from the enjoyment of this scenery, to a point of greater interest to ourselves. We here observed a solitary individual, in spite of the unsafe state of the country, sitting quietly at the foot of one of the palm trees, and seemingly enjoying its fruit. Now, coupling the present state of the country with the news we had just received, we could not help greatly suspecting this man to be a spy, posted here by the enemy in order to give them information of the passers by; and I had the greatest difficulty in preventing my Méjébrí Arab, who, when there was no danger for himself, always mustered a great amount of courage, from shooting this suspicious-looking character.

Proceeding then through a very rich country, we reached, after a march of about two miles, the town of Gúlumbé, situated close to the southern border of the valley, and exhibiting extensive fields cultivated with yams and cotton. The banana constituted the chief ornament of the narrow border inclosed between the fáddama on one side, and the

wall of the town on the other, and the *gónla* or *Erica Papaya*, raising its feathery foliage on its slender, virginlike stem, towered proudly over the wall, as shown in the woodcut below. The town was walled, of considerable size, and densely inhabited, but nevertheless the people were in such dread of the enemy, that they kept up a continual beating of drums, and although, on account of the smallness of the gate, we encamped outside, in a courtyard situated between the wall and the border of the *fáddama*, we thought it prudent to fire a few shots, in order to apprise the people around that we were well prepared to receive them, to the great relief of the inhabitants of the town, who, delighted at the unexpected addition to their strength, treated us in a very hospitable manner. The only disturbance to our night's rest



was caused by the mosquitoes, which harassed us greatly and drove most of my people into the *rúdu*, that kind of raised hut which I have described on a former occasion, and which forms the most essential part of even the poorest dwelling in the province of Kebbi.

Monday, June 6—After a thunder-storm accompanied by a few drops of rain, the night was succeeded by a beautiful morning, and I felt great pleasure in surveying the interesting landscape, only regretting that the insecure state of the country did not allow the natives to enjoy it in tranquillity, the war having driven thousands of people from their homes, and as many more into captivity. The fields on this side of the town, as well as on the other, where we had approached it the day before, were fenced with great care, while horses and asses were grazing on the rich pasture-grounds. After a little more than a mile

and a half, we passed, on our left, a farming-village called Ígené, after its master, a cheerful Púllo of advanced age, who was just inspecting the labour of his slaves in the fields. The crops hereabouts were already more than a foot above the ground, and a little further on they reached a height of two feet. Besides sorghum, yams were cultivated to a great extent, but nevertheless, on account of the insecurity of the country, dearth and famine everywhere prevailed.

A little further on we passed, on our left, a considerable sheet of water, with plenty of dorôwa, large kadé, and sycamores. The deleb palms had ceased just beyond Ígené. A broad flat-topped mountain, called Hamári, at the eastern foot of which lies the town of Zóro, broke the uniform surface of the country.

Proceeding through this rich but distracted and unsafe district, I was greatly delighted when, near the walled town of Kardi, I fell in with a solitary and courageous pilgrim, a Jolof, from the shores of the Atlantic, carrying his little luggage on his head, and seemingly well prepared to defend it with his double-barrelled gun which he carried on his shoulder, and a short sword hanging at his side, while his shirt was tossed gallantly up, and tied over the shoulder, behind the neck. In my joy at the sight of this enterprising native traveller, I could not forbear making him a small present, in order to assist him in his arduous undertaking.

The walls of the town of Kardi, which is chiefly inhabited by the slaves of Khalilu, and which is of great importance for the supply of corn in this province, were strengthened by a thick fence of thorny bushes, which, in these regions, afford an immense advantage in the defence of any town, by furnishing a secure place of retreat to the archers.

The green bottom of the wide fáddama had receded to a greater distance on our right, but we joined it again seven miles from Gúlumbé, and had here to cross it beyond a couple of hamlets which, lying close together and called, the one Háusáwa, and the other Kábáwa, gave us a slight indication as to the history of this country, where the Háusa element, as the more civilized, gradually gained the upper hand and drove the native element as well as the Songhay, which advanced from the west, into the background. Perhaps, if we knew more of the history of this country, the annals of these two villages might open to us a view of an interesting national struggle. The fáddama was here at present dry; and besides yams a great deal of tobacco was cultivated. We then traversed a wooded tract adorned with a violet *lilucea* and with the bush tsáda or bidér, the delicious cherrylike fruit of which I have mentioned repeatedly, and, slightly ascending, reached, a little before eleven o'clock, the beautiful site of the former more extensive wall of the large town of Bírni-n-Kebbi. It was founded in this commanding position by the dynasty of the Kanta, at the time when the rival Songhay empire was dashed to pieces, and became the prey of foreigners and of a number of small tribes, who had once been kept in a state of insignificance and subjection.

Under such circumstances Kebbi, besides being the seat of a powerful

kingdom, became also the centre of a considerable trade even in gold, till it was destroyed by the Fúlbe under 'Abd Alláhi, in the year of the Hejra 1221, when a great deal of gold and silver is said to have been found among the ruins. The royal palace, however (the ruins of which I visited), does not seem to have been very extensive; but this in part may be attributed to the fact that a great portion of the residence consisted of straw huts for the female department and the followers.* The walls of the present town are almost a mile distant from those of the old one, lying close to the steep slope which, with a descent of about two hundred and fifty feet, goes down here into the large green valley or *Iáddama* which intersects the whole of Kebbí from E.N.E. to W.S.W., and is at this part almost three miles in breadth, affording the richest ground for cultivation, but at present plunged in a state of the utmost insecurity. Even then it was full of cattle, at least its southerly part; but they had to be carefully watched by the natives from above the slope, for the whole of the country on the other side, the hilly chains and cones of which are clearly seen, is in the hands of the *Ázena*, that is to say, those native inhabitants of Kebbí who, since the death of the more energetic 'Atíku, are successfully struggling for their religious and political independence. On the very brink of the slope a market was held, where we bought some necessaries before entering the town, and I willingly lingered a few moments, as the whole presented a very novel sight, increased by a picturesque spur or promontory which juts out into the valley a few miles to the west, and is a remarkable feature in the landscape. We then entered the town, which is rather thickly inhabited, but is far from presenting that cheerful aspect which is peculiar to most of the towns in these regions, as it is almost bare of trees. I myself was quartered in an excellent hut, belonging to a new-married couple, and possessing all the comforts of which these simple dwellings are capable,—the floor and walls of the hut being neatly polished, and the background or "nanne" being newly sprinkled with snow-white sand; but the whole of the courtyard was extremely narrow, and scarcely afforded space for my horses and camels.

There are two great men in the town, 'Othmán Lowel and 'Othmán Zákí, but the former is the real governor of the place, bearing the pompous but rather precarious title of *serki-n-Kebbí*—for even he, at the present time, possesses such limited authority, that it was rather out of my respect for historical connections than for his real power, that I made him a considerable present. He is a man of simple manners, without pretensions, and almost blind. His residence was distinguished by its neatness. The other great man, 'Othmán Zákí, who was many years ago governor of Núpe, and knew Clapperton, although I did not pay him a visit, showed his friendship for me by very hospitable treatment. He has since returned to Núpe, and is rebuilding Rabba. We had a long conversation in the afternoon with the more respectable inhabitants, on the subject of our journey, and

* Kálgo, at the northern foot of the mountain, lies south-west from here, and the town of Gurma, at present destroyed, north-east beyond the valley.

most of the people thought that I should not succeed in reaching the Niger, the country being in such a turbulent state; but they advised me to address myself to the governor of Zogirma, who was the only man, they said, able to assist me in my endeavours to traverse that part of the country with some degree of security.

Tuesday, June 7—In the morning we left the town in the company of a son of 'Othmán, a person of manly bearing and a rather European expression of countenance, and traversing the fields, which were quite dry and as yet without any preparation for cultivation, we directed our march straight for a pass in the mountain-spur which I have mentioned above, and which is called Dúko, but we found it too narrow for our heavily-laden camels to pass through, the path being cut into the sandstone like a gutter, so that I was obliged to send my train round the southern slope of the promontory. We thus descended almost to the level of the fád dama; but having traversed a richly-wooded vale with a variety of trees, such as dynnia, mádachi, and fresh kadé, we had another mountain-spur on our left, while on the right the exuberant savanna of the valley became visible. The place was enlivened by cattle, and occasionally by a sheet of water at times fringed with a rich border of vegetation, amongst which also isolated specimens of the deléb palm, besides dorówa, were not wanting.

Thus we reached the foot of a rocky eminence, on the top of which the walled town of Kóla is situated in a very strong position, commanding the whole passage of the valley. It is the seat of a governor who bears the title of serki-n-Záromé, and who is said to have as many as seventy musketeers under his command, so that, as he was an officer of much importance in this turbulent country, it did not seem advisable to pass him unnoticed, and we therefore determined to take up our quarters here, although it was still early in the morning. He has a large house or palace, but it is somewhat in decay. Having made him a small present, I was hospitably treated both by himself and his sister, who sent me an excellent goose, which afforded a very pleasant change in my diet. He accompanied me the following morning to the boundary of his little territory.

Our road lay through fine corn-fields, shaded by beautiful dorówa trees, along the border of this fertile valley, which was formerly surrounded on both sides by an uninterrupted line of large walled towns. But most of them are now deserted and destroyed, such as the towns of Kúka (which lies about three hours north-west) and Ambúrsa, and both factions are continually harassing each other by predatory expeditions. In fact the state of the country is such, that the whole of the tribute which the province of Núpe has to pay to Gando is obliged to take the roundabout way through Zágha and Bunza, the latter of which is situated about eight miles south from Zogirma, on the river Cundi, which is said to be navigable as far as this place, and sometimes even as far as Jéga. A considerable number of horses were grazing on the fine pasture-grounds at the border of the valley, under the protection of a couple of hamlets well defended by a stockade; but the herbage was full of small venomous snakes, which repeatedly crossed our path in

such numbers as I never saw before. When we reached the border of the territory of Jùggurú my companion returned to his residence.

Leaving the walled town of Jùggurú (surrounded by a good many monkey-bread trees) on the hills to our left, we reached, after a march of about five miles along the border of the valley, and only once crossing a romantic rocky defile, the considerable town of Dìggi; and here I had the satisfaction of being officially received by three sons of the governor of Zogírma, who quite unexpectedly came galloping up to the front and saluted me, wishing me all possible success on my dangerous undertaking, and bidding me welcome to the province of their father. The eldest of the three was a very handsome young man, and splendidly mounted upon a tall grey horse. Pursuing then our march in their company, we immediately entered the wide fàddama which separated us from Zogírma, and it took us more than three hours to cross this shallow swampy valley, the whole of which at the end of the rainy season is filled with water, but which at present was only intersected by two broken sheets of stagnant water, while I endeavoured in vain to make out, at this spot, an uninterrupted channel of the gulbi. and yet, in the month of September, the whole valley is flooded by a river of considerable breadth.

The town, which was surrounded by a clay wall in good repair, impressed me as being more considerable than I had supposed it to be. We were led immediately to our quarters, and were here treated with very good tíggera, or prepared mullet and sour milk, after which a large calabash full of rice, and, a short time after, a heifer, were brought me as a present. Later in the afternoon I went to pay my respects to the governor, Háméd Dúrtu, and found him a decent-looking man of from fifty to sixty years of age, with almost European features, but with rather a melancholy expression of countenance. His residence had a very stately appearance, and surprised me not a little by its style of architecture, which approached to the Gothic, although the fine and well-ornamented clay walls were only loosely held together by a framework of boards and branches. Presenting to him a red bernús of middling quality, a piece of muslin, a pair of razors, and some other trifles, I delivered to him the letter with which Khalilu had furnished me, and explained to him how the ruler of Gando had given me hopes of his being able to conduct me safe to Fógba; for the two horsemen whom I had with me, one from Gando and the other from Sókoto, were only of service as long as there was anything to eat and while there was no great danger. He received my address in the most cheerful manner, and informed me that there were two roads, one of them leading straight on through the midst of the forest from Zogírma to the town of Kallíul. This he said was the safest, though it was probably too difficult for my heavily-laden camels. The other, he added, was more convenient but very unsafe. He promised, however, that he would find trustworthy men to escort me.

Zogírma may contain from seven to eight thousand inhabitants; but at that time it was suffering greatly from famine, on account of the war which had been raging for the last two years, between the Fúlbe con-

querors of the country and the native inhabitants the Dendi, who, favoured by the weakness of the government of their oppressors, had risen to assert their independence, and I could scarcely feel dissatisfied with my host when, after the first signs of hospitality which he had shown me, he left us to provide for our own wants, although we had some difficulty in procuring a sufficient supply of corn. I was very sorry that, owing to the unfavourable circumstances of the whole country, I was prevented from visiting the town of Bunza (which is situated south from Zogirma), on account of its interesting and important situation as regards the intercourse with Nûpe on the lower part of the gulbi, where it is still navigable, and the number of deléb-palms which are said to adorn it. There was also residing in this place a man whom I should like to have visited, inasmuch as he is reported to possess a great knowledge of the history of the Kanta, and of the relations of the province of Kebbi to the neighbouring countries. His name is Mállem Mahamúdu.

Thursday, June 9—We were to start the following day, in order to allow our camels some rest before entering the unsafe wilderness, but in the course of the morning the news suddenly arrived that a party of Tuarek, with about forty camels besides bullocks and asses, had arrived at the neighbouring town of Tilli on their way to Fôgha, thus affording us the opportunity of traversing the wilderness with some degree of security. It was therefore decided that we should start in the afternoon by way of Tilli, which certainly lay greatly out of our road, in order to join this party, while my young friend Abú Bakr, the eldest son of the governor, rode immediately to the neighbouring town to induce those people to wait for us. It was thus deemed sufficient to give me for companions only two horsemen; but fortunately they were of such a character that I preferred them to at least a dozen other people, both of them being experienced old warriors and most respectable men, one of them having been till lately the governor of the town of Débe, which was now deserted, and the site of which we had to pass on our road. I was heartily glad to get rid of my two former effeminate companions, Lowel, the servant of the governor of Gando, and Beshír, an attendant of the ghaladíma in Sókoto, as they had been of scarcely any use to me on my way hither, except, perhaps, in procuring me a better reception from the governors of the towns and villages, and I gladly complied with the demands of my new companions, by giving to each of them a new black "lithám" or "ráwani bakí" for themselves, a flask of rose oil for their wives, and one thousand shells for the expenses of their households during their absence.

Returning then in a north-easterly direction along the western border of the broad faddama, we reached after a march of about four miles, when the sun had already gone down, the town of Tilli, which, coming from Diggi, we had had just opposite us on the other side of the valley. Here the danger from the enemy was already considered so great, that the gates of the town on this side had been walled up, only a very narrow passage having been left, which could only be used by way of a drawbridge or kadárku. Having here learned that our new companions

were already gone on in advance, and had encamped at the very border of the forest, we changed our direction from north-east to north-west, and, after a march of about a mile, encamped close to them. A large herd of cattle had its resting-place in the neighbourhood.

Friday, June 10.—When we started, at an early hour in the morning, we soon left the cultivated grounds and entered a dense forest, which at the present season had a very pleasant appearance, all the trees being in blossom, and spreading a delightful fragrance around. We were also agreeably surprised when, after proceeding about five miles, we passed two extensive ponds, which supplied us with delicious water. But on our return journey, in August 1854, the water of these same ponds had acquired such a pernicious character, that it almost poisoned the whole of my troop. A little beyond these ponds we had a considerable rocky declivity, of about one hundred feet, from the top of which we surveyed the extensive forest before us. To our disappointment we encamped at a very early hour, a little after noon, but a short distance further on the danger would have become so imminent that it would have been unwise to pass the night there. Having, therefore, pitched my tent in the midst of the forest, I indulged with great delight in the pleasure of an open encampment, such as I had not enjoyed since leaving Gáwasú, the dirty huts in which I had lately taken up my quarters having literally turned my stomach. But I had to enjoy this wild encampment rather longer than was pleasant, for we had to remain in it the whole of the following day, in consequence of my friends the Ásbenáwa losing, in the course of the night, one of their camels, which they did not choose to abandon. This involuntary feat of mine procured me a name in the whole neighbourhood, so that when I safely returned the following year from my journey to Timbúktu, the people of the neighbourhood designated me only as the man who had spent a day in the unsafe wilderness.

But it almost seemed as if we were to stay here a third day; for when we were getting our luggage ready early in the morning of the 12th a very violent thunderstorm broke out, with torrents of rain, which made our open encampment rather uncomfortable, and did not allow us to start until a late hour. After a march of about four miles through a very dense forest with low ridges on our right, we reached the site of Birni-n-Débe, a beautiful open spot adorned with a rich abundance of dorówa besides a tolerable number of deléb-palms, while beyond the rich mass of vegetation a hilly chain approached from the north-east. Footprints of elephants were here observed in every direction. The rich character of the country scarcely allows the traveller to suspect that a few miles to the north lies the province of Máuri or Arewá, which all my authorities represent as a country approaching closely to the nature of the desert.

Having then entered again thick forest, which occasionally became so dense that it scarcely allowed us to pass, and caused repeated delays, we reached, after a march of about nine miles, a large depression or shallow vale coming from the north-east from the province of Máuri, and therefore called Dallul or Ráfi-n-Máuri (the Vale of Máuri), richly

clad with a profusion of the most succulent herbage and with numerous deléb-palms, besides a few specimens of the dùm-palm; and having halted here for a few minutes near a well and the site of a former Púlo settlement of the name of Bána, we crossed the path which leads from Máuri to Yélu, the capital of the province of Déndina. This is the most dangerous part of the whole route, on account of the two provinces, that of Máuri and Déndina, having rebelled, and there being constant intercourse between the enemy in these two quarters along this track, so that our companions were not a little alarmed when fresh footprints of horses were here discovered. However, we could move on but slowly on account of the dense thicket, and the anxiety of the people to collect the fruit of the deléb-palm, corn being extremely scanty and scarcely to be got in this region at the time. Here the camel, which I had received from Khalilu in a present, and which I had given up to my Mejebrí companion, went raving mad, making the most ludicrous leaps, and kicking in every direction, till it fell to the ground.

At length we emerged from the dense vegetation of the fertile but neglected vale, and ascended higher ground, which separates the dallul Máuri from the dallul Fóg'ha,* and after a while obtained a sight of the hilly chain bordering the east side of the latter valley, which runs from N 20° E. to S 20° W, being at the broadest part about one thousand yards across. These valleys certainly form a very remarkable feature in this quarter, and, by their shallow character and the total want of a current in the water here collected, evidently prove the little inclination which the country has towards the Niger, as well as the limited extent of ground which they drain; and it seems extremely doubtful whether, even after the plentiful rains which occasionally fall in the mountainous country of Ashen, the watercourses of that region have even the slightest connection with these shallow vales which join the Niger.

It was half-past four in the afternoon when, greatly fatigued by our long and slow march, we gradually descended the shelving ground into the valley of Fóg'ha, the beautifully sloping banks of which are adorned with a profusion of dùm-palms, but are entirely wanting in deléb-palms. Crossing then the green vale, which was clothed with rank grass, and only presented here and there a broken sheet of water, we reached the first salt-manufacturing hamlet, which is situated on a mound of rubbish of almost regularly quadrangular shape, and of about thirty feet elevation, not unlike the ancient towns of Assyria, while at its foot a shallow dirty pond of brackish water of almost black colour spread out,—the whole scenery forming a very remarkable *ensemble*.

A few cattle were grazing here and there, but they looked very sickly and emaciated, and skeletons of others were lying about in all directions, proving the ravages that disease had made among them. For, besides the fact that general epidemic diseases visit the cattle in these regions as well as in the countries to the south of the equator at certain periods, the conquering tribe settled in this quarter having had to sustain

* Dallul Fogha joins the Niger at Birni-n-Dóle, one day and a half from Gáya

a long siege against the enemy, most of their cattle, being cooped up in the town, had perished for want of pasture. Notwithstanding all these disasters, the inhabitants of Kallul stood their ground, for the Fúlbe hercabouts are a very warlike race, and are excellent archers. Several of them, attracted by the news of the arrival of a caravan with corn, of which they stood so much in need, rushed past us on horseback as we were looking out for a place where we might take up our quarters with some degree of safety. Leaving two other salt-manufacturing hamlets on our left side equally jutting out into the bottom of the vale, we descended at length from a higher slope crowned by a cluster of well-built but at present deserted huts; and being informed that the town of Kallul, or Káura, was still some distance off, and far out of our road, we turned into one of these salt-hamlets, which was the fourth on this side. Here we were quartered in a very excellent hut, but suffered greatly from mosquitoes during the following night.

We remained in this poor hamlet the following day, and, being aware of the great distress which prevailed in the whole of this tract of the country, I had no more urgent business than to despatch two of my men early in the morning to our companions the Ásbenáwa, who had encamped on the other side of the valley, in order to endeavour to buy from them as much corn as they were able to spare; but my servants soon returned with the news that the distressed inhabitants had taken from the *satáki* or native traders all their corn by force. I was therefore rather badly off, but nevertheless was prevented from pursuing my route at once, as the camels wanted some repose. The site of our hamlet was highly interesting to me, and I soon set out for a stroll around this artificial mound of rubbish. It was of considerable size, measuring about two hundred yards in length, and the same in breadth, with an elevation of fifty feet towards the bottom of the valley, and about twenty towards the edge of the bank,—the whole of this mound bearing evident proof of its artificial character, consisting as it did of nothing but the soil of the valley itself, from which the saline particles had been extracted. The salt is here prepared in the following manner. The earth is taken from the bottom of the vale, and put into large funnels made of straw and reeds, when water is poured upon the earth, and strained through the funnels, after which it is caught in vessels placed underneath, and then boiled, and the sediment formed into the shape of a small loaf.

That it is the earth which contains the saline particles, and not the rank grass which grows here, I am quite sure, although in other places there is no doubt that salt is extracted from the grass growing in such localities but this can only be done by burning, the salt being extracted from the ashes, and no such process is pursued here. The salt is of a greyish-yellow colour, and quite fit for cooking purposes, it is of a much better quality than the bitter salt of Búlma, although, no doubt, far inferior to the beautiful crystal salt of Taodénni, of which I here saw the first specimen with some Songhay pilgrims, who had left Hómbori four months previously on their way to Mekka. However, such a mode of proceeding is only practicable in the dry, or towards the

beginning of the rainy season; for at the end of the latter the valley is quite full of water, which then is fresh, and is said to contain plenty of fish, the saltish properties of the soil being too scanty and inconsiderable to impregnate so large a body of water. Even at present a considerable quantity of the aqueous element had already collected, filling, in some places, the whole width of the valley between the two banks, to the depth of a foot or two, so that the people could not make use of the soil from the valley itself; but they had stored up a sufficient provision to enable them to carry on their labours for a month or two longer.

The Fúlbe call these places *síle-chólli*. It is only the salt which induces the inhabitants to remain in this locality; for they have been harassed extremely by their energetic enemy the Déndi. The town of Kallíul had had to sustain, during a very short period, no fewer than five attacks from the latter, whose chief seat, Yélu, closely borders upon their territory, and, in addition to the sad circumstance of all their cattle having died, these people had also lost the whole of their slaves, who, under such circumstances, had run away in a body. The neighbourhood, even at the present moment, was so unsafe, that the people of the town would not allow me to stay in the open hamlet where I was, and wanted me to come to them behind their wall, but fearing longer delay I declined, and fixed my departure for the following day.

Yélu, the principal place of Déndina the country of the Déndi (a branch of the Songhay about whom I shall say more on another occasion), is situated only about seven or eight miles lower down this same valley, which joins the Great River at the town of Dóle, and which is especially inhabited by Songhay people. Their well-known and renowned chief, Gójida, had recently died, and had been succeeded by a younger brother of his, of the name of Gódu, who kept up the struggle against the conquering tribe with considerable energy, and probably, if he had been better provided with cavalry, would have long ago established the independence of his countrymen, by driving away the Fúlbe from the valley of Fógħa, and thus opening a free intercourse with the countries to the north. But the inhabitants of Kallíul, as I assured myself especially on my return journey, when I entered the town, are hardy warriors, and keep well together, although that little community is ruled by four petty chiefs,—Señína, Mámma Yidi, and two brothers called Mámma Gúnga and Ámedu Gúnga. Even on the present occasion of my journey westward these petty chiefs paid me a visit, and I made each of them a small present, but none of them was able to supply me with even the smallest provision of corn, although they all evinced their benevolent disposition, and Señína (who, by wearing a miserable sort of *bernús* of the poorest description, seemed to vindicate his superiority over his brother chiefs) made me a present of one hundred Kóla nuts, which luxury he could more easily spare than a few grains of corn. Mámma Yidi, on the other hand, an elderly gentleman, was distinguished by his amiable conduct, and understood even a little Háusa. Generally speaking, none of the Fúlbe here speak a single word of that language, the valley of Fógħa forming the boundary

between the Háusa and the Sorghay languages. I likewise received a visit from two sons of the kádhi or alkáli, one of whom, of the name of 'Abd el Wahabi, was a remarkably handsome man, of very gentleman-like bearing, more like a European in his countenance than a native of Negroland, and of a melancholy turn of mind, which awakened my interest in him.

Tuesday, June 14—My two warlike companions from Zogirma, who, by their experience and energetic conduct, had inspired me with almost unbounded confidence, and whom I should have liked to have attached to me for a much longer period, had returned home the moment I reached the border of the valley, finding their only safety in speed and secrecy, and cutting straight across the thickest part of the forest, and, in consequence, I had used all my endeavours to obtain here another escort, but all in vain. However, Mámma Yidi having promised that a guide should overtake me on the road, I started tolerably early the next morning, in order to pursue my journey through this unsafe wilderness, being anxious not to cause more delay, and thus to increase the danger of my situation in consequence of the news of my proceedings having spread through the neighbourhood, but instead of making right across the country, I was first obliged to retrace my steps northwards, to the very place where I had crossed the valley two days previously, for, Kallil being anything but a place of trade and commerce, all the little intercourse which is still going on in this region is carried on along the direct road, without touching at this place.

A few hundred yards higher up from this spot a rich source of excellent fresh water gushes out from the rocky ground, and forms a large sheet in the bottom of the valley, affording a remarkable contrast to the black muddy water which covers the remainder of the surface. Having taken in here a supply of water, we then passed several other salt hamlets or sile-chólli, and emerging from the valley ascended the higher ground, which presented open pastures with only a little underwood scattered in bushes here and there, principally the góna bush and the poisonous plant damankádda, which I have already mentioned repeatedly as forming an ornament of the landscape, at the same time that it endangers the life of the camel.

It was a beautiful morning, and the view over the valley from this undulating ground was highly interesting. We had just entered denser forest, when my friend Yidi overtook me, accompanied by two horsemen, and handing me, to my great surprise, besides a good provision of salt, two thousand kurdí, or shells, which I only reluctantly accepted for the sake of my servants. He also brought me a guide, who was to accompany me as far as Gárbo. We therefore pursued our march cheerfully, but experienced repeated delays in the thick covert of the forest. The trees were rather dry, and not very luxuriant, no rain having fallen in this part of the country for some time. A little further on we passed a small pond, where we fell in with a party of Tuarek half-castes from Zaberma or Chéggazar, who were carrying the salt of Fógba to their home, on a small number of oxen and asses. We encamped at a quarter past three o'clock in the afternoon, near another small pond, on

an open spot, where I again enjoyed an open encampment, which is the greatest charm of travelling hfe.

Wednesday, June 15—Soon after starting we had to descend a rocky passage, and we were glad to find the road, from time to time, enlivened by small parties of travellers. First we fell in with a man of the name of Mohammed el Amín, from Hâmed-Allahí, the capital of the western empire of the Fúlbe, who had come by way of Júnju, and who, having cherished the good intention of performing the pilgrimage to Mekka, had been frightened by the difficulties of the road, and further on we met another party of travellers, among whom was a Limtúni, that is to say, a Moor, a man of mixed Arab and Berber blood, of the ancient tribe of the Limtúna—who, having once formed the chief portion of the powerful confederation of the Merábetín (Almoravides), are at present scattered and settled, in small fragments, on the very shores of the Atlantic. He was a stout and active little fellow, with an open countenance, and, being on his way to Mekka, rushed immediately towards me to salute me, asking me whether I was a Turk or a Christian. I presented him with a dollar, requesting him to give a short note (which I wrote on the spot) to my friend Háj Beshír, in Kúkawa, where I informed him of my whereabouts.

Having then passed several ponds, among which the tebli Sugíndo was the most important, and made another rocky descent, from the top of which we overlooked the large valley or dallul of Bóso, and having turned round a small rocky ridge, we reached the village of Gárbo about two o'clock in the afternoon. Gárbo is a small place, half deserted, and greatly harassed by the enemy,—the Déndi of Tanda having made a foray against this place only two days previously, and carried away almost all the cattle belonging to the inhabitants. But it is of importance, as being the last Háusa place in this direction, the regions to the west belonging exclusively to the Songhay and Fúlbe. A clay wall, which was to afford some protection to the town, had just been begun, but left half finished. Numbers of corn-stacks inspired us with the hope that we might be able here to supply ourselves with corn, but not a grain was to be obtained. There was therefore no staying in this place, although our heavily laden camels were rather fatigued after the forced march through the wilderness.

Thursday, June 15—At a tolerably early hour we were again on the march through the fields, where the fresh crops were just shooting up; but a little further on they had attained already to a greater height, and were just being cleared of weeds. Cattle also were not entirely wanting, and gave sufficient proof that, under a strong government, there were elements enough for the welfare of the people. The ground here is broken by several cavities or hollows, where ponds are formed, which of course vary in size according to the season. Some of them, although of considerable circumference, contained salt water of a blackish colour. Thus, having passed a fresh swampy depression, where düm and deléb-palms also were not unfrequent, we reached, after a march of about seven miles, a farming village called Lanadéji, where the peculiar structure of the corn-stacks attracted my attention; but,

although built of clay, they are not pretty, and neither similar to the nobler style of those which we have found in the Músgu country, nor to those which we are to meet with further on, in the country of Másina. The whole cultivation consists here of Negro millet, to the exclusion of rice and sorghum. Last year's crop had here also been very scanty, and we endeavoured in vain to procure a supply. We had then to cross the bottom of the valley or ráfi, which at present exhibited only separate sheets of water, while on my return journey the following year, later in the season, it was almost entirely inundated. But at a short distance beyond the hamlet, even at present, we crossed with some difficulty an extensive swamp covered with rank grass.

We took up our quarters, after a march of about nine miles, in an open village situated on a rising ground, and overhanging a large sheet of water which is overgrown with reeds; it is called Songho-sáre, meaning probably "the town of the Songhay," but nevertheless a very remarkable name, as "sáre" is not a Songhay, but a Mandingo word. Besides Songhay and Fúlbe, it was inhabited by serfs belonging to the people of Támkala; and, being a farming village, it was full of corn-stacks. All the huts in these Songhay villages consist merely of reeds; and while they are less solid than the dwellings of Kebbi, which throughout are built with clay walls, they are better ventilated and have a less offensive smell. There was here a jovial old Púllo farmer, with a cheerful countenance and pleasing manners, of the name of Mámmaga, who behaved very hospitably towards me, and, besides milk and corn, even made me a present of a sheep.

Friday, June 17.—There had been a thunderstorm in the night; but it was not accompanied with much rain, and the sky, not having been lightened by a discharge, was thickly overcast when we set out. An extensive tract of country consisting of sandy soil was here under cultivation, while the trees at first were very scanty; but gradually the country became more wooded, while considerable herds of cattle gave life to the landscape. After we had passed another pond of water, we halted for a few minutes to refresh ourselves near a herd of cattle, which was the property of a clan of Fúlbe, called Dánan-koye, the original inhabitants belonging to that part of the Songhay nation which are called Germábe, and proceeding through a more woody country with an undulating surface, we took up our quarters, at a very early hour, in another farming-village, called Tigóre, for my camels were in want of rest, and I was too weak myself to resist the wishes of my servants. This village is exclusively inhabited by independent farmers, although belonging to the native Songhay stock. The architecture of the place was entirely different from that of Songho-sáre (which is more of a slave-village), consisting of very large courtyards, which evidently appeared intended for a rich supply of cattle, although at the present moment no cattle were to be seen in the neighbourhood, and the huts themselves, although consisting entirely of reeds, were large and spacious. We had some difficulty in obtaining quarters, as the mayor of the hamlet was by no means of a jovial or hospitable disposition, besides that the Songhay in general are among the most inhospitable

people I ever met, and, in their present degraded political situation, are of a rather sullen character. Moreover, the inhabitants of this hamlet, just at that moment, were in a state of great excitement, as they had received the news that Dáúdu, the young rebellious chieftain of Zaberma, or Zerma, was about to attack Abú l Hassan, the governor of Támkala, with a strong force, and this ray of hope, of once more making themselves independent of those foreign intruders who had conquered their country, could not fail at once to rouse the national spirit of these people, who had formerly offered a long resistance to the Fúlbe, and to render them indisposed to honour a stranger who was paying his court to those foreign rulers, and at present was under the protection of the chief of Gando. This report was the reason of my giving up my intended visit to the town of Támkala, which lay a short distance out of our direct road to Say, towards the north, where we expected to find a supply of corn.

Saturday, June 18—On leaving Tigóre we passed by the well, which presented a busy scene, numbers of women being engaged in drawing water. Although situated in a depression, it was twelve fathoms in depth. Further on we passed another well, which had even been surrounded by a strong fence, to prevent strangers from using it, and in the village of Tihóre, which we reached after a march of about eight miles, the well, although situated at the foot of the hill, measured as much as twenty-five fathoms in depth. Owing to the weak condition of my camels, I was induced by my people to take up my quarters in this village, but I was heartily tired of these short marches, for the hut where I was lodged was in very bad condition, being extremely small and dirty, with no trees to afford a little shade during the hot hours of the day. Provisions also were here very scanty; and it was with great difficulty that I obtained a small supply of corn for our horses. But I was so fortunate as to procure a little sour milk, there being a tolerably large herd of cattle belonging to Fúlbe cattle-breeders, who inhabit a sort of suburb at the north-western end of the village. The whole neighbourhood was suffering from drought, as there had been no rain for the last eight days; nor did a thunderstorm, which in the afternoon gathered from the east, bring us a single drop.

Sunday, June 19.—The district also, through which lay the first part of this day's march, was extremely parched and suffering from want of rain, and in consequence of this drought, notwithstanding the advanced season, the ground hereabout had not yet been brought under cultivation; but after a march of a little more than three miles, through a country partly laid out in fields, partly covered with underwood, we entered a district which had been more favoured with rain, and where the labours of the field had begun. The people here make use of a hoe with a long handle, of a different shape from what I observed in other quarters.

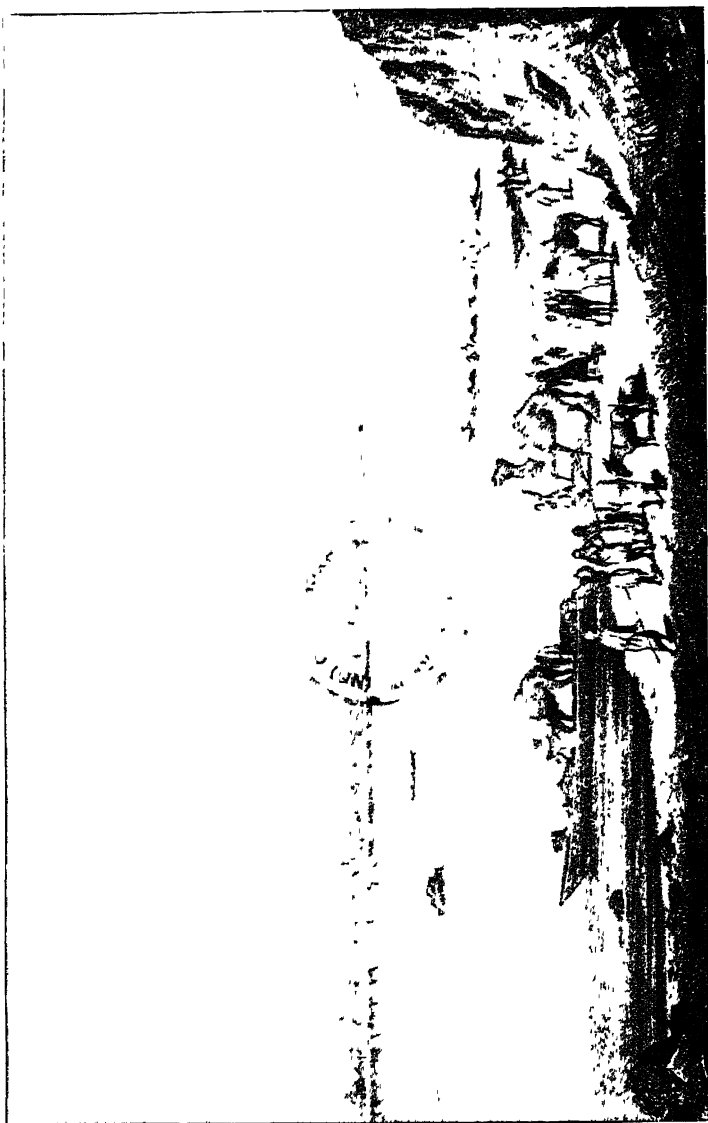
Forest and cultivated ground then again succeeded each other alternately, and having passed a farming-village of some extent called Tanna, we took up our quarters about four miles beyond, in a village called Tóndifú, but were obliged to use force to obtain a hut for our

use, as the head man of the village was too lazy, or too obstinate, to leave his cool shed in the heat of the day—probably here also the news of the proceedings of their countrymen in Zaberma kept the minds of the people in a state of excitement. The hamlet, which is rather a miserable one, has received its name from lying at the commencement of a rocky district, which extends from here to the river, a hill or mound being called "tónði" in the Songhay language. We were now close to the Niger, and I was justified in indulging in the hope that I might the next day behold with my own eyes that great river of Western Africa which has caused such intense curiosity in Europe, and the upper part of the large eastern branch of which I had myself discovered.

Monday, June 20—Elated with such feelings, I set out the next morning at an early hour, and after a march of a little less than two hours, through a rocky wilderness covered with dense bushes, I obtained the first sight of the river, and in less than an hour more during which I was in constant sight of this noble spectacle, I reached the place of embarkation, opposite the town of Say.

In a noble unbroken stream, though here, where it has become contracted, only about seven hundred yards broad, hemmed in on this side by a rocky bank of from twenty to thirty feet in elevation, the great river of Western Africa (whose name, under whatever form it may appear, whether *Dhiálíbbá*, *Máyo*, *Eghírreu*, *Ísa*, *Kwára*, or *Báki-n-rúwa*, means nothing but "the river," and which therefore may well continue to be called the Niger) was gliding along, in a NNE and SSW. direction, with a moderate current of about three miles an hour. On the flatter shore opposite, a large town was spreading out, the low rampart and huts of which were picturesquely overtopped by numbers of slender düm-palms.

This is the river-town, or "ford," the name Say meaning, in this eastern dialect, "the river." The Fúlbe call it *Ghútil*, which name may originally have been applied to the ford at the island of *Ortilli*. The banks at present were not high, but the river, as it rises, approaches the very border of the rocky slope. I had sent a messenger in advance, the preceding day, in order to have some large boats ready for me to cross the river. But no boat having arrived, I had plenty of leisure for contemplating the river scenery. There were a good number of passengers, Fúlbe and Songhay, with asses and pack-oxen, and there were some smaller boats in readiness suitable to their wants, but at length the boats, or rather canoes, which were to carry me and my effects across, made their appearance. They were of good size, about forty feet in length, and from four to five feet in width in the middle, consisting of two trunks of trees hollowed out, and sewn together in the centre. These boats are chiefly employed for conveying the corn from the town of *Sinder*, which lies higher up the river, to the town of Say, and they had been expressly sent for by the "king of the waters," or the inspector of the harbour, the "*serki-n-jirgi*," or "*lámido-lála*," as he is called by the Fúlbe, or "*hiyokoy*," according to his title in the Songhay language. The largest of them was able to carry three of my camels; and the water was kept out much better



THE TSA (NIGER) AT SAY.

than I had ever yet found to be the case with the native craft of the inhabitants of Negroland.

My camels, horses, people, and luggage having crossed over without an accident, I myself followed, about one o'clock in the afternoon, filled with delight when floating on the waters of this celebrated stream, the exploration of which had cost the sacrifice of so many noble lives. A little nearer the western bank, a short distance below the spot where the river is generally crossed, an isolated rock starts forth from the river, rising at this season from twelve to fifteen feet above the surface, and beyond there is a smaller one, which, as the river rises a little higher, becomes covered by the water. The sight of the river was the more momentous to me, as I was soon again to take leave of it, for my former notion, that I should be able to reach Timbúktu only by way of Libtáko, had been confirmed in Gando, and I only entertained a slight hope that perhaps on a future occasion I might visit that part of the river between Timbúktu and Say. From the very beginning I entertained strong doubts whether I should be able to reach the western coast; and it seemed to me more interesting to survey the course of the Niger between the point where it has become tolerably well known by the labours of Mungo Park and René Caillié, and the lower portion explored by the Landers, than to cross the whole extent of Central Africa.

Having presented myself at the governor's house, I soon obtained quarters, but they were not at all according to my fancy, being small and narrow. The town, in its very low position, is not refreshed by a single current of air, and altogether has a very oppressive atmosphere. The huts in these Songhay places are made rather for women than for men, the greater part of each hut being occupied by the female apartment or the *alkilla*, and the bedstead or *serir*, made of the branches of trees, being inclosed in a separate chamber of mats, and thus leaving only a very small entrance, and obstructing the whole interior of the dwelling. I have already had occasion, in describing the town of Ágades, to point out the care which the Songhay people bestow upon their matrimonial couches, and I was obliged first of all to take down one of these small matting bed-rooms in order to obtain some little ventilation in my hut. At length I had made myself somewhat comfortable, when the governor sent two calabashes of rice in the husk, and two others of millet, but no refreshment for the moment, though I stood very much in need of it, having been exposed to the sun during the hottest part of the day. To the master of the harbour, who had so opportunely supplied me with the large boats, I made a present of one thousand shells. Very little rain had fallen as yet in this neighbourhood; and a thunderstorm which broke out in the afternoon did not reach us. Indeed the air in this low valley, which is probably at a level of about three hundred and fifty feet, was so oppressive, that I felt at times almost suffocated, and unable to breathe.

The following morning I took a ride round the place and its neighbourhood. The shape of the town is intolerably quadrangular, being encompassed on three sides by a low rampart of earth, the side towards

the river being unprotected. It is of considerable size, each side measuring about one thousand four hundred yards, but the town is only thinly inhabited, the dwellings (all of which except the house of the governor consist of matting and reeds) lying scattered about like so many separate hamlets. It is intersected from north to south by a wide shallow depression or vale encompassed by dùm-palms, which are almost the only trees either inside or outside the town; and at the end of the rainy season it becomes filled with water, causing great inconvenience to the business of the town and the intercourse between the various quarters, and greatly contributing to its unhealthiness. There can be no doubt that, in seasons when the river reaches an unusual height, the whole town is under water, the inhabitants being obliged to seek safety beyond the borders of the valley.

There is a market held every day in the eastern part, not far from the bank of the river. Poor as it is, it is of some importance in the present state of the country and hence the town has a great name as a market-place among the inhabitants of Western Súdán, a great many of whom here supply their want of native manufactures, especially of the common clothing for males and females, as the art of weaving and dyeing is greatly neglected in this quarter, cotton being cultivated only to a very small extent. But the place was most miserably supplied with provisions, there being no store of grain whatever. Everything necessary was brought day by day from the town called Sínder—the same place which I have mentioned as being situated about eighty miles higher up the river. I was greatly surprised at not finding here even a vestige of the cultivation of rice, although a large tract of ground on this low island, which towards the rainy season becomes partly inundated, is particularly suited to that branch of cultivation. Not even onions are grown in the place; but, fortunately, I had been informed of the circumstance beforehand, and had provided myself with a large supply of this useful article in Gando, where the onions are excellent.

Being detained in this place longer than I wished, and feeling a little better, on the Thursday following I took a ride along the river to some distance below, where it takes a westerly bend, and I was astonished at the dry and barren aspect which this island bore, even here neither rice crops nor vegetables, as might be expected along the banks of so noble a river, being seen. The island, which during the highest level the river attains becomes almost inundated, bore the aspect of a scorched treeless prairie, and disappointed in my expectation of finding a cool shade, I returned into the town, being cheerfully saluted by all the people whom I met, the name of a módibo or learned man, which preceded me, gaining me the favour of the inhabitants. While passing along the streets I was delighted to observe a certain degree of industry displayed in small handicrafts and in the character of the interior of the households.

Everything was very dear, but particularly butter, which was scarcely to be procured at all. All the currency of the market consists of shells; but I found the most profitable merchandise to be the black cloth for female apparel from Gando, which realised a profit of eighty per cent.,

while the Kanó manufactures did not find a ready sale. The black Núpe tobe, of common manufacture, bought in Gando for 3,300 shells, here fetched 5,000, while the black zenne, manufactured in Gando itself, and bought there for 1,050, sold here for 2,000. Of course all depends, in this respect, upon the momentary state of the intercourse of this quarter with Háusa, and, at the present time, almost all communication with that manufacturing province being interrupted, it is easy to explain how an article produced in Gando could realise such a percentage in a town at so short a distance from that place—a state of things which cannot form the general rule. At any rate for the English, or Europeans in general, Say is the most important place in all this tract of the river, if they ever succeed in crossing the rapids which obstruct the river above Rabba and especially between Búsa and Yaúri, and reaching this fine open sheet of water, the great highroad of Western Central Africa. The traffic of the natives along the river is not inconsiderable, although even this branch of industry has naturally suffered greatly from the rebellious state of the adjacent provinces, more especially those of Zabérma and Déndina, so that, at present, boats did not go further down the river than Kírotáshi, an important place situated about fifteen miles lower down, on the western bank, while in the opposite direction, up the river, there was constant intercourse as far as Kindáji, with which place I made myself sufficiently acquainted on my return journey.

About noon the second day of my stay here I paid a visit to the governor of the town. His name is Abú Bakr, the son of the far-famed mállem Mohammed Jébbó. I found him a tolerably cheerful person, although he is wanting in that manliness of character which makes a lasting impression, and he bore evident signs of having been born of a female slave, while his manners appeared to me to possess something approaching to a Jewish character. He, however, was delighted to see me, as I was not only the first Christian who had ever visited this place, which Mungo Park, on his ever-memorable journey, seems to have passed by entirely unnoticed, but especially as I had come at a time when the whole intercourse of the country had been interrupted, and Arabs as well as natives were all afraid of visiting it. Having heard of the great superiority of Europeans over the Arabs, both in point of intelligence and industry, he entertained an earnest wish, if it could be accomplished without detriment to the welfare of his province, that a vessel or steamer belonging to them might come and fill his poor market with luxuries; and it was with the utmost surprise that he learned that I did not trade. But, on the other hand, this led the governor to think that, in exposing myself to such great dangers, I could not but have a very mysterious object in view; and he soon became alarmed, and asked repeatedly why I did not proceed on my journey.

I had already been informed in Gando, that Abú Bakr, two years previously, had navigated the river with a small flotilla of boats, upwards as far as Gágbo or Gógó, the ancient capital of Songhay, and collected tribute from the Fúlbe or Fállani settled near that place, but that he had been prevented by the threatening attitude of the Tuarek

from penetrating any further. In consequence of this expedition on the river, made in open boats which were continually filling with water, the governor was suffering very severely from rheumatism, and was scarcely able to move. Having so many petty chiefs before me, and seeing that this officer did not possess much power, I did not choose to give him a large present, but on my return the following year, when I still had something left, I made him a more considerable present of a bernús.

Having entered a new country, where a language was spoken (the Songhay) with which neither I nor any of my servants was acquainted, and not being able to give much time to its study, as I had to apply myself to the Fulfúlde, the language of the conquering tribe, I was extremely anxious to take into my service a native of the country, or to liberate a Songhay slave, but I did not succeed at this time, and, in consequence, felt not so much at home in my intercourse with the inhabitants of the country through which I had next to pass, as I had done formerly. For Gurma, although originally inhabited by quite a distinct race, has been conquered and peopled by the Songhay to a great extent.

CHAPTER XV.

THE HILLY COUNTRY OF GURMA.

Friday, June 24.—I now left the Great River behind me, which formed the limit between the tolerably known regions of Central Negro-land and the totally unexplored countries on the south-western side of its course; and with intense interest my thoughts were concentrated on the new region before me. However, this very day we had a sufficient specimen of what awaited us on our march during the rainy season; for we had scarcely left the low island behind us, on which the town of Say, this hotbed of fever, is situated (with its dry prairie ground almost destitute of verdure, and covered only with a few scattered specimens of the *Asclepiadææ*), and had ascended the steep rocky bank which borders the west side of the narrow, shallow, and irregular western branch of the river, which, being encompassed by granite boulders, was at present dry, when a dark array of thunder-clouds came, as it were, marching upon us from the south-east, and we had scarcely time to prepare for the serious assault, when a terrible thunder-storm broke out, beginning with a most fearful sand-wind, which enveloped the whole district in the darkness of night, and made progress, for a moment, quite impossible. After a while it was followed by a violent rain, which relieved the sand-storm, but lasted for nearly three hours, filling our path with water to the depth of several inches, and soaking us through to the skin, so that our march could not fail to be very uncomfortable.

It was on this account that we took up our quarters about half an

hour before noon in a farming-hamlet called Sanchérgu, where the people were busily employed in sowing, the plentiful rain of to-day, which was the first of the season, having rendered the fields fit for cultivation. After some search, we obtained two huts of round shape, which were situated near a sheep-pen in front of the dwelling of the proprietor. This was a cheerful and wealthy old man, who both lodged us comfortably and treated us hospitably. While my people were drying their clothes and luggage, I roved about a little, and observed, at a short distance west from the hamlet, a small rocky watercourse with pools of stagnant water, where the women were washing their clothes, while the slaves were busy in the labours of the field.

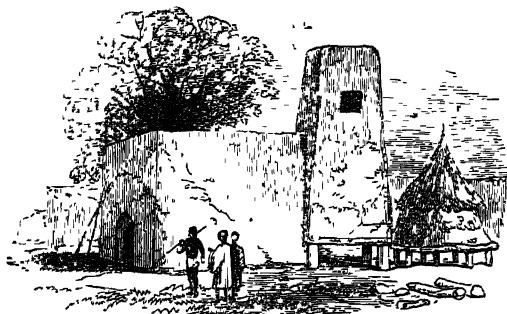
Saturday, June 25—Having rewarded our hospitable host, we started at an early hour to pursue our march, in order to reach in time the residence of Galaijo, a distinguished chief, of whom I had heard a great many flattering reports. It was a fine morning after yesterday's storm, and the country through which our march lay was hilly, and at times presented very pleasant vales, or glens, but in general it was destitute of trees, and was only insufficiently inhabited and cultivated. The view which presented itself to us of the country before us, when, after a march of about three miles and a half, we reached the highest point, was that of an extensive wilderness, the few cultivated spots being entirely hidden in the midst of the forest. Red sandstone was apparently the chief component of this hilly country, with occasionally a black tint, received from exposure to the air, and rich in oxide of iron—in fact, of the same geological feature as the border country between Kebbi and Góber. Short herbage was springing up here and there, affording but scanty food to the cattle that were grazing hereabouts.

A steep rocky declivity brought us from the higher level, which was covered with small stones, into a deep valley. But we had soon to ascend again, traversing a district which belonged to the village of Ndobúra and bore some signs of cultivation; and a dell, which we passed a little further on, was extremely picturesque. But the country hereabouts does not in general seem to be very fertile, and, besides, the exceptional drought of the present year had destroyed a large proportion of the crops, and it was this very unproductiveness that had induced the chief to leave his former place of residence, Shrgu, which lay a little more to the east, and to found a new dwelling-place further west.

This place, which is called Champagóre, we reached at noon, but preferred taking up our quarters on a hill opposite the town, to the north, which was bounded on that side by a well-wooded dell, and overlooked the whole neighbourhood. The town itself is inclosed by a small hilly chain towards the south, at the foot of which are the wells, seven fathoms in depth. It was to have been surrounded by a clay wall; but, only provisionally, the four gates had been finished with clay, while the rest of the town was still inclosed by a stockade. The interior of the place looks very peculiar, and quite different from the style usual in Kebbi, which is chiefly owing to the remarkable character of the magazines of corn, which consist of towers or quadrangular

buildings, raised a few feet above the ground, in order to protect them from the ants. They are from ten to fifteen feet in height, and about six feet in diameter, the walls gradually sloping inwards towards the top, as shown in the accompanying woodcut. They have no opening at the bottom, but only a windowlike aperture near the top, through which the corn is taken in and out, and on the whole they are not unlike the dove-cots of Egypt. In every courtyard there were one or more of these magazines, and they far surpassed, in their whole appearance, the dwellings themselves, which, with a few exceptions, consisted of low huts, the whole of the courtyards being only surrounded by a frail fence, made of the stalks of the native corn, while, in many yards, one half of the circumference of the huts themselves, of which there were rarely more than two, formed part of the fence.

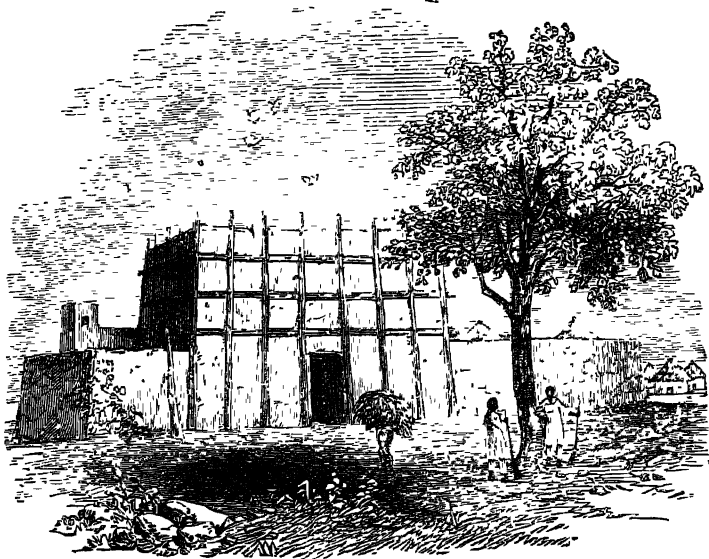
I went in the afternoon to pay my compliments to the chief. The portal of his residence has quite a stately appearance, as shown in the woodcut on p. 219, bearing evident testimony to an attempt at



architectural decoration; but the spacious courtyard inside, which was inclosed by a low clay wall, full of rubbish and poor, mean-looking huts, did not correspond with the stately character of the entrance. However, the dwelling itself, although simple, is not so mean, and, besides two spacious clay halls, includes some very airy and cool corridors built entirely of wood. Having been first received by Galajo in one of the clay halls, I was conducted afterwards to a more private audience in one of these corridors, and here, while delivering my present, I had a fair opportunity of surveying the exterior of this interesting man.

Mohammed Galajo, at the time of my visit, was a man of about seventy years of age, of an extremely pleasant and almost European expression of countenance, and of middle stature. He was dressed very simply, in a light-blue robe, with a white shawl wound round his face. Galajo, son of Hambodéjo, son of Pâte, son of Hâmed Yella, succeeded his father—probably the very chief who treated Mungo Park so hospitably during his stay in Másina—in the year of the Hejra, 1231. He was then the most powerful chief of Másina, or Melle, which, since

the overthrow of the Songhay empire by Múlay Hámed el Dhéhebí the emperor of Morocco, had been left to itself, and was consequently split into several petty kingdoms, the three other powerful chiefs of that country being the Árdó Másina, the Árdó Fittogel, and Gél Hamma Mána. But just at the time when Galaijo became ruler the great religious movement of the Fúlbe of Góber began, under the Reformer 'Othmán, and, instigated by their example, and fired with religious zeal, a chief went forth from them, in order to spread Islám among that section of the Fúlbe which was established along the upper course of the Niger. This man was Mohammed or Hámed Lebbo, who, arriving



in the country of Másina in the beginning of the year 1233 of the Hejra, at the head of a small band, formed first an alliance with Galaijo, who himself had embraced Islám ; and, thus closely allied, they spread their conquests over the neighbouring country. But, after having succeeded in establishing a strong power, Mohammed Lebbo demanded homage and allegiance from his ally Galaijo, under the pretext of his having brought the ensign, or túta, of Islám from Sífáwa, the place mentioned on a former occasion, where the Reformer 'Othmán dan Fôdiye resided at the time, together with his brother 'Abd Alláhi. Upon this, Galaijo, feeling little inclined to cede the dominion of the country over which his claims had been established from ancient times, entered into a violent struggle with the new comer, but after an unsuccessful

resistance, carried on for three years, he was obliged to give up his former residence, Konári, and, with the rest of his partisans, to seek a new home further eastward. Here he was received with open arms by the ruler of Gando, who was not at all pleased with the independent bearing of Lebbo and his son Ahmedu, by whom he was succeeded,—those people, being borne away by a pure reformatory view of their religion, and elated by their victory, going so far as to despatch a message to their kinsmen in Sokoto and Gando, to the effect that, if they would not reduce the number of their wives to two, and renounce their wide effeminate dress, they would pay them a hostile visit; and it is on this account that, even at the present time, there is no amicable relation whatever subsisting between the courts of Sókoto and Gando, on the one hand, and that of Hamda-Alláhu on the other.

The chief of Gando, therefore, granted Galaŷo an extensive although not very fertile district in his territories, where he has now been settled for almost thirty years. Thus we find, in this region, a small court of its own, and a whole community bearing no resemblance whatever to the customs of the people around them, but having faithfully preserved the manners and institutions of their native country, Másina; for, while all the neighbouring Fúlbe are rather a slender race of men, with expressive and sharply-cut features, who make it a rule to dress in white colours, we find here quite the reverse—a set of sturdy men, with round open counterances, and long black curly hair, all uniformly clad in light-blue tobes, and almost all of them armed with muskets. I was utterly surprised at the noble bearing of several of the courtiers, but especially that of the vizier and the commander-in-chief or lámido konno, both of whom reminded me of Europeans. The old chief, even at the present time, keeps up a continual intercourse with Tímúktu, where his eldest son was at the time studying, and which place he did not leave until some time after my arrival. Indeed the town of Konári is still said to belong to Galaŷo.

Taking into consideration the peculiar character of this little colony, and the benevolent disposition and venerable character of the chief in particular, I thought it worth my while to enter into more intimate relations with him, and in consequence, the following day, presented him with a helali bernús, which he admired very much, and was as grateful for as his reduced fortune allowed him to be, for, besides giving me a present of a heifer and a great number of fowls, he provided me also with corn, of which there was a great dearth in the place. The market was very small and insignificant, consisting merely of seven stalls, or shops, where scarcely a single sheep or ox was to be seen. The bitter species of ground-nuts, or gángala, and salt, formed almost the sole articles for sale. Butter and sour milk were plentiful.

The whole of this country belongs to Gurma—a name which, however, does not seem to owe its origin to the native inhabitants, but probably was given to it by the Songhay, who, while still settled on the north side of the river, applied this term to the region on the opposite or southern side, identical with the name Ari-binda. The country, at least the northern portions of it, had gradually been conquered and

colonised by the Songhay, who, as we shall see on my home journey, have preserved in this quarter a portion of their national strength and independence, while in the recent rising of the Fúlbe the chief places along the highroad had been occupied by the latter, but after the first impulse of the religious movement had passed by, the settlements of this conquering race had greatly decayed, so that the communication along this important highroad from the west, at the period of my journey, was almost entirely interrupted, nay, the native independent chief of Bôjjo had totally destroyed the considerable settlement of Martebôgo which commanded the road, for, from the very beginning the conquerors had only succeeded in establishing themselves along the highroad, leaving the independence of the chiefs in the interior almost undisturbed. The most powerful of these native chiefs of Gurma are those of Belânga, Bôtu, Bosûgu, Bôjjo, Machakwali, Nândau, and Mayânga. Of these the chief of Belanga seems to be at present the most powerful, while next to him ranks that of Bôjjo, but in former times Bôtu seems to have been the chief place in the country, which is the reason why it is still called by the Hausa people "fâda-n-Gurma," "the palace or royal residence of Gurma." The name Gurma, however, as I have said, seems not to be the indigenous name either of the country or of the people, while the language of the natives bears a certain affinity to that of the neighbouring tribes, the Mòsi or Môre, and Tombo.

However, the original inhabitants of Gurma are not the only enemies of the Fúlbe, but, besides the former, there are also the Songhay, who have emigrated into the country since the time of their predominance along the Niger, and some of these communities are the most inveterate enemies of the present conquerors, especially the inhabitants of Lárba, or Láraba, a place which we had to pass on our further march. Besides the latter place, the most important settlements of the Songhay in this district are said to be the following —Téra (the residence of Hamma-Kâsa), Darghol, Garmûwa, Fâmbita, close to the river, and not far from it, to the west, Garû (probably identical with the neighbouring town of Sinder of that name), Kasâm, Kôkoro, and Fôni. We shall come into contact with some of these Songhay settlements on our return journey along the Niger, and I shall then say more about them.

It was on account of the Lárba that I was induced to remain a day longer at Champagôre than had been originally my intention, the chief begging me most urgently to wait till some other people who were going to Yâgha might join me; and while staying here we were so fortunate as to have a tolerable shower of rain, which greatly refreshed this parched country, and again raised the hopes of the inhabitants. The whole depression between the hill on which we were encamped and the town became filled with water; and I was greatly delighted at the arrival of the proprietor of the farm where we had established ourselves, an energetic weather-beaten Pûllo, who came to inspect the labours of the fields, and who was not a little surprised at finding us quietly established in his homely dwelling.

Tuesday, June 28—Our road lay through a hilly country, well wooded and intersected by a number of small watercourses; and in some favoured localities a good crop of corn was seen standing in the fields. Cattle also seemed not to be wanting, which accounted for the circumstance of the residence of Galajo being so well provided with milk. We also met a great number of women on their way to the market of Champagóre with their supplies of sour milk. But besides the small dry watercourses just mentioned, we had also to cross a very rapid torrent, which is called Górebí, and is said to come from the direction of Kulféla, a very important market-place in the interior of Mósi, and which caused us considerable delay. Before we entered Champaláwel, also, where we took up our quarters half an hour before noon, we had to cross a considerable sheet of water, three feet and a half in depth and about thirty yards broad, about the relation of which to the neighbouring watercourses I am not quite certain.

Champaláwel is the residence of the governor of the Tórobe; but it was at that time in the utmost state of decay and almost deserted, the slight remains of the ramparts being almost hidden in a dense forest; for since the decease of Moázu (a celebrated chieftain mentioned also in other accounts), who died about twenty years ago, the power of the Fúlbe in this place has greatly declined. The present governor, a younger brother of that energetic chieftain, himself tolerably advanced in years, proved to be a very illiberal and unamiable man, and he would not even assign me quarters on my arrival, so that I had the greatest trouble in taking possession of a miserable little hut on my own account, while good shelter was very essential, as a great quantity of rain fell in the afternoon. However, all was changed, when, towards evening, a cousin of the present governor, of the name of 'Othmán, arrived, and I then received a present of two sheep. I also had the great and unexpected pleasure of meeting here an Arab, of the name of Mohammed el Wákhshí, a near relative of my friend Bú-Bakr el Wákhshí, the Ghadámsí merchant whom I have mentioned repeatedly in the preceding part of my narrative. This man was then on his return from Gonja, the northern tributary province of Asanti,—the Gúro caravan having been induced, by the state of the country, to abandon its direct road from Yendi to Komba on the Niger, in favour of a northerly and very circuitous road by way of Yágha. But I was disappointed in the hope of corresponding with Europe by means of this man. The letter which I gave to him, and which I had already written in Say, never reached its destination, for El Wákhshí succumbed to disease in crossing the province of Nùpe in the height of the rainy season, before reaching Kanó.

Wednesday, June 29—On leaving this desolate residence of the chief of the Tórobe, reduced to an entangled thicket, we passed the encampment, or zango, of the Gúro caravan, which, as is generally the case, consisted of small round huts, erected for the occasion with branches and rank grass. The caravan consisted of about one hundred individuals, with a couple of hundred of asses, which form the usual beasts of burden of these native travellers. Scarcely a mile beyond the town

we had again to cross a river which, bordered by the richest vegetation, and by abundance of rank grass, runs at this spot from S.E. to N.W., with a depth of about three feet, and at times, when a great deal of rain has fallen, forming a far more considerable volume of water.

The country which we then entered was hilly, tolerably well cultivated, and thickly inhabited. It was adorned here and there with the baobab tree, and a fine leafy tree called here "harúna." But we made only a short march, being induced, on account of the danger of the road before us, to take up our quarters in a farming-village, situated in a very rich tract of country, behind a flat-topped cone, at the distance of a little more than four miles from Champaláwé. Notwithstanding the fertility of the district, no corn was to be obtained here at present, the last year's harvest having failed entirely, so that the people were obliged to supply their own wants at Bosebángo. This scarcity is increased generally in districts where only one species of corn is grown, all the produce here being reduced to millet, while various grains are raised, which ripen at different seasons, even in these countries, dearth cannot prevail to such an extent and for so long a time. All the inhabitants, including even the head man, belonged to the native Gurma race. All the cattle-breeding is in the hands of the Fúlbe, who regard "the cow as the most useful animal in creation,"—"negge ngombúri déya fó náfa," and, there being no such people in the neighbourhood, no milk was to be obtained. The dwelling where I was lodged, with its numerous compartments and courtyards, presented quite a labyrinth of itself. Three servants of Galajo, all armed with muskets, had attached themselves to my troop; and I supplied each of them here with ball cartridges, in case of any attack on the road.

Thursday, June 30—We had a long day's march before us, through the unsafe wilderness which separates the reduced dominion of the chief of the Tórobe from the territory of Yágha. It was a fine morning, and tolerably clear. Corn-fields now and then interrupted the dense growth of talha trees and prickly underwood, while occasionally a baobab or a tamarind-tree gave greater variety to the scenery. About four miles and a half from our starting-point we passed, on the right of the path, some peculiarly constructed smelting-furnaces, about six feet high and a foot and a half in diameter at the base. The proceeding is very simple and unsophisticated. On the ironstone is placed a large quantity of wood-ashes, till the metal begins to melt, and is then, by means of three channels at the bottom of the furnace, received in a basin.

Close behind these smelting-furnaces, which happened to be the first I had seen in Negroland, though there are plenty of them in some districts, we passed the site of a former encampment, or zango, of native traders, or fatáki, in a spot clothed with the finest *Poa*, and adorned with



large wide-spreading trees. Ascending then a little, we passed the village of Bangapelle on our left, situated at the eastern foot of an eminence, and then kept along the northern base of the latter, while on our right a dense forest spread out, broken by a rocky ridge. The whole wilderness through which our way led was in general very dry, and did not possess any fresh pasture-grounds, although about two miles beyond Bangapelle we passed a considerable pond of water, with numerous traces of the elephant; but gradually the country became more rocky, granite prevailing. We encamped, at length, on the site of a former hamlet, called Kófé, situated on a rising rocky ground close to a depression, with water, and clothed with fine pasture interspersed with flowers, in whose sweet blossom numerous butterflies were indulging. Here again the footprints of the elephant were extremely numerous, but by far more interesting, and of much higher importance to me, were the traces of the rhinoceros, an animal which at present seems to be wanting entirely in the regions between the Niger on the west and the Shári towards the east. Our rest at this place was greatly disturbed; for after an alarm in the evening, which, fortunately for us, proved to be false, we were kept awake the whole night by a terrible thunderstorm, which broke out with great violence, and rendered our situation in the midst of a low swampy ground very uncomfortable indeed.

Friday, July 1.—In consequence of the storm we started rather late. Close behind our encampment we had to cross a very swampy ground, which we might have passed more easily the day before. We were therefore greatly cheered when the boggy ground was succeeded by sandy soil, which became intersected by several small watercourses, affording a channel to the watery element; but after a march of about six miles it was again succeeded by a considerable pond, which we had to avoid by a long circuitous road. Here, also, the ground was marked by numerous footprints of the elephant, while monkey-bread or baobab trees were in great abundance.

In the afternoon the whole aspect of the country changed, the surface becoming rugged, and broken by small rocky ridges, and here the danger increased, on account of the vicinity of the town of Lárba, the inhabitants of which, as I have mentioned before, are the inveterate enemies of the Fúlbe. Only a few days before they had robbed and murdered some people of the governor of the Tórobe. But well-armed as we were, all the people round about being aware that an attack upon us would not be an easy affair, we proceeded without any accident; and having twice made a considerable descent, we reached, a little after three o'clock, the village of Bosebángo, which is surrounded by a strong stockade. It is inhabited by the Karábe, who, although kinsmen of the inhabitants of Lárba, fear and respect in some degree the authority of the Fúlbe: however, we soon convinced ourselves that the character of their allegiance is very precarious. The mayor of the village, being a man of advanced age, dressed in a ragged shirt, lodged me in his own quarters, which seemed to contain a very remarkable household, the most interesting objects being his two wives, very stout females, richly

ornamented with copper rings on their arms and legs, and with strings of beads round their necks, but having, besides, another ornament, at which I was more surprised, viz a thin plate of tin in the under lip, like that worn by the Marghi, but I was astonished at not finding the nose-ring, which, from what I had heard, I had concluded that all the Songhay were in the habit of wearing. Altogether, these fashionably dressed women, with their dirty old partner, would have formed a highly interesting subject for illustrating the customs of these people.

Having rested awhile, for I felt greatly exhausted after my sickly state in Say, I roved a little about the place (which lies at the foot of a well-wooded eminence), and collected several specimens of minerals, which, in the course of my journey, were thrown away by my people. Gneiss and mica slate were predominant, and beautiful varieties of granite occasionally appeared.

Having observed from this point that the river Sirba runs only at a short distance from the place, we endeavoured in the evening to arrange with the inhabitants to assist us in crossing this sheet of water, where there are no boats. While speaking with the natives about this river, I was surprised to hear from them that they consider the water unwholesome, and more particularly so for horses, while even the herbage which grows close to the border is regarded as extremely deleterious to the cattle, but the people themselves supply their own wants entirely from the river. They do not carry the water in single pitchers on their heads, which is the general custom in Negroland, but use a simple pair of yokes, from which a couple of nets are suspended, in each of which a pitcher is carried, in much the same way as in Germany.

The chief treated my party very hospitably. While in the neighbourhood of Bangapelle there seemed to be great scarcity of corn, here it appeared to be in abundance. We spent our evening comfortably, although it was necessary to take great care of the horses, as a number of horse-stealers were hovering about the place.

Saturday, July 2.—A few hundred yards beyond the village we came to the river Sirba, which here forms a bend from N W to N E, between banks about twenty feet high, and caused us not a little anxiety, as it was nearly seventy yards wide, and not less than twelve feet in depth in the middle. We had, moreover, to cross it merely on bundles of reeds, which we had to tie together ourselves. At length, after much controversy, we succeeded in arranging with the natives, for 2,000 shells, to assist us in crossing. While the large bundles which were to constitute our frail ferry were being tied together, the head man of the village and a great number of the natives were sitting on the high banks of the river, which form a sort of amphitheatre, in order to enjoy the spectacle. There was something very peculiar about the inhabitants of this place. The men were formed into interesting groups, with features full of expression, but approaching somewhat to effeminacy, their hair being plaited in long tresses, which hung down over their cheeks, and in some cases reached their shoulders. Their dress consisted of short blue shirts, and long wide trousers of the same colour. Almost all of them had small pipes in their mouths, which they smoked

incessantly The women were of rather short stature, and of not very symmetrical forms, with naked legs and breasts. Their necks and ears were richly ornamented with strings of beads; but they also were destitute of the nose-ring, which I had supposed common to this tribe.

The men were expert swimmers, and carried the small articles across the river in large calabashes, but we ourselves and the heavier luggage had to cross on the rafts of reeds, and in about two hours we succeeded in getting safely over the water with our whole troop. A little after twelve o'clock we left the opposite bank, being joined by two horsemen of the Sýlebáwa, who at no great distance from this spot have a large settlement called Dútuwel, but we had great difficulty in making our way through the swampy plain, intersected by several small water-courses, which descended in deep ravines from a small rocky chain towards the north. After a march of about eight miles, we pitched our tents a little beyond the site of a former encampment of the native traders, where the ground was tolerably free from trees; and I enjoyed our resting-place extremely, for, having been exposed to the sun during the heat of the day, I felt greatly fatigued.

Sunday, July 3—We continued our march through the forest, which here had a very fresh appearance, and soon passed a cone on our right, on the offshoots of which, as would appear from the quantities of stones scattered about, a hamlet appears to have been situated in former times. Besides gneiss, large pieces of a fine species of marble were lying about in every direction. Rank grass, now and then adorned with blue *Crucifera*, filled up the intervals between the dense growth of trees (but there were none of large size, and less of the bush called "tsáda" than I had seen the previous day), besides a few isolated monkey-bread trees. I observed, also, that the people were here digging up the same root which I had noticed on my journey to Adamáwa. The footprints of the elephant and the buffalo were very numerous, and a little further on we fell in with a large herd of the latter species indulging in the luxuriant herbage of the pasture-grounds, which here grows without any use to man.

Having then gone round a considerable pond of water in the midst of the forest, we entered upon more undulating ground adorned with larger trees, where, besides the monkey-bread tree, the dorówa was predominant, and a little beyond an eminence, at the foot of which the village of Bundóre had been situated in former times, we reached the modern village of that name, which is surrounded with a stockade. A dyeing-place, containing from eight to ten pits, besides a large basin for making up the mixture, presented some signs of industry and civilization; at a short distance from our quarters, also, a blacksmith was living. This village belongs to the territory of Yágha, and the huts presented a peculiar style of architecture, being built almost entirely of stalks and matting. The latter, which constitutes the walls, is plastered with clay, and reaches an altitude of nine feet. The roof is not formed of slender boughs and branches, but of large poles.

Not being able to obtain any corn that evening, I was obliged to stay here the following day. No millet is cultivated in this place, all the

corn consisting of sorghum. The people would not take anything but shells, and refused cotton strips. Sixty of the former bought a full measure of a common drinking-bowl, or "gera," of corn, and for one thousand five hundred shells we procured a lean sheep.

Tuesday, July 5.—The country which we traversed on leaving Bundöre was well adorned with trees, especially the tamarind, and bore evident signs of extensive cultivation, even indigo and cotton being observed by the side of a pond, but the forest soon became so dense, that our progress was very difficult, and the *ámúda*, a *Liliacea* which I have mentioned before, was so plentiful in some places, that it formed, as it were, a rich carpet, exhibiting quite an unwonted and cheerful aspect, for in general this quarter of Africa is rather poor in flowers. We had just passed a very dense jungle of tall reed-grass interspersed with blue and yellow flowers, when a thunderstorm which had hovered over us all the morning broke out, and soon changed the whole forest into one mighty sheet of water, when we had to cross three powerful torrents, all running towards the south-east, and probably discharging themselves into the Sirba.

Completely drenched, and almost swamped by the water, we reached the village of Dengá, but had the greatest difficulty in entering it, on account of the dense forest with which it was surrounded. At length we succeeded in penetrating this mass of thorny bushes, and, having obtained quarters, were able to dry our clothes, but the damp was excessive, and the second-best of my servants, the young Shúwa lad 'Abd Alláhi, was this very day attacked by the Guinea worm, which laid him up during the whole of the remainder of my journey, and at times rendered him the most disagreeable person in the world.

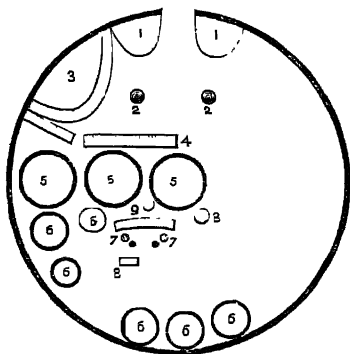
The hut which was assigned to myself was well built, but it was so completely obstructed by numbers of corn jars of clay, that scarcely any room was left for my own use. Our diet, however, was not so bad, and besides sour milk, which constitutes one of the most wholesome articles of food for a European traveller in these regions during the rainy season, we obtained also a couple of fowls.

Wednesday, July 6.—Our road, on leaving Dengá, led through underwood, which was gradually succeeded by dense forest, the view being bounded towards the right by heights. Among the trees of the forest there was soon conspicuous that large beautiful tree, a species of acacia, which the inhabitants of Sháwi and Mákari call korgam, and from which they build most of their boats, while a kind of vegetable butter is made from its core. It grew here to an altitude of certainly not less than eighty feet, with a wide-spreading crown, but not very dense foliage. It is here called "mur," at least by the Arabs; its native Songhay name I did not learn till some time subsequently.

Amongst the underwood, the most distinguished was the bush here called "kirche," with its small, white, edible fruit, which is extremely pleasant when taken in small quantities, but, from its very sweet taste, soon becomes unpalatable, there was, besides, the "mekhét," as it is called by the Arabs, the fruit of which is much liked by the natives, but it was not yet ripe. The wilderness was interrupted by a village of

considerable size, called Gongúngo, surrounded by a living fence of bushes, and exhibiting a good deal of cultivation, principally *Zea Mays*, while a single düm-palm attracted our attention. Here the sun broke through the clouds, spreading life over, and enhancing the cheerful aspect of, the landscape

Forest again succeeded, intersected by a small rivulet which had inundated the district to some extent, and about two miles beyond Gongúngo we had to cross swampy meadow grounds, where my Háusa Púllo, a native of Zabérma, whom I had taken into my service in Champagóre, called my attention to a plant named here "yángara-bubíki," which is said to keep flies from open wounds, especially from those of the camel, it probably contains a sort of slight poison. Having crossed



1. Jodórde, a clay seat of semicircular shape, raised about a foot, on each side of the door. 2. Lýggere, two round shallow holes in the floor, measuring about eight inches in diameter, to place the dishes during dinner, in order to prevent them from being upset. 3. Kosondi, a half-oval-shaped place, surrounded by a slight clay rampart, about two and a half feet high, for containing luggage, etc. 4. Hurgal, a sort of clay bank, about six feet in length, and about a foot in height, and rather narrow. 5. Three "benbel," or large-sized clay jars, for containing corn. 6. Six smaller "benbel," called "mabbirgel benbel." 7. Hobunirde, the cooking-place, consisting of four stones, or rather clay mounds, protected against any gust of wind by a slight wall towards the side of the door, while its privacy is already sufficiently guaranteed by the large clay jars. 8. Two movable seats, or jodorde, one of round, the other of an oblong shape, both made of wood. 9. Kekimalka, or middle pole, for supporting the roof of the hut.

a short tract of rugged ground, where granite, gneiss, and sandstone protruded through the surface, we entered a more populous district with several villages right and left, but presenting great difficulties to the passage of the camels, as it consisted of red clay, soaked with water, which formed several large ponds, and, being recently traversed by a numerous herd of cattle, was extremely muddy.

Thus leaving two villages on one side, we reached, a little before noon, the clay wall of the town of Sebba, which, though the residence of the lord of Yágha, has nothing in its appearance to indicate the capital of even a small province. The governor was sitting in front of his

house, close to the mosque, in the midst of a large congregation of people, and was reading and interpreting to them some passages from the Kurán. Having sent two of my servants in advance, I soon obtained quarters, and was lodged in an excellent hut, which I shall here describe.

The hut measured about twenty feet in diameter, the walls being ten feet high to the beginning of the roof, but consisting merely of matting, which was coated with clay. The roof was supported by a pole in the middle. The hut was full of larger or smaller vessels of clay, and was apparently intended for a considerable household. The woodcut on p 228 will give a full idea of the comfort which an African household in this region possesses.

Besides the immovable articles, if we exclude the two smaller seats of wood, which were movable, only very few utensils had been left in



the hut by the industrious landlady, the couch and even the dishes having been taken away. But suspended from the roof was the "pîlgure," or basket for smaller luggage, which contained at the time, besides the komcha, the pittórke, or small stick for weaving, and the fabáru, a small leather portfolio for writing. The accompanying view, though it exhibits the hut rather in an inverted manner, will give the reader a fair idea of its character.

The clay being excellently polished, and the hut of recent construction, left a very pleasant impression; but, as is so often the case in human life, all this finery covered nothing but misery, and I discovered the next day, to my utter amazement, that this beautiful hut was one entire nest of ants, which had in one day made great havoc with the whole of my luggage.

In the afternoon I went to pay my respects to the governor, who is

not without power, so that I thought it better to sacrifice to him a bernús of inferior quality, besides some smaller articles. He was a fine-grown man, with large features, which at once indicated his origin from the black stock of the Fúlbe or the Tórobo. Sitting at the door of his palace, he received me kindly, and promised me that I should have no difficulty in my further progress. Considering the scarcity of provisions, he treated me hospitably on the whole, sending me the next day a young heifer, besides a great many dishes of prepared food.

The name of the principality is Yágha, dating from the time which preceded the conquest of the Fúlbe, but the governor's private name is Sáo ben Ibrahima. Notwithstanding the power of the ruler, the place is in a miserable condition, and resembles rather a wilderness than a town; but it is extremely picturesque, having a thick covert of beautiful trees nourished by a large sheet of water. The place contains scarcely two hundred huts, and nothing like a market is to be found. The difficulty of our obtaining supplies was the greater, as, contrary to our expectation and the information we had received, nothing but shells had currency in the place; and it was with a great deal of trouble that, by means of the cotton strips with which we had provided ourselves, we obtained a small supply of butter and corn, four drá being reckoned here the same as in Gando, while in the town of Say there was thirty per cent. profit upon the cotton strips. The most abundant article I found here was milk, which was the best I had ever yet tasted in Negroland; and it gave me a fair but rather exaggerated idea of what I might expect to find amongst the Fúlbe further west. We also bought a small quantity of corn from the women, in exchange for some looking-glasses and cloves. All the corn here consists of sorghum, and seventy shells, at the time, would just buy sufficient corn for a horse for one day, which is a very high price indeed for Negroland.

Notwithstanding the poor character of the place, I was obliged to stay here two whole days, exclusive of the day of my arrival, in order to give the camels some rest, as they were suffering greatly from the effects of the rainy season, and on account of the holiday of the "fotr," which fell on the 8th. If I had known the character of the province of Libtáko better, I should have deemed it prudent to make even a longer stay here and I would advise any future traveller to do so, taking care, however, to have a sufficient supply of shells with him, which will enable him to make himself quite comfortable in Yágha.

Music having announced the arrival of the important and joyful day, soon after midnight, almost the whole of the men went out in the morning in order to say their prayers at about a mile's distance from the town. All the Fúlbe were dressed in snow-white shirts, as a symbol of the purity of their creed, but some of them wore dark-blue trousers. There were about forty horses with the party, which probably was all that the townspeople could muster.

Having had to sustain here a slight religious attack from the kádhi, who wanted to represent me as a sorcerer, I thought it prudent to make a small present to each of the holiday people, as a kind of séddéga, or

alms. The holiday also disturbed me in compiling a small vocabulary of the Gurma language, called by the Fúlbe *Gurman-kóbe*, which I had begun, but was obliged to leave unfinished.

CHAPTER XVI.

PROVINCE OF LIBTÁKO —SOUTH-EASTERN LIMIT OF THE RANGE OF THE COMMERCE OF TIMBÚKTU.

Saturday, July 9.—We left Sebba, the capital of the wilderness—*bírní-n-dáji*, as I called it,—passing through a district where forest and cultivated ground alternated. The slaves were busy in the fields rooting up the weeds from among the crops; but, after a march of about four miles, we had to cross a very considerable water, which is here called *Yáli*, and about whose course I am not able to give distinct information. It is said to come from *Mósi*, and to join the river *Sirba* not far from *Bosebángo*; but the latter statement is incredible. The water being not less than four feet and a half in depth, with a breadth of at least four hundred yards, most of our luggage became wetted.

The country then assumed a more rocky appearance—mica slate, granite, and gneiss alternating, the granite sometimes appearing in large boulders. The vegetation also assumed here a more varied aspect, besides tamarind-trees, *mádachi* and *kadé* predominating, and altogether the forest exhibited a fresh and pleasant character, especially as the sun had at length broken through the clouds which had obscured its rays during the first part of the day. After a march altogether of about eleven miles, we reached the village of *Namantúgu*, which still belongs to the province of *Yágha*, the mayor of which we had met a short time before, on the road, as he was going to look after his cattle.

The village is of some importance, and consists of several groups which cover an extensive tract of ground, lying straggling about in the fields, but the huts themselves are very narrow, and the one which was assigned to myself was so small that there was scarcely room to breathe. Nothing is more unhealthy for a European than these abodes of stench and filth, but during the rainy season he is often obliged to seek shelter in these dirty dwellings, especially if he has valuable property in his possession.

Namantúgu, which seems to have been of considerable importance in the history of the Songhay empire, was a rather eventful place for my whole subsequent proceedings, as I here met an Arab from the west, in whose company I was safely to enter the town of *Timbúktu*. He called himself *Sheikho*, though this was not originally his proper name; and, in order not to cause any mistake, I will in future call him (from his father and the name of his birthplace) *Weled Ámmer Waláti*. He was certainly a very remarkable fellow, and I shall have frequent

occasion, in the further course of my journey, to advert to his doings. Being originally a native of Waláta, he had emigrated to Timbúktu, whence he had roved about a great deal among the Tuarek as well as among the Fúlbe, and was at present on his way from Belánga, the residence of one of the principal chiefs of Gurma. He had a good quantity of the broad gábagá, or cotton strips, of Mósi with him, which form the staple currency in the whole tract of country from Libtáko to Timbúktu, ten drá being reckoned equal to one hundred shells. Besides Arabic, he spoke Fulfúlde, Songhay, Mósi, and Bámbara fluently, and Temáshight, or the language of the Tuarek, almost as well, and altogether was one of the cleverest men whom I met on my journey, in spite of the trouble he caused me and the tricks he played me. He was a handsome man, of middle size and of rather slender growth, and with very fine expressive features. His dress consisted of a long black gown, with a black shawl wound round his head, and his whole appearance, as he was moving along at a solemn, thoughtful pace, frequently reminded me of the servants of the Inquisition. However, his real character at the time of our first meeting was, of course, unknown to me, and I was delighted at having found such a man, as he held out to me the fairest prospects of reaching Timbúktu. But although I convinced myself that this man would be of great service to me, yet I did not make a bargain with him immediately, but we agreed that I should arrange with him in Dóre, when he would be able to settle his own business.

The village of Namantúgu is almost exclusively inhabited by Fúlbe, all of whom were clad in the purest white, even the little children wearing round their heads a large turban of white cotton strips; but this was, perhaps, in consequence of their festival having been held the previous day. A great deal of rain had fallen hereabouts; and cotton appeared to be cultivated to a considerable extent.

Sunday, July 10—Our road, on leaving Namantúgu, led through a deep clayey soil covered with rank vegetation, which was only now and then interrupted by a little cultivation. A wealthy family of Fúlbe, father, mother, son, and daughter, all mounted on horseback, and accompanied by servants and by a numerous herd of cattle, were pursuing the same path; and their company was rather agreeable to us, as, after a march of about five miles, we had to cross a large sheet of water in the midst of the forest, through which they showed us the way. It is delightful for a traveller to meet with these nomadic settlers, after the disgust he has felt at the degraded character of their countrymen in Wurno. We had here entered a region full of water, the soil presenting very little inclination to afford it the means of flowing off. Further on also, where we passed the site of a former dwelling-place, we had to cross several channels of running water, and encamped at length, after a march of about seventeen miles, in the midst of the forest, close beyond another watercourse; for we were not aware that about two miles further on there was a far more favourable place for encamping, viz. the site of the former town of Tumpénga.

The site of this place we passed early the next morning. Before the

time of the rising of the Jihâd, the town had been inhabited by Fúlbe and pagans indiscriminately, when, owing to the religious ferment caused by that reformer, a bloody feud broke out between the Mohammedan and pagan inhabitants. The latter were vanquished, and fled to Nába, the powerful Gurma domain at some distance towards the south, while the former founded the town of Dóre. Two dyeing-places bore testimony to the fact that a certain degree of industry had formerly prevailed in this place, which, like so many other human abodes in Christian and Mohammedan countries, has been reduced to desolation in consequence of religious disputes.

Beyond this place granite protruded in large boulders, while monkey-bread trees were in great abundance, but gradually the country became more open, the trees being scanty and the soil hard and barren. This did not, however, last long, and further on we had to cross a considerable sheet of water surrounded by fine pasture-grounds; then followed another very barren and open tract, till, after a march of almost twenty miles, we reached the village of Kóna, situated beyond a broad sandy watercourse at present dry. The scarcity of herbage was here so great that I was obliged to send two of my people back to a considerable distance in order to procure a little grass for the horses. The head man of the village received us very inhospitably, refusing us quarters in such a peremptory manner, that it was only by force I could procure an open yard where to pitch my tent. However, he soon changed his behaviour entirely. It so happened that a thunderstorm, with the blackest clouds, which in the opinion of every one portended a heavy fall of rain, twice passed over our heads without bringing these famished people a single drop; whereupon all of them assured the inhospitable mayor that it was a divine punishment for his niggardly and unrighteous conduct towards me. Frightened, therefore, by such signs, he carried his hospitality so far as even to make me a present of a young heifer. But the first advances towards a friendly intercourse were made by an old woman, the mistress of the piece of ground where we had encamped,—she bringing me, as a token of good-will, a dish of well-cooked paste, which probably constituted her whole supper.

Considering the parched character of the whole neighbourhood, I was surprised to find a few dùm-palms at the border of the channel, while the whole neighbourhood was almost destitute of trees.

Tuesday, July 12—A short march of a little less than six miles, in company with the son of the old governor, brought us from here to Dóre. The country through which we passed bore at the time the character of extreme drought and barrenness, and numerous flocks of gazelles (quite an unusual aspect to me in the populous districts of Negroland through which I had passed) were roving about over this immense plain, which was scarcely broken by a single tree, with the exception of a few stunted monkey-bread trees. In the distance, towards the south, two small eminences bounded the horizon.

The remnant of a large herd of cattle, in a most emaciated condition, was scattered in the barren fields, licking the soil, which is here full of natron. The seed had already been sown, but the crops had scarcely

started forth from the ground, and were languishing for want of rain. Huts were occasionally seen for the first mile or two, but being exposed to the full force of the sun, without affording the least shade, they presented rather a dismal aspect. But this immense plain, which at the present season was only very slightly broken, about half-way, by a shallow strip of green bordered by projecting granite boulders, supplies abundant food for a fine breed of horses, for which Libtáko is remarkable.

Dóre is the chief place of the province of Libtáko ; but its appearance caused us the utmost disappointment, presenting, as it did, unmistakable signs of misery and decay, the wall by which it had been formerly surrounded being nothing but a disgusting heap of rubbish, while the whole place exhibited the utmost neglect. But, through the kind interference of a messenger of Galaijo, who was most opportunely here at the time, I was lodged in an excellent and spacious hut, measuring probably not less than thirty-five feet in diameter, and presenting a remarkable contrast to the little dirty nook which formed my quarters in Namantúgu. The place is said to abound in thieves, which is not astonishing, as it is not only the rendezvous for all the natives from the different tribes which dwell in the immediate neighbourhood, but even several Bórnu people have settled here since the inroad of Wádáy.

Dóre is principally a great place of resort for the Arabs of Azawád, the district to the north of Timbúktu, who bring to this market the salt of Taúdénni in great quantities, and occasionally even reside here for a long time, but they generally come direct from Azawád without touching at Timbúktu, proceeding by way of Gágho (the ancient capital of the Songhay empire, and once the great gold-market of the western part of Negroland), or, still more direct, by Tósaye, the point where the river greatly contracts, before it changes from an easterly to a south-easterly course. Some of them are very wealthy people,—one individual having as many as forty camels with him. Among other important information, I received from them the news that Hámed Weled Habíb, the sheikh of Árawán, who, from the account of Caillié, is generally regarded in Europe as the chief murderer of Major Laing, had died a short time before, after a reign of nearly forty years; and I regarded this piece of news as a very auspicious omen for the success of my undertaking.

These Arabs left on the 17th,—a circumstance not quite indifferent to me, as I was led to expect that they might carry the news of my arrival, not only into the heart of the desert, but also to Timbúktu, and thus augment the difficulties of my journey. There were, however, also a good many individuals who wanted to pass themselves off for Arabs without having any claim to such a descent. Besides the Arabs, the Wángaráwa, or Eastern Mandingoes, especially from Miníána and Wássulo, the inhabitants of Mósí, and the people of Gáo, Gágho, or Gógó, frequent this market-place in considerable numbers, and it is principally the Wángaráwa who impart to this town its importance, supplying it with a small quantity of white Kóla nuts, for which the consumption here seems not to be very great, besides wodá (shells), or

"chède," as the Fúlbe call them, which are evidently imported from the coast of Sierra Leone, or, more probably, from the river Nuñez, * but they were entirely wanting at the time. The people of Mósí bring chiefly their fine donkeys, which are greatly sought after, and a numerous body of people of the sheikh Áhmedu, of Hamda-Alláhi, had left a few days before with a number of asses which they had bought here. Besides asses, the people of Mósí supply this market with gábagá, or "tári," as the Arabs near Timbúktu call them, cotton being extremely cheap in their country, so that in the great market-places of that country, especially in Kulféla, an indigo-coloured shirt is not worth more than from seven hundred to eight hundred shells.

The inhabitants of the ancient capital of the Songhay empire, and the people thereabouts, on the banks of the Niger, bring chiefly butter and corn to market, and it was highly interesting to me to be here brought into direct communication with that place, which, although once the most celebrated and renowned in all Negroland, yet has become so completely obliterated, that its geographical position has given rise to the most contrary opinions among the learned geographers of our age.

Shells formed the currency of the market, and these it was very difficult to obtain. In order to supply my wants I was obliged to sell my türkedis for two thousand five hundred to three thousand shells each, while in the town of Say they had realized four thousand, and, as I afterwards found, fetched the same price in Timbúktu. Sometimes I was not able to dispose either of my türkedis or my tobés, even at the lowest price, while others, that I had at length succeeded in selling, were returned to me as defective. I was at considerable expense for my large household, my three horses alone (*Áli providing for the other two) costing me every day four hundred shells for the corn with which I was forced to feed them exclusively.

Almost all the corn which is brought into the market consists of Negro millet, or *Pennisetum typhoideum*, while Indian millet, or sorghum, is found only in very small quantities, and I was repeatedly prevented from buying, because I was not possessed of what the people wanted. Thus when, on the 13th, a caravan of Tuarek serfs, with oxen, arrived bringing corn from Gógó, they refused to accept anything I could offer them, viz shirts, zenne, and gábagá, and the day before I started there was no corn at all to be got, as no Táiki had arrived. Not the smallest particle of rice was to be obtained, and I could not but deem myself fortunate in being able to procure a small supply of vegetable paste of dodówa, which made my food of millet a little more endurable. This formed my usual supper. In the morning I usually breakfasted on tiggera, or cold paste, with sour milk; the latter being excellent and very cheap, and almost the only article which was to be found in abundance.

But, besides the great difficulty I had in supplying my wants during

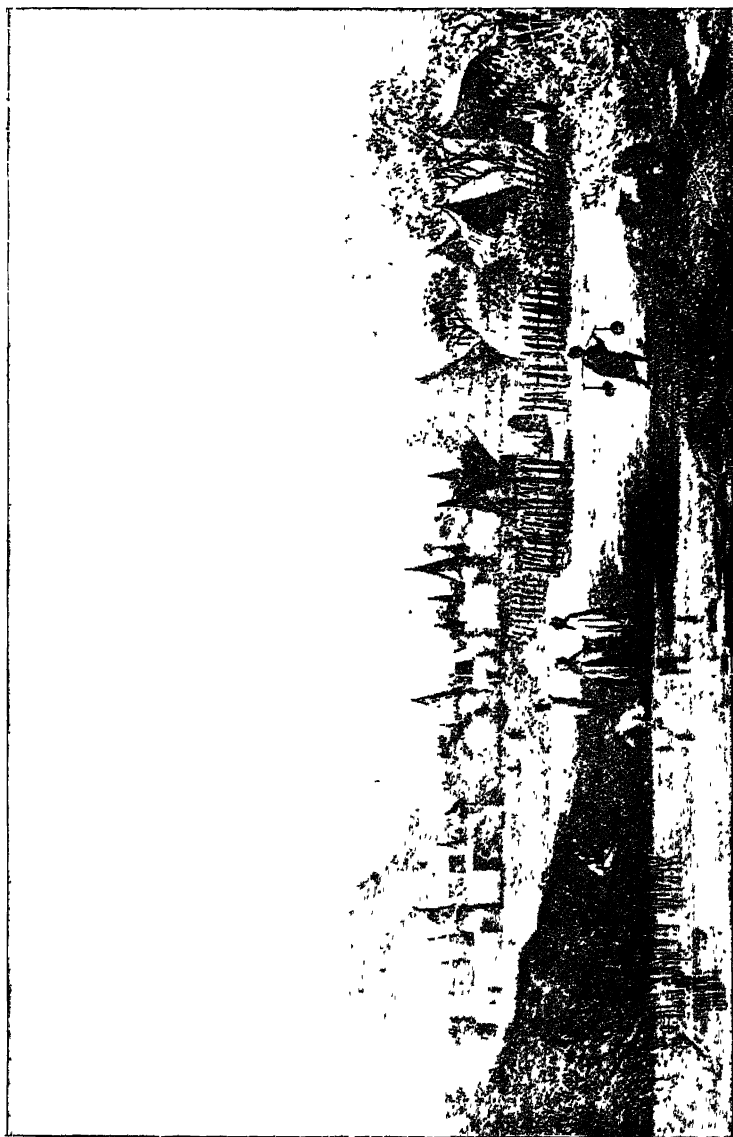
* I may as well state in this place, that, both in Dore and in Timbúktu, bargains are made according to the full hundred, or the miye sala-miye, while in all the markets of Bámbara a fictitious hundred, the miye ájemiye, being in reality eighty, forms the standard,

my residence in the place, I had still more trouble in obtaining the currency of the country through which I had to pass on my journey to Timbúktu, this is the "farawel," or "feruwál," as it is called by the Arabs, a long narrow strip of cotton cloth sewn together from a number of pieces, and supposed to measure thirty-two drá, though in reality the measure does not exceed thirty. The price of each feruwál is generally three hundred shells; but during my stay it rose to four hundred.

The market is held on the border of the village, on the bleak open ground which extends to the south, but there were very rarely more than five hundred people, and in general scarcely as many as two hundred, assembled. But it is not to be denied that, taking into account the manner of living in these regions, a good deal of business is transacted in this place, and, on account of the many strangers who visit it, ready-cooked pudding, tiggera, and sour milk are offered for sale throughout the whole day. Besides salt, cotton strips, dyed cloth, Kóla nuts, corn, and asses, some copper manufactured chiefly into large drinking-vessels is also brought into the market by the people of Mósi. However, I do not think they manufacture the copper vessels themselves, but bring them from Asanti. Copper is worn by the inhabitants, by way of ornament, to a large extent, and I was greatly amused on observing that some of the young girls wore in the long plaits of their hair a very remarkable ornament made of that metal, representing a warrior on horseback with a drawn sword in his hand and a pipe in his mouth; for, with the Songhay people, smoking, although forbidden by the present ruler of the western part of the former territory of their empire, the fanatical prince of Hamda-Alláhi, is, next to dancing, the chief enjoyment of their existence. Whether these small horsemen worn in the hair of the young damsels form an ornament without meaning, or are intended as auspicious omens as to their future husbands, I cannot say, and I must apologize to the reader for not being able, in this part of my journey, which was more beset by dangers, to enter fully into the private life of the people.

Altogether, Dóre, or as it is generally called, by the name of the whole province, Libtáko, appeared to me an extremely dry and uncomfortable place. However, this seemed to be rather exceptional, owing to the extraordinary drought prevailing that year, and it was not until the evening of the 17th of this month (July) that we had a moderate fall of rain, when nature as well as man appeared a little refreshed. The name which the Tuarek, as well as the Arabs of Ázawád, give to this place, namely Wéndu, or Winde, seems to imply quite another character, as the word means pond or lake; but, in reality, a very extensive sheet of water is annually formed close to the western side of the town, although during my stay the extensive depression was dry, and I even have ground to suppose that this sheet of water is very often, through a very considerable backwater, directly connected with the Niger.

The political state of the country, however, was at the present moment worse than its material condition. The disorder and anarchy were such



SONGHAI VILLAGE

as to make it appear as if there were no government at all. There were so many different factions that one paralyzed the other, and there is no doubt that the present misery was the immediate consequence of such a state of anarchy. There was a titular governor of the place called *Ibrahima*, but his mild disposition and his advanced age had left him scarcely any power at all, and I had to make my peace with all parties as well as I could. The most energetic and influential amongst the aspirants to power seemed to be a relative of the governor, of the name of *Hámed 'Aísa*. Then there was an elder but weaker brother of his, of the name of *Bélko*, and, further, a man of the name of *El Jeládi*, who troubled me greatly, begging me to write him a charm, by the secret influence of which I might procure him the government of the place.

Libtáko is situated between many different tribes, with the seats of the *Tuarek* close to the north, from whence these restless people are continually pushing on; and this situation necessarily imbues the inhabitants with a warlike spirit. In former times, especially, they were renowned for their valour, and distinguished, moreover, by the breed of their horses, but at the present moment, owing to the severe drought which had prevailed for so long a time, all the horses had been sent to a great distance, where they were likely to find better pastures. At present, there being so many factions and no strong government whatever, and the supremacy exercised by their liege lord in *Gando* being a perfect nullity, no certain line of policy can be pursued, and they are one day on good terms with the *Tuarek*, while the next day some serious fighting takes place, and thus it happened that on the 16th a party of these people, who supplied the market with the articles which all the people were in want of, were plundered of the whole of their property. Even with the inhabitants of the province of *Yágha*, so nearly related to themselves by origin and interest, there were serious dissensions, and during my stay in the place, the latter drove away all the cattle belonging to the village of *Kória*. The province comprises a considerable number of villages, and, if well governed, would be of great importance, especially as forming the western province of the empire of *Gando* where it borders upon that of *Másina*, or *Hamda-Alláhi*.

I was peculiarly situated with regard to my new companion *El Waláti*, who was the sole reason of my making so long a stay in this place, while my exhausted camels, instead of having, as it was asserted, a fair opportunity of recruiting their strength for the remainder of the journey, were growing weaker every day from want of good feeding. The clever Arab, who represented himself as a very important person in *Timbúktu*, and as an intimate friend of the sheikh *El Bakáy*, under whose especial protection I intended to place myself, at times had the power of raising my spirits by the interesting information which he was able to give me. Now and then, for instance, he described the great mercantile importance of *Sansándi*, or dwelt upon the great authority enjoyed by the chief, whose fame had inspired me with so much confidence in my undertaking this journey to the west, and through whose influence the former mercantile importance of *Timbúktu*

had not only been entirely restored, but a new interest had accrued to it as being the seat of a religious chief of high authority, who exercised an influence, not very unlike that of the pope of Rome, over a very large tract of country, and extending even over the pagan tribes around, into the very heart of Mósi, that country which, as we shall see more distinctly further on, from a remote age has been the champion of paganism against Islám. But on other occasions the conduct of my companion was so little straightforward as to fill me with serious fears. Nevertheless, I here entered into an agreement with him, giving him a fine black tobe and a black shawl, and stipulating to reward him, on my safe arrival in Timbúktu, with a present of twenty dollars and a white heláli bernús. Besides buying him here a horse for the price of another tobe, three türkcdi, and a black shawl. On the whole, at that time, I was too much imposed upon by his fascinating manners to become fully aware of his intriguing character; and perhaps it was well that it was so, or I might not have trusted myself into his hands. However, by degrees, I became heartily tired of the long delay which he, together with 'Alí el Ágeren, forced upon me. I had long prepared everything for my outset, and on the 20th I finished a letter, which I addressed to Her Majesty's consul at Tripoli, and inclosed it under cover to my friend 'Abd el Káder dan Taffa, in Sókoto, and decided on intrusting it to the care of Dahióme, the man who had accompanied me from Gando, and who was to return home from this place, beyond which he enjoyed no authority, but unfortunately he took so little care of the parcel on his journey, when he had to cross a great many swollen rivers, that the outer envelope was destroyed entirely, so that the learned Púllo, not knowing what to make of a letter in a writing which he did not understand, left it with the bearer, with whom I found it on my return to Gando, in the middle of the following year. He had worn it as a sort of charm in his cap, while I expected that it had long reached Europe and informed my friends of my latest proceedings.

CHAPTER XVII.

UNSETTLED PROVINCES OBSTRUCTED BY NATURE AND INFESTED BY MAN.—ARIBÍNDÁ.—HÓMBORI.

Thursday, July 21—At length I set out on the last and most dangerous stage of my journey to Timbúktu, thinking at the time that I should be able to reach that celebrated place in about twenty days. But I underrated the distance, such a very different position having been assigned to that mysterious place by geographers; and I had no idea of the difficulties which attended this journey, at least for a Christian, and the delays which would be caused me by the character of the new companion whom I had attached to me.

On leaving the turbulent town of Dóre a great many armed people

accompanied me, much against my inclination ; and their conduct was so suspicious that we were obliged to make a halt and send them about their business. for the inhabitants of this place, not long before, had robbed and killed, in a similar manner, a wealthy sheriff, whom they pretended to escort, on his way from Sansândi. Just in crossing the shallow concavity where every year a very extensive sheet of water is formed, which often assumes the dimensions of an immense lake, and even now was covered with fine fresh turf, we met a large caravan of Mósi traders from Bússumo, their asses heavily laden with immense bundles of tári, or cotton strips, and with Kóla nuts. Further on, where a little cultivation of cotton appeared, the monkey-bread or baobab tree became predominant. Altogether the whole province seemed to be in a miserable state, and the village Dánandé, which we passed after a march of about seven miles, bore evident traces of having suffered from the effects of war. The monotony of the country was pleasingly broken by a small rivulet, which we crossed a few yards beyond the village, and which was bordered by some very fine trees of the "mur" kind, which I have mentioned on a former occasion as affording excellent timber for boat-building. The baobab trees, also, were here greatly distinguished, both by their size and their fine foliage.

We took up our quarters this day in Wúlu, a village situated beyond a large sheet of water, or, as it is here called, "wéndu," overgrown by the finest trees. The place is inhabited by Tuarek slaves, who are *trilingues*, speaking Temáshight as well as Songhay and Fúlúde ; but their huts were very miserable indeed, and of mosquitoes there was no end, and we had likewise great difficulty in finding a supply of corn. The hut in which I took up my quarters had been recently built, and on the whole was not so bad, but so choke-full of simple furniture, such as large jars, pots, dishes, saddles, provision-bags, and numerous other articles, that I could scarcely find room for myself, while the proprietor, when he returned from the fields and found a stranger quartered in the midst of all his treasures, felt so anxious, that he did not stir from the door. However, the west side of the village being bordered by a large sheet of water, or tebki, richly adorned with trees and herbage, I did not remain long in my close quarters, but hastened towards this green open spot, which was delicious in the extreme, but gave birth to a legion of mosquitoes.

We felt the inconvenience of this little hamlet the more, as we were obliged to stay here the following day ; for we received a credible report that El Khatír, the most powerful of the neighbouring Tuarek chiefs, intended making a foray against this place, and the inhabitants were in a state of the utmost alarm. But a thunderstorm which broke out the next morning, accompanied with a considerable quantity of rain, relieved us, most providentially, of all danger from this quarter, swelling the many watercourses which intersect this region to such a degree that they became impassable to the enemy. On the west side of the hamlet where we were encamped there is a considerable suburb of Fúlbe cattle-breeders, and in the evening a great many of them paid me a visit.

Saturday, July 23—We had here entered a district which was very different from that which we had hitherto traversed in the province of Libtako, and the nature of which caused us great delay, and very serious difficulties, on account of the many rivers and swamps which we had to cross. During the first part of our day's march, we had the wéndu of Wúlu for a long time on our right, but, having crossed without much difficulty one considerable branch of it, we came to another water with a strong current, which caused us a long delay, as it was at that time about four hundred yards across, and not less than four and a half feet deep in the channel. The water at this spot has a southerly course, but it is difficult to say what greater river it joins. For several miles the upper course of this same water, as it seemed, was seen at a short distance on our right. Large wide-spreading "mur," tamarind, and monkey-bread trees everywhere appeared, and we could see the footsteps of a great number of elephants. The country on our left was undulating, and consisted of sandy soil clothed almost exclusively with the kálgo, with its ash-coloured leaves and its long red pods; but, as soon as the river receded, the character of the landscape also changed, the surface becoming rather level, and exhibiting more small brushwood, while numerous water-pools spread out, overgrown with kréb, or the edible *Poa*, and with molukhia. The district was full of buffaloes, but it was also much infested by a dangerous species of fly, which greatly tormented our animals, and which is very rarely met with in the eastern part of Negroland. We encamped, after a march of about sixteen miles, in the midst of the forest, near the site of the former encampment of a Tuarek horde, where kreb was springing up in the most luxuriant abundance, affording the richest pasture to the horses, and a cheerful sight to ourselves, but we had here to sustain a very heavy rain, which lasted for several hours. Fortunately, it was not accompanied by much wind, so that my frail tent offered sufficient resistance, but the encampment was far from comfortable.

The rain had at length ceased; but we had scarcely resigned ourselves to sleep, when a troop of pilgrims, passing by at this unusual hour of the night, roused us at once. Fortunately, the ground which we had to traverse further on was of a rocky nature, else it would have been almost impossible to proceed after the last night's rain, but, after a march of about fourteen miles, we came to a very considerable sheet of water, which we crossed with extreme difficulty, and encamped close beyond in a state of entire exhaustion. The channel of the torrent itself, which had spread its inundation to a great distance, was so considerable, being at the deepest spot five feet and a half, that it almost swamped me on my horse, besides wetting all my luggage. The place where we had encamped was a narrow open spot in the forest; but the ground was full of ants, and we were also greatly troubled by innumerable swarms of small flies which penetrated into all our clothes. Fortunately we had no rain, so that I was able to stay outside, as the heat in the tent was scarcely endurable. This day, also, we observed numerous footprints of elephants.

Monday, July 25.—We rose with the hope that we might arrive at

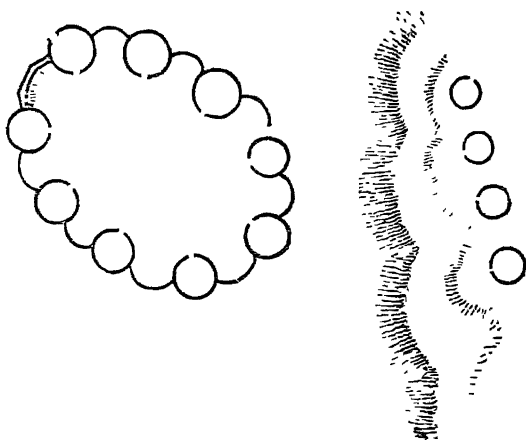
an early hour in Aribinda, or rather the chief place of that district, although we were aware that we should have to cross another considerable sheet of water; but we were sadly disappointed, for, after a march of about three miles through a more rugged district with black and red granite and a great quantity of gneiss, we reached the wide inundations of a river called Búggoma by my companions, which we endeavoured in vain to cross. Seeing that we should not succeed here, we struck off into the forest in a south-westerly direction, in order to ford it higher up, when suddenly we fell in with two men who were pasturing a couple of asses, but, although we made signs to them that we were their friends, they would not hear us, and, beating their shields, cried out lustily to their companions, who all on a sudden rushed out in every direction from behind the bushes, and in a moment surrounded us. There were from one hundred and fifty to two hundred people, all tall slender men, half-naked, with nothing but a poor ragged cloth round their loins, and another rag still poorer round their heads, and each armed with a couple of spears and a ragged shield, which they brandished over their heads with warlike gesticulations. The affair seemed rather serious, and here it was fortunate that I had such a clever companion as the Waláti with me; for, while I was pointing my gun, he begged me to ride quietly in advance straight upon those people, and at the same time cried out to them that I was a sheriff, and a friend of the sheikh El Bakáy, to whom I was carrying a number of books from the east. All of a sudden they dropped their spears and thronged round me, requesting me to give them my blessing, and the circumstances under which I was placed obliged me to comply with this slight request, although it was by no means a pleasant matter to lay my hands on all these dirty heads.

On the whole it was very fortunate that we met with these people; for without their aid and information we should scarcely have been able to cross the water which intersected our track, at least without a most serious loss to our luggage. People in Europe have no idea what it is to travel during the rainy season in these regions, else they would not wonder that poor Dr. Vogel, in going at that time of the year from Yákoba to Záriya, lost most of his instruments, and all his collections, in crossing the rivers.

They were poor people from Gáo, or Gógó, and the neighbourhood, a mixture, as I thought at the time, of Songhay and Tuarek, but speaking only the language of the former, but I found afterwards that they belonged to the tribe of the Gabéro, of whom I shall speak in a later chapter. They had visited the market of Aribinda, and were at present on their way to Dóre and Libtáko, carrying as merchandise, on a couple of asses and bull oxen, nothing but cotton strips, or "tári," rice, and a few mats, of which latter article they brought me three as a present. Having received my blessing, and the tumult having quieted down, they conducted us to a place where they declared the water to be fordable. But the boggy ground inspired us with but little confidence; and it really caused us an immense deal of trouble. My people were obliged to carry all the luggage, even the heaviest, across the swamp, which was half a mile in breadth, the camels being scarcely able to

make their way, even unloaded; and I myself had the misfortune to fall under my horse, in the midst of the swamp, almost as badly as had happened to me on a former occasion, on my journey to Kánem. I was firmly convinced that my horse would not be able to carry me over, and that it would be the safest way to cross the bog on foot; but I allowed myself to be swayed by the Waláti, who thought that my dignity, in presence of those native travellers, absolutely required me to remain on horseback. It was on this occasion that all my journals got wet through in a most miserable way, and we had the greatest difficulty in extricating my horse from the bog, in which it was lying for some minutes as if dead.

It was almost three o'clock in the afternoon when we again set out from the opposite side of the swamp; but we had first to return, along the water, in a north-easterly direction, in order to regain the direct



track. We then proceeded at an expeditious rate, in order to arrive at Aribinda before nightfall. A short distance before we reached our destination, the whole character of the country changed, granite mounds rising on our right and left to considerable altitude, and leaving only a narrow passage through which to proceed,—the beautifully sweeping slope of the eminence on our right being pleasantly adorned with bushes, and enlivened by goats.

Having left another village at the foot of the granite range, we took up our quarters in the lamórde or residence of the chief of Aribinda, which is likewise situated at the foot of the granitic ridge, part of the huts being built on the slope, and part in the plain,—the latter forming a group by itself, which, with its projecting and receding walls, formed a sort of defence, as represented in the accompanying woodcut. Here we obtained quarters without delay, two of my people having gone in

advance; but they were narrow, dirty, and uncomfortable, and appeared to us the more miserable as a great deal of rain fell during our stay here. The inhabitants belong chiefly to the Songhay race, but there are also a great many Tuarek, or rather Tuarek half-castes, who live here peaceably, though in general the Tuarek and the inhabitants of these districts are engaged in almost uninterrupted warfare with each other,—the former always pushing more and more in advance, and threatening to overrun the whole of this region of Negroland. The people supply themselves with water from the holes in the rocks, where it collects,—their supply for the dry season being deposited in a cistern of large size. The soil in the valley, which here widens into a considerable plain, is very fertile, and does not require much rain; and the corn was here a little cheaper than in Libtáko, one hundred shells, or rather the equivalent of that sum, for shells had no currency in the place, being sufficient for the daily allowance of one horse. I also observed with pleasure a very fine herd of cattle. Aribinda seems formerly to have been an important place, or rather province, and the most considerable, at one time, of all the districts on the south side of the river, so that the Songhay of Gógó designated it Hári-binda, "the place beyond the water," which name, in a wider sense, is given to the whole country on the south of the Ísa, or so-called Niger, as an equivalent to Gurma.

I had been very anxious to conceal the more valuable articles of my property from the prying eyes of my clever but greedy Arab companion; but the following day, as I was obliged to dry some of my luggage, which had been completely soaked, he got a peep at some fine *bernúses* which I had with me; and, in order to satisfy his covetousness, I thought it prudent to make him here a handsome present. Altogether my luggage suffered severely from the many watercourses which we had to cross at this stage of my journey, as well as from the excessive dampness of the weather. I also made some presents to the governor, but was rather astonished when, on setting out, he begged from me the very robe which I was then wearing.

Wednesday, July 27.—The country which we had to traverse was diversified by small granitic ranges and detached cones, but it also afforded many localities for swampy grounds, very difficult to be crossed. In some places beans were cultivated besides millet. We encamped at length, after a march of about fifteen miles, in the midst of the forest, on the site of a former village, which was richly overgrown with the most succulent herbage, very grateful both to horse and camel.

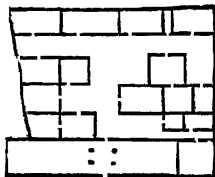
Thursday, July 28.—We had had some summer lightning in the evening, followed by slight rain during the night; but about half-past six o'clock in the morning, a very heavy thunderstorm broke out, accompanied by violent rain, which lasted till noon, and rendered us extremely uncomfortable. My friend El Waláti, being of a weak and nervous temperament, was, as usual on such occasions, laid up with fever. In consequence of the state of the weather, it was not till past three o'clock in the afternoon that we at length set out on our watery march, and after a stretch of about ten miles, having passed a very extensive and deep

water, reached the Songhay village of Filyo, and with extreme difficulty obtained most indifferent and damp quarters in the dark. The whole village is built of clay, with elevated towerlike entrances not unlike the granaries in Champagôre. It consists of several detached groups, which are separated by cornfields, where the crops were standing moderately high. The inhabitants belong exclusively to the Songhay race, with the exception of a few Fúlbe, who, however, have themselves almost changed their national character; and although the village is externally subjected to the Púllo governor of Gúlgôj, or Jílógôdî, nevertheless the people have a very independent demeanour, and hold in detestation the conquering tribe of the Fúlbe: even their carriage bears evident testimony to a certain feeling of liberty, and there is no end of smoking. The women wear a profusion of ornaments, while all of them are, besides, distinguished by a copper ring round the wrist.

Having arrived so late the preceding evening that the horses had even remained without food, I was obliged to stay here the next day in order to purchase a supply of corn, which I effected with the faráwel I had obtained in Libtáko, consisting of eight pieces called "kóna," or "farda," sewn together. All the grain hereabouts consists of Negro millet, or, as the Songhay call it, "héni." The governor of the place, who had treated me inhospitably the first evening, on being remonstrated with for his miserly conduct, gave me very generous treatment.

Saturday, July 30—On leaving the place, I was exceedingly struck with its castlelike appearance, as well as with the fine crops of corn which surrounded it on all sides, while a rich growth of trees embellished the district to the south. It was a fine morning, and, a heavy dew having fallen, the drops of wet slipping down from the corn glistened in the rays of the morning sun, while the monkey-bread trees being just in full blossom, the white bell-like flowers hanging down from the colossal branches gave a remarkable relief to the scenery. It was through such a country that our path kept along, on a rising ground, when, after a march of about fourteen miles, and leaving a couple of hamlets built of matting, like the dwellings of the inhabitants of Gógó, on one side, we reached the Songhay town of Tinge, built likewise in the shape of a "kasr," and situated on the summit of a small hill.

The houses in this village have not an elevated towerlike shape like those of Filyo, nor do they contain an upper story. They have flat roofs. The walls consist of sun-dried clay, which is formed in regular lumps, like stones, and is placed in uniform layers, with loose clay between. Such being the mode of construction, the whole of the houses have rather a miserable appearance from without, and more particularly so at the time of our arrival, in the hot hour of noon, when the destructive effect of the rainy season became



more apparent in the midday sun. But the interior of the dwellings is not so bad, and some of them are very large and spacious, as the accompanying ground-plan of the quarters where I was lodged will

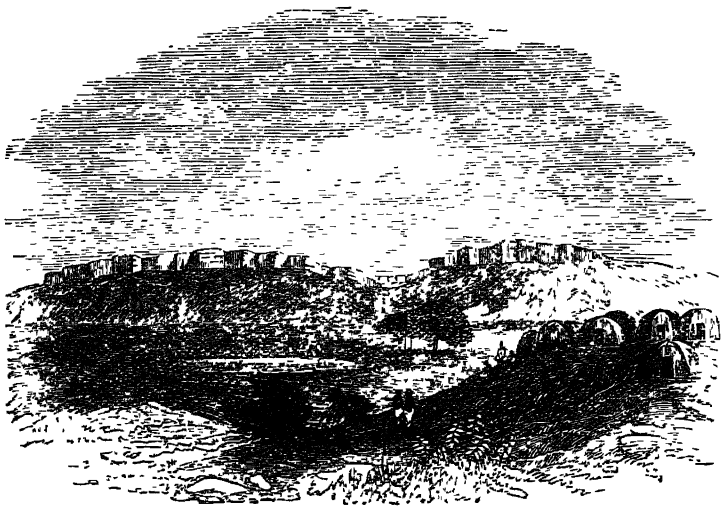
serve to show. These consisted of a very spacious antechamber, or *segifa*, forty feet long by ten feet wide, and as many in height,—I myself taking up the part to the right of the entrance, and my people that on the left, a sort of light wall being formed with matting. From this antechamber we could pass into an irregular courtyard, which gave access to a number of apartments where several families were living.

The inhabitants of this place are Songhay who have vindicated their liberty, up to the present time, successfully against the restless and steadily advancing Fúlbe, although in independence they are far behind their noble brethren in Dárgol and those other places lower down the Niger. The indigenous name of their family is Beleéde, or, as they are called by the Fúlbe, Kurminkóbe; and they are said to have come from Zíshia, near Téra. The nobler among them do not disfigure their features at all by tattooing, or "*kórtó*," while some of them make an incision under the left eye, from the nose towards the cheek-bone, and the common people three separate incisions—three cuts on the temple, three in the middle of the cheek, and three at the lower part of the face. All of them wear clothing, the greater part of them being dressed in indigo-dyed shirts. Their weapons consist almost entirely of spears. Swords are very rare; nor are the bow and arrow, which constitute the principal weapons of the people of Dárgol, usual among them. The exertions of the natives of these places in defending their independence are greatly favoured by the discord and dissensions which prevail amongst the Fúlbe,—Mahamúdu, one of the Fúlbe chiefs of Dalla, having, in consequence of his disputes with the sheikh Ahmedu, taken refuge with the pagan natives of Mósi, from whence he makes continual predatory expeditions against the territory of his countrymen the Fúlbe. The inhabitants of Tinge, therefore, males as well as females, enjoy their liberty and independence in smoking the whole day long, and dancing every evening when it is not raining,—an amusement which already, in the eleventh century, the Andalusian geographer El Bekri did not fail to remark as characteristic of these people, while their less happy brethren in Timbúktu and Jimbálla have been deprived of these their favourite and innocent amusements by the austere laws of their fanatical oppressors.

The natives are industrious, both in cultivating the ground and in weaving; and these habits seemed to be favoured by Providence, so that while all the neighbouring districts were suffering from dearth and famine, in this village corn was plentiful, especially Negro millet, or "*héni*." Indian millet, "*sába*" or "*háme*," was rather scarce. But the corn was still in seed and not pounded, so that we were obliged to stay here again a day in order to have a supply prepared for us. We bought our corn, in the beginning, with the faráwel which we had brought from Libtáko; but after a little while the inhabitants refused to accept of this cotton, which is not so good as their own manufacture. The cotton which I had brought from Gando was much better than theirs; but it did not please them, on account of the narrowness of the strips. My English darning-needles were, however, very acceptable, as being

exceedingly well adapted for the coarse texture of their woollen shawls and blankets. Fifty of them fetched here a price equal to the value of a Spanish dollar; but the small common needles were regarded by them with the utmost contempt.

I employed my time, as far as the rainy weather would allow me, in taking a walk through the country; and I was not a little surprised when I found that the ground hereabouts, particularly towards the west, was very rocky, the corn being sown in the intervening patches of arable soil. On a rising spot, a few hundred yards from the village, there was a group of matting huts, which constituted a small weaving manufactory. At the foot of the hill on which the village was situated, there was a deep pond covered with *Pistia Stratiotes*, like the ponds in the interior of



Kanó; and it was from here that I was particularly struck by the forthlike appearance of the village, with its receding and projecting angles, and its half-circular, bastionlike walls in other places, as represented in the accompanying woodcut, while in the distance the mountain groups formed an interesting background. However, we had here such a heavy fall of rain that I was obliged to sacrifice another day, as the roads were rendered totally impassable. The rain which fell in the afternoon of the last day of July was of such violence that a fourth part of the houses in the town suffered more or less, and in one dwelling, which was totally destroyed, eleven goats were killed, while the inmates themselves had only just time to escape. It was discovered that just life enough remained in these poor animals in order to enable their

owners to perform the essential ceremony of cutting their throats, for they also have a touch of Islâm.

In the beginning of this my journey to the west, I had been very anxious to move on as fast as possible, in order to avoid the worst part of the rainy season, but seeing that all was in vain, I had become, in a certain degree, indifferent to the loss of time; but when the first of August broke upon me in this village, I became deeply concerned, and wrote in my journal. "May the Almighty bless this month, and lighten the difficulties which stand in my way, that before its close I may safely reach the place of my destination!"

It was most interesting to observe from the top of the hill the uninterrupted sheet of water, which, after the immense quantity of rain that had fallen, was spreading out over the low grounds in the plain; and the people themselves whose dwellings had suffered so much, and which were just about to undergo the necessary repairs, were standing gazing with delight upon the deluge which promised to them a very rich crop. My clever Arab from the west lay almost dead with fever, but the head man of the town, whose name was Ábu-Bakr, a man of very stately appearance, was of rather a communicative disposition, so that with his assistance I was able to make considerable progress in my knowledge of the Songhay language; and, if I had been able to go on in this way, I might soon have mastered the language, but unfortunately my situation became too unsettled in the sequel to allow of a quiet course of study; to say nothing of the fact, that the extremely poor character of the language itself completely damped my enthusiasm.

I here first discovered the error of Caillié in giving to the people of Timbúktu the name of "Kissúr," or, as he writes, "Kissour," which is evidently nothing but a mistake, "ki-só'ri," or rather "ki-songhi," "ki-songhay," meaning the language of the Songhay. I here also became aware of the fact that this idiom is originally monosyllabic, while I observed likewise that the language spoken in Agades, of which I had made a vocabulary, though evidently a dialect of the same idiom, had been affected to a great extent by the influence of the Temáshight, or Berber.

Tuesday, August 2—We at length set out to pursue our journey, which now became full of danger, as we had to traverse the province of Dalla, which is ruled by a governor in direct subjection to the fanatical chief, a Másiua residing in Hamda-Alláhi, who would never allow a Christian to visit his territory. I was therefore obliged to assume the character of an Arab. Just at that time a change in the government of this district had taken place,—a young inexperienced lad having succeeded to the former ruler.

Fortunately there had been no rain the afternoon of the preceding day, so that the country had dried up a little from the inundation of the last of July, and the weather was fine and genial. Thus cheerfully proceeding on our road, we met several people on their way to the town with fowls and milk, for during our stay in Tinge the communication with the neighbouring places had been entirely interrupted by the heavy rains. Ábu-Bakr escorted me to some distance, when he left me with a

heartily wish for the success of my undertaking, and begged me urgently to be on my guard. In taking here quite a northerly direction, we now entered a province where the population of the Fúlbe entirely prevails, and this day we had passed several encampments of Fúlbe cattle-breeders on our route, consisting of oblong oval-shaped huts, constructed of matting. Cattle seemed to abound, but the cultivation of the ground was rather scanty, and the character of the country uniform, and without any interesting features, the trees consisting almost exclusively of talha and homéd. We had also to cross a river, at present about two hundred yards wide and two feet deep, which the preceding day had evidently been impassable and had carried away several head of cattle, a fact we learned from a Fúllo neatherd whom we passed on our road, as he was cheerfully stalking before his cattle, and leading them along merely by the sound of his voice.

Thus, after a march of about thirteen miles, having crossed a swamp and left a larger sheet of water on our left, we reached a miserable hamlet called Désbi, belonging still to the district of Kséne (which comprises Filyo), and consisting of several groups of half-decayed clay dwellings inhabited by poor Songhay people, who appeared to be greatly oppressed.

It was with some difficulty that we here obtained quarters, and we had the misfortune of falling into a dispute with the landlord, on account of the many dogs which beset his house, and would not cede their place to us. This was a certain proof that the natives were not far advanced in Islám, as the Mohammedans in general are averse to the company of this unclean animal, and the Fúlbe very rarely make use of dogs even for watching their numerous herds of cattle. Most of these dogs were of black colour, and almost all the fowls were of black and white colour. I here also observed that the native women carried the water in a pair of buckets slung across the shoulder, as I had remarked already in other Songhay places; but here, also, they did not wear nose-rings. The country around was well cultivated, and produced especially sorghum, but the harvest of the preceding year had not been a favourable one, as was the case almost all over the country, so that dearth was prevailing.

We here met with a party of native traders from Hómbori, with oxen laden with salt, who gave us some useful information with regard to the road before us. It had been a point of great dispute with us whether or not we should visit that town, one of the most ancient settlements in Negroland, probably already mentioned as an independent place by El Bekri, and forming the seat of a governor in the palmy days of the Songhay empire, the Hómbori-koy, and where even now a considerable market is held; but after mature consideration we had thought it better to leave it on one side, as on account of the considerable intercourse of people in that place, and the many Arabs who frequent it, the danger of my true character being there discovered was the greater.

Notwithstanding our determination not to touch at Hómbori, on setting out the following day, after an almost sleepless night, owing to

the number of mosquitoes, we preserved an entirely northerly direction. There was a good deal of cultivation round the village, consisting of Indian and Negro millet, the crops being almost ripe. But I here met again that great annoyance to the husbandman, the black worm "hálowes," my old acquaintance in Bagirmi, which I had not seen in the whole intervening country, and which causes an immense deal of damage to the crops. The ground was rocky in many places; but this did not prevent the growth of the monkey-bread tree, which is often seen shooting forth from between the very rocks. Further on I also observed a little cultivation of beans, while the black worm was succeeded by large heaps of the small red worm, which I had first observed on the banks of the river Sirba, and which seems to be a terrible nuisance to many of these districts. Gradually the road became more swampy, while we obtained a distant view of the detached mountains of Hómbori.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, five of our party, riding a little in advance of the camels, approached the town of Kúbo, when, being observed by some of the inhabitants, our appearance created a great alarm in the place, the people thinking that a hostile troop was approaching; but, as soon as they beheld our laden camels, their fears ceased, and they gave us quarters. Kúbo is the first place of the district called Tóndi, or el Hajri (meaning, the mountainous or stony district), while Filiyo and Déshi belong to the district called Kséne, but in a political respect Kúbo belongs now to the province of Dalla, which at present is governed by a son of Módi Bóle, it is two days and a half distant from the town of Hómbori,* and is a place of some importance. The houses were usually well built, and consist of clay, the greater part of them including a tolerably large courtyard. Our house also was spacious; but, on account of my heavy luggage, I was obliged to take up my quarters in the open *segífa*, or antechamber, which was greatly exposed to mosquitoes. In front of my quarters there was a handsome square of tolerably regular shape; and towards the north a considerable tank spread out, along which led the path into the fields: for, the whole place being situated in a depression of the ground, all the moisture of the neighbourhood collects here.

The village is surrounded by a light stockade of two rows of bushes; and round about the place there are several ponds of water. Turtles are very common here, and the soil swarms with ants. The place was tolerably well provided with corn, and I bought here twenty mudd for one hundred drá of Gando cotton strips, equal in reality to nine hundred shells, but the mudd of Kúbo is smaller than that of Tinge, being about two-thirds of its size, and in the form of a round dish, while that of Tinge is like a pitcher. The daily allowance of corn for a horse cost about one hundred shells.

A very heavy thunderstorm, accompanied with violent rain, broke

* A person starting from Kúbo sleeps the first night in the forest, halting about áser; the second day, before noon, he reaches Tónderi, probably so called from being situated on or at the foot of a mountain, and the third day, about 9 o'clock in the morning, he arrives at Hombori.

out in the evening, and the clayey soil of the country which we had to traverse obliged me to stay here the following day. The delay caused me great disappointment, as the spreading of the news of my journey could not fail to increase its difficulties, and the more so as we heard here the unpleasant tidings that the governor of Dalla himself was near, and that most probably we should fall in with him.

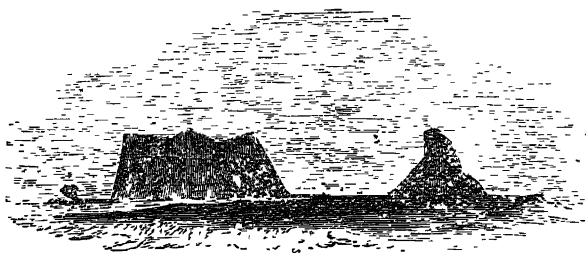
Meanwhile I was applied to by our host and a cousin of his, to decide a dispute between them as to the chieftainship of their village, but, of course, I referred them to their own liege lord, and they started off to join him, near the village of Dúna; but their absence did not expose us to inhospitality, as we were very lavishly treated with numerous dishes of Indian corn, which, however, were rendered less palatable by the use of the *dodówa-bosso*, or the adulterated *dodówa*; we also received a good supply of milk. I even bought a few fowls, though they were rather dear, selling for one hundred shells each, a price here reckoned equal to two darning-needles.

Friday, August 5—There had been another heavy rain in the afternoon of the preceding day, but, fortunately, it had not been of sufficient duration to render the roads impassable. There was a great deal of indecision with my companion El Waláti as to the route which we should pursue, and while it almost seemed from our northerly direction as if up to this moment he had intended to take me to Hómbori, notwithstanding his former protestations against such a proceeding, he now pretended it was necessary that we should go to Dúna, and we accordingly changed our course to the west, or rather W.S.W., steering about like a vessel with contrary winds. There can be no doubt that all this time the crafty Arab himself was hesitating as to the course which he should take, and this was evidently the reason of his great delay, as he probably thought that he might have a chance of getting rid of me, and taking possession of my property, but we did not become aware of this treacherous conduct till we arrived at the place of our destination, when we learned how providentially we had escaped all his wiles.

At the western end of the village of Kúbo there is a suburb of Fálbe cattle-breeders, consisting of about sixty large huts of reed. As soon as we had left this place behind us, we were quite horror-struck at observing all the paths full of those small red worms which I have mentioned before, marching in unbroken lines towards the village, even my servants were quite surprised at such a spectacle, having never before seen anything like it, and they gave vent to their feelings of astonishment, and at the same time of commiseration for the natives, in reiterated exclamations of "Wolla, wolla!" I am not acquainted with the reason of this curious phenomenon, but it seems peculiar to this region. Yet the ground was not quite barren, and was even sprinkled with violets here and there, the surface being undulating, not unlike the sandy downs of Káнем, the parallel of which country, namely about 15° of northern latitude, we had here reached.

Proceeding thus, we reached after a march of about four miles a higher point, from whence we had a view over a wide expanse of under-

wood, broken only now and then by a baobab tree, while towards the north some of the detached cones of the Hómbori range gave to the landscape a very singular feature, the isolated eminences of the range (if range it can be called) starting up from the plain in the most peculiar forms, as the accompanying woodcut will show.



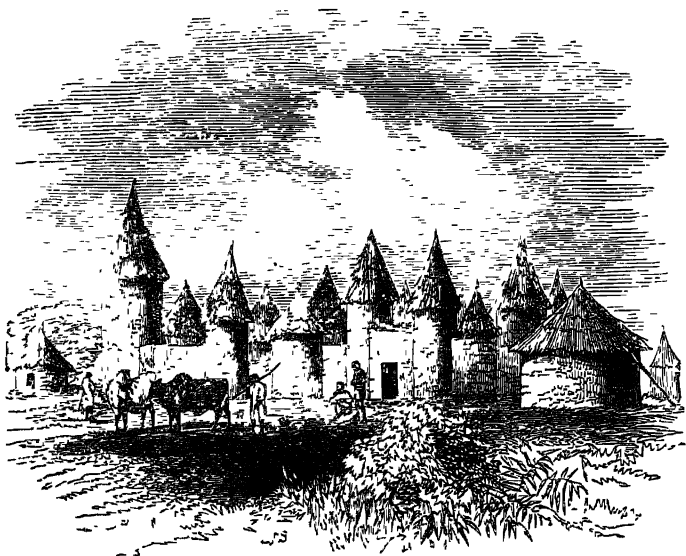
We passed the site of a former place, but at present there were only nomadic encampments of Fúlbe cattle-breeders, with herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, and only little cultivation was to be seen. The dwellings, in a hamlet which we passed a little further on, were of a very irregular description, corresponding to the corn-stacks which we had left on one side a little before, as represented in the woodcut below. All the children here, even those of the Fúlbe, were quite naked. My companion El Walátu wanted to obtain quarters in this place; but fortunately the huts proved too bad, and we moved on, another hamlet, which we passed a little further on, being of a still worse description.



On passing several parties of Fúlbe travellers on our road, I was surprised at the change in the form of compliments, the mode of saluting having been, the last few days, "baráyo," but to-day we met some parties who saluted us with the well-known compliment "fófo," a word which, although probably of western origin, has been even admitted

into the Háusa language, with the meaning of general well-wishing. Thus we proceeded cheerfully onwards, having crossed a very difficult boggy ground, where I almost lost one of my camels, till, a little after two o'clock in the afternoon, we reached the poor village of Dúna, consisting of three detached groups of huts, one of which, with its high towerlike granaries with a pointed roof of thatch, presented a very remarkable spectacle. As for myself, I obtained quarters in an isolated hut of rather indifferent description.

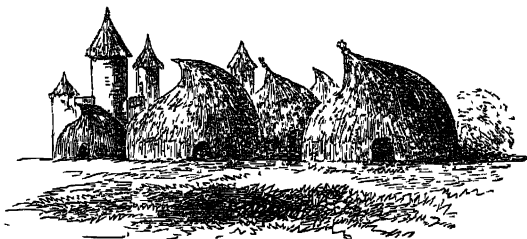
The first news which I learned here, and which was far from being agreeable, was, that the governor of Dalla with his camp was at a short



distance, and in the very road which we had to pursue the following day, and as in consequence it would have been highly imprudent to endeavour to pass him unnoticed, I determined to send two of my men to him with a present, while I pursued my journey with the rest of my people. But as this governor was a vassal of the chief of Hamda-Alláhi, who, if he had heard that I was a Christian, would probably have thrown great difficulties in my way, and perhaps not allowed me to proceed at all, I was not without great anxiety, and passed a sleepless night; and the crowd of people who had come out from the camp on the news of a distinguished stranger having arrived, and who completely surrounded me on my setting out, was far from agreeable. At length we started, traversing a district of red sandy soil, and overgrown with

scanty herbage, while a considerable extent of ground was under cultivation, without, however, promising a rich harvest, the crops being rather thin and of poor quality, and we had only proceeded a short distance, when we observed such enormous quantities of the red worm as we had never seen before, not even near Kúbo, forming large heaps, from which long and unbroken lines were seen moving eastward.

After a march of two miles, we reached the half-decayed and deserted village called Nyanga Segga, where the governor of Dalla was encamped. But, as if he had expected my coming, he and all his people had mounted. I had sent El Waláti and 'Alí to present my compliments to him, but when I was pursuing the right track, all the horsemen came up to me, requesting me to give them my blessing, and they so urgently entreated me at the same time to pay my respects personally to their chief, that I could not resist their request. But it almost seemed as if El Waláti had in some way or other compromised himself by his ambiguous conduct, and when I approached the emír, who was very simply dressed, the former quite forgot the part which he had to play, and, casting a wild look at me, requested me to withdraw, in such a manner



as greatly to increase the danger of my situation. Deeming it better not to enter into a dispute with this man under such circumstances, I retreated as soon as I had complimented the chief, pursuing my track, but I was followed by several horsemen, who were rather troublesome than otherwise.

The governor of Dalla is said to be more powerful than even that of Gulgóji, with whom he is in an almost continual state of feud, as is the case with nearly all these petty chiefs, although they are all the vassals of one and the same hege lord. This man, however, was to become of remarkable interest to me; for I was soon to meet him again under very altered circumstances, when, from being an object of fear to myself, he was obliged to sue for my protection, as will be seen in the sequel.

The country hereabout presented a sandy level mostly clad with acacias, and especially with a kind called éria. About eight miles beyond Nyanga Segga, the ground became swampy; and after a march of about two miles more we reached the fields of Mundóro, or rather their site, for, in the present desolate state of the country, they were not under cultivation at the time. Here the soil consisted of deep

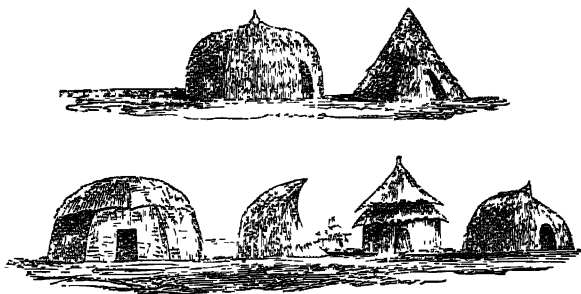


white sand adorned with large baobab trees, while parallel on our right, at the distance of about five hundred yards, a range of sand-hills stretched along, overtopped in the distance by an imposing cone belonging to the Hómbori mountains. Thus, reaching, at last, cultivated ground, where the crops, however, were still very scanty and in a neglected state, we entered, a little after two o'clock, the deserted village of Mundóro, which till recently had been a considerable town, consisting of a small kasrlike place, of dwellings built of clay, and with very pointed thatched roofs, similar to those represented above, and an open suburb of spacious cottages, consisting of thatch-work of a very peculiar shape, as represented in the woodcut on p. 253. With the exception of about a dozen people, the place was quite deserted, the former chief, Mahamúdu, having fallen into disgrace with the governor of Dalla, and sought refuge with the inhabitants of Mósi, from whence he carried on a continual series of expeditions against his kinsmen. Fortunately we were accompanied by a trooper of the governor of Dalla, who took great care in supplying us with necessaries. All the huts were very spacious, but the thatching was not of very accurate workmanship, and the humidity which entered my hut in the course of the night, when we experienced a violent thunderstorm with very heavy rain, was considerable; but keeping up a large fire during the whole of the night, I felt tolerably comfortable, although the greater part of my hut was under water.

Sunday, August 7.—Taking now a N.N.W. course, we again approached nearer the mountains of Hómbori, which for several days we had already observed in the distance on our right; but after leaving Kúbo, owing to our

curious zigzag travelling, we had again turned off from them entirely; and when we left the village of Mundóro, it seemed even as if we were almost to retrace our steps, for we followed a direction a little E. from N. while ascending through cultivated ground, till, after a march of three miles, we reached the highest point of this tract, which presented to us a highly interesting view of the mountains, or rather the detached eminences, of the Hómbori range (which is represented in the woodcut on the preceding page), isolated cones starting forth from the plain in the most grotesque and fanciful forms

Here we began to descend through an undulating sandy tract, where the acacia predominated, only interrupted now and then by a single baobab tree. Having passed a pond of stagnant water, we gradually began to turn a little westward from N, the country improving till we reached the fields of Ísayé, or Ísé, a place of some importance, consisting, as the villages in this neighbourhood generally do, of a nucleus of clay houses, remarkable only on account of its peculiar towerlike granaries, and a suburb of cottages of thatch-work, but of the most varied shape,

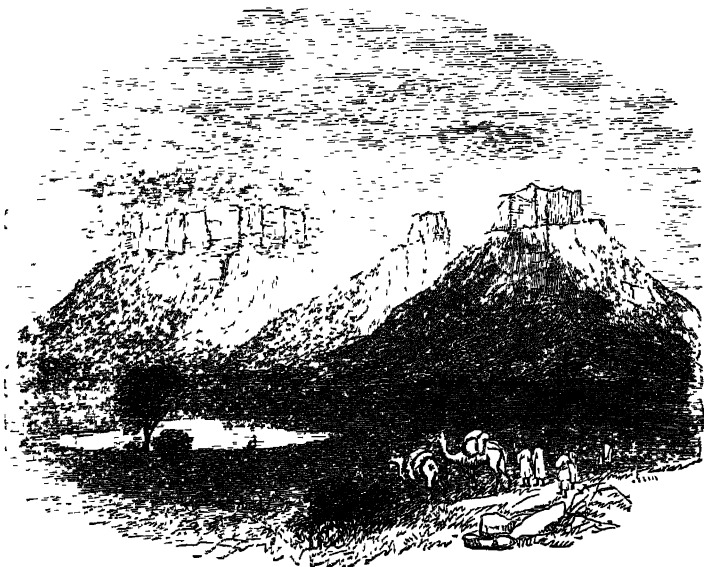


several of which are represented in the accompanying woodcut; and here we took up our quarters. As for myself, I obtained a large, excellent hut, with, however, this great defect—that the lower part of the thatching was so thin and frail that a heavy shower would have swamped the whole, but for a small channel which was carried all round the inner part of the wall.

I felt greatly exhausted, in consequence of the constant humidity to which I was exposed, and was neither able to enjoy the hospitable treatment which was shown me, nor even to get rest at night, although I changed my couch repeatedly in order to obtain some repose. But as we remained here the following day, I had sufficient leisure to become fully acquainted with the distinguishing features of this place; and I made a sketch of the village, together with an extensive pond from which the natives at this season of the year get their supply of water, and the picturesque castellated mountains of Hómbori in the background.

The place is populous, and inhabited by Songhay and Fúlbe conjointly,

the latter of whom belong to the tribe called Jéllobe, and are in possession of large herds of cattle and numerous flocks, while the native Songhay seem to be poor and rather badly off. As strict Mohammedans they have the custom of wearing silver rings on their little finger, which they fancy obtains favour for them when saying their prayers. A good deal of industry was apparent, but corn was very dear, although cheaper than it was said to be further on, where no corn was to be obtained, except in Nùggera, and I was glad to buy a small quantity of grain, the mudd for four drá of very broad cotton strips, while sixteen drá of Gando cotton strips were esteemed equal to ten drá of their own. Cowries, or "chede," had no currency here, except for buying sour



milk, of which there was a good supply. On account of the numerous pools which surround the place, it was infested by mosquitoes, which deprived me of what was most valuable to me—a good night's rest.

Tuesday, August 9.—There were two roads before us through the unsettled country to the north, where at present there are no towns, but only temporary encampments of the Tuarek or Imóshagh, who are now in possession of the country adjacent to the banks of the great river to a considerable extent,—one road leading in a more northerly direction to Láro, and the other in a north-westerly one to Bône; and although the guide whom we had taken with us from Mundóro assured us that we should not find in Bône either quarters or hospitality, my

friend El Walati, for some reason or other, preferred the latter route, and we had to make rather a long day's journey in the weakened state to which we ourselves and our animals were reduced. But the march was highly interesting, on account of the peculiar nature and the picturesque shape of the several detached cones of the Hombori mountains, through the midst of which our way led. It would have been impossible, from the information which I had gathered from the natives, to form a correct idea of the character of the chain, which I had thought far more elevated and continuous—the highest elevation which some of the cones reach does not appear to be more than eight hundred feet above the plain.



In the beginning the appearance of the country was more uniform, while the mountains, covered by the rising ground on our right, looked like mere hills, our track itself lying through a more level country, sometimes covered with underwood, and at others presenting a bleak open ground, or "néga," but the interest of this scenery increased considerably when we reached the western foot of a broader mound which had already attracted our attention the day before. On a sloping ground, consisting of rubbish and boulders, there rose a wall of steep cliffs like an artificial fortification, forming, as it seemed, a spacious terrace on the top, where there are said to be three hamlets, inhabited by a spirited

race of natives who, in this rocky retreat, vindicate their independence against the overbearing intrusions of the Fúlbe. We even observed on the slope under the steep cliffs, where there are several caverns, some people pasturing their sheep, while fields of Negro corn and karás, or *Corchorus olitorius*, testified to the fact that the natives sometimes descend even into the very plain to satisfy their most necessary wants. After passing this mound, and following a more north-westerly direction, we approached another mound, rising from the plain like an isolated cone, and with its steep, narrow, and rugged crest, looking exactly like the ruin of a castle of the middle ages. Leaving this mound, together with the path leading to the Songhay town of Láro on our right, we approached the southern foot of another castellated mound, which stretched out to a greater length, but offered, in its rugged and precipitous cliffs, exactly the spectacle of crenellated walls and towers. Where the foot of the mound juts out into the path on the top of the offshoots, the inhabitants of the mountain had erected a small chapel, or rather a place for pagan worship, which presented a very peculiar appearance. Here we entered a sort of broad defile, formed between this castellated mound and another cone towards the west, which, although of considerable elevation, was not so rugged, and exhibited a less picturesque appearance.

Greatly fatigued by our long march, especially as a cool breeze in the morning was followed by an oppressive heat in the noonday hours, we reached, at about five o'clock in the afternoon, the Fúlbe village of Bóne, situated at the foot of the eastern mound, but although I had sent two of my people in advance, we were unable to obtain quarters, and after some unavailing dispute we were obliged to encamp outside in the open grassy vale between the two mountains; for the inhabitants of this village, who are exclusively Fúlbe, do not like strangers to enter their dwellings, at least not for a night's quarters. They however treated us in the evening with a good supply of milk, while they also informed us that a large encampment of that section of the Tuarek which is called Iregenátén was at a few miles' distance. El Waláti supposed, or rather pretended to suppose, that they were the clan of a powerful chief of the name of Somki, and assured me that it would be necessary to make this chief a handsome present, in order that under his protection we might proceed safely from camp to camp till we reached the banks of the Niger, for although we might have travelled by a more southerly road turning from this point westward to Nùggera, it seemed more prudent to endeavour to get out of the range of the dominion of the Fúlbe, in order not to be at the mercy of the chief of Hamda-Alláhi, who certainly could not but be hostile to my intention of reaching Timbúktu. And it seems not to be out of place to mention here, that this very Nùggera,—a hamlet of some note, as being the residence of learning and holiness,—was the point from which the founder of the dynasty of Hamda-Alláhi started.

CHAPTER XVIII.

IMÓSHAGH OR TUAREK ENCAMPMENTS SOUTH OF THE NIGER.—LAKES AND BACKWATERS OF THE GREAT RIVER.

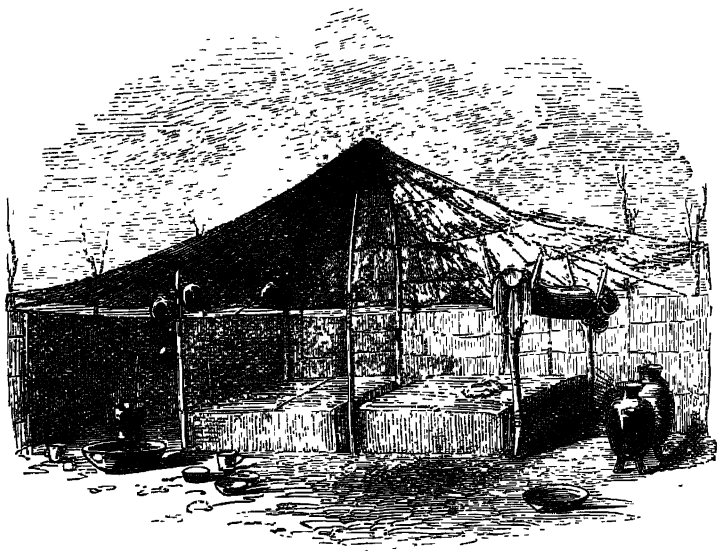
Wednesday, August 10—IN conformity with our project, I myself, with El Waláti and two of my people on horseback, leaving my luggage behind with the rest of my servants, started in the morning for the camp of the Tuarek, having provided a very handsome present, consisting of a large Nûpe tobe, a red cap, a túrkedi, and three fine "háf" or "lithám," altogether worth about two thousand shells. However, we had only proceeded about a mile when we met a few Tuarek serfs, who informed us that it was not Somki, but another chief who had moved his encampment to this place, and, from what I observed, I concluded that El Waláti had been well aware of this before, but wanted only to extort from me a large present. Once in the hands of this crafty Arab, I had to use great discretion in order to prevent him from betraying me altogether, and I was obliged to bear silently any little trick which he might play me in order to enrich himself, as long as I proceeded onwards and approached the object of my arduous undertaking. We therefore moved on, and, soon leaving the mountains behind us, after a march of about eight miles across a plain covered with dense underwood, reached the encampment of the Tuarek.

This was a very important stage of my journey. Having with the greatest difficulty and danger crossed the wide open country of the other more easterly tribes of the Tuarek on the setting out of our expedition, and heartily glad to have got rid of them, I here once more entered their territory and delivered myself up into their hands without enjoying the protection of a single powerful chief, and guided solely by the advice of that crafty man whose only purpose was to get from me as much as possible. The encampment consisted of leather tents of larger or smaller size, but it evidently belonged to a chief without great power, as seemed to be apparent from the total absence of camels and horses. However, I immediately conceived a favourable impression of the muscular strength and dexterity of these people; for when we approached the tent of the chief, who was sitting inside upon his couch of reeds, he with a single jerk jumped out and suddenly stood upright before us. Of course the tent was open in front, but nevertheless it appeared to me a great gymnastic feat, especially taking into account the lowness of the entrance, as in jumping out he had to stoop at the same time. Without delay a smaller tent was placed at our disposal, and we made ourselves comfortable.

The tents, "éhe" (pl. éhénan), consist of a large round piece of leather formed of a great number of smaller sheepskins cut in quadrangular pieces and sewed together, while the borders of the whole are left purposely very irregular, in order to pass the stalks, which describe the outward circle of the tent, through the projecting corners. These skins are spanned over three pairs of poles, the middle pair of con-

siderable elevation, the remaining two not so high, and one of them, on the right of the entrance, being forked, as represented in the accompanying woodcut, although, as far as I have become aware, the middle poles are not always the same, in some tents both joining at the top, in others seeming to stand apart

In such a tent there are generally two couches, or divans, called "teshégi," made of a fine species of reed, and raised about a foot from the ground; for these people generally choose the most swampy places for their encampments, and after a thunderstorm are sometimes to be found in the midst of a lake. They are also not wanting in comforts,

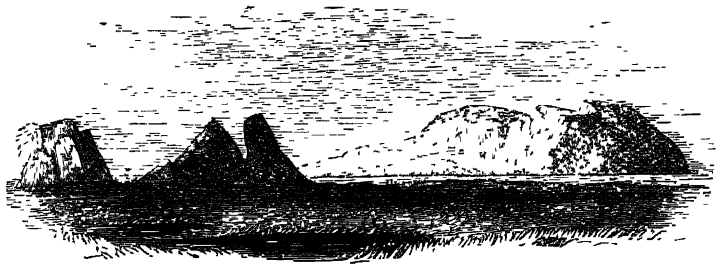


and on every couch there is a leather pillow, "adafor," which certainly seems very essential, as it would be most uncomfortable to rest the elbow on the uneven and hard surface of these reed couches. Almost all the furniture of these simple people, besides a few wooden bowls for eating and drinking, consists of leather bags of excellent workmanship and sometimes very tastefully ornamented, as will be shown later in this volume. In these they stow away their clothes as well as their provisions, and during the night they surround the whole tent with very neat mattings of a fine species of reed, so that a tent of this description forms quite a comfortable dwelling.

Although our host was evidently not one of the first-rate chiefs, he, as well as his kinsfolk and friends who came to visit us, had a very noble and prepossessing appearance, being rather broad-shouldered, stout,

and well knit, with a pleasing expression of countenance and a fair skin, though there were a few among them who, with their coarse features and their dark skin, bore testimony to the deterioration of the Berber blood. We had scarcely made ourselves comfortable, when we were treated with large quantities of fresh and sour milk, while a fat sheep was slaughtered and prepared for our supper, but without any additional food, these people living almost entirely on meat and milk.

Of course I had to make a handsome present to my new friends, consisting of a fine black tobe, a *türkedi*, and a black *harâm*, but I doubt very much whether my friend El Walâti gave them these articles as a present from me, or whether he sold them as his own. However, be this as it may, I wanted not only their protection, but their assistance too, as my camels were so weakened by the continual humidity to which they were exposed, that they were not fit to carry my luggage any further. But besides, as we had to pass the seats of these lawless tribes, we had to grope our way, as well as possible, from one encampment to the other, so that we wanted guides; and it was therefore arranged that, hiring a couple of pack-oxen at this place, we should join this tribe the following morning, when they would take us on our way to the chief, Somki. The mountainous district, in the direction of Nûggera, had the following appearance at its termination.



On returning from this encampment to Bône, being misled by a man who professed to know the district, which for the most part consists of swampy ground, we fell into a dangerous bog, and made our way with great difficulty. We were also visited by a very heavy thunderstorm in the evening, which swamped the whole country, killed one of my camels, and rendered our night's rest very uncomfortable. In consequence of this violent rain our road the next day, on our way to the Tuarek, was very bad, and we had great difficulty in avoiding the swamps, but I was rewarded by the picturesque aspect of the scenery, a rich cascade rushing down over the steep cliffs of the mountain, from a height of about two hundred feet, and forming at the bottom a powerful torrent, which swept along through a fine border of vegetation in the direction of Bône. The poor independent inhabitants of that mountain had left their stone cottages and caves on the slope of the steep cliffs, and were busy, after the fertilising rain, with the labours of

the field in their limited grounds, clearing them of the weeds. The crops promised well, and had a healthy appearance. When we disturbed these poor people in their labours, they retired behind the safeguard of their Cyclopean rocks, and stared at us with great curiosity, the unusual appearance of our whole train causing them a great deal of dismay; and it was in vain that we endeavoured by our gestures to persuade them to continue their labours, as they did not understand us, while we were greatly pleased to observe that, although pagans, they were decently clad with neat aprons of cotton round their loins.

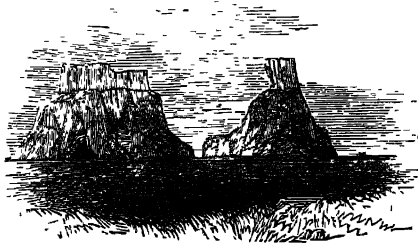
Having at length joined our friends of yesterday, we pitched our linen tents, which greatly attracted their attention, at some distance from their leather dwellings, and were soon beset by numbers of the fair sex, some of whom were distinguished by their plumpness, especially by that peculiar feature called "*tebúllodén*," which I mentioned on a former occasion; but I was forced to frighten these fair visitors away, as, in consequence of the last day's thunderstorm, I felt very unwell, and was obliged to have recourse to an emetic. As for the men, their dress consisted throughout of a short shirt with short open sleeves, made of a coarse kind of broad cotton strips, only a few young lads, sons of the chief, wearing also, here in the encampment, blue-dyed shirts, with a patch of red cloth to adorn the large breast-pocket. Their head-dress was likewise very poor, consisting not of a whole shawl, *harám* or *tesilgemist*, but of single cotton strips of various colours, blue, red, white, and of the mixed kind called "*shahariye*," sewed together, only a few of them being able to add a strip of red cloth for, altogether, these Tuarek are very fond of a variety of colours, a feature already observed by that most excellent geographer El Bekri, and never leave the manufactured shirts of Núpe and Háusa as they receive them, with the exception of a few of the greatest chiefs, who pride themselves in possessing a whole shirt of that kind. Owing to the swampy character of the neighbourhood, which produced countless hosts of mosquitoes, and to the number of hyenas, which frightened the cattle repeatedly, I passed a restless and sleepless night.

Friday, August 12.—I was now in the hands of the Tuarek, and my crafty Arab companion was enabled to take full advantage of my dangerous situation. For, on the one hand, it had become necessary to represent me to these simple people as a great sherif, and thus to excite their hospitable feelings, while at the same time he instigated me to reward their treatment in a generous manner, but nevertheless sold my presents to them as his own property. It required a great deal of patience and forbearance on my part, to bear up against the numerous delays in this part of our journey, and to endure the many tricks played upon me by the treachery of my companion, in order to prevent at least his proceeding to open violence. In this encampment he bartered the horse which I had bought for him at Libtáko, for seven fat and powerful bulls, which, in Timbúktu, probably might fetch from eight thousand to ten thousand shells each. This business being at length settled, and the whole encampment breaking up, we proceeded onwards. The men were mostly mounted on horses of a small unsightly

breed, but well adapted to bear fatigue, while the women were sitting astride on their household furniture, which was packed on oxen and asses.

Proceeding thus slowly onward, our friends encamped about a mile from their former resting-place, or "ámazágh," close beyond an extensive meadow water which caused the young herbage to spring up all around, and full of holes, thus creating frequent delay.

Continuing, then, our journey alone, and ascending higher ground, where a little cultivation was being carried on by the slaves of the nomadic tribe which at present have taken possession of these grounds, and passing another encampment, we reached, after a march of about eight miles, the camp where we were to make another halt. It was situated in an open tract of ground called Imeggélelé, adorned only by a few stunted talha trees, while at some distance to the south a flat vale spread out, clothed with a greater profusion of vegetation, and affording rich pasture to numerous flocks of sheep and goats. The whole tract forms a sort of irregular valley, bordered towards the north by a hilly chain of slight elevation, and towards the west by a cluster of flat-topped cones.



The camp was governed by three different chiefs, called Sítina, Jáwi, and Feréferé, the latter being a man of a very powerful frame. Several small presents were necessary to satisfy them all. Besides, as the two pack-oxen which I had hired the day before were to return from this place, I had to buy here two animals myself, and I had great difficulty, in the course of the following day, in concluding a bargain, but I at length succeeded in buying one bull, with a tobe worth here 6,000 shells, and a túrkedí of inferior quality worth 2,000, and a second one, with three háf worth 4,000, together with a túrkedí worth 3,500. This was not, however, their real value, but the price fixed by El Waláti, who had himself a profit of at least fifty per cent. He also was the sole cause of my being detained here so long, as he wanted to sell the mare which he had brought with him from Bulánga, for horses constitute the chief article of trade with these people, and small Fúlbe traders, or rather Jawámbe or Zoghorán, visit them continually, bringing horses from Sofára and the country of Búrgu, where the best animal fetches not more than about thirty thousand shells, and bartering them with these people for cattle, and the first evening of our arrival a numerous troop of these native traders arrived. It was here that I observed, for the first time, some of the Tuarek clad entirely in shirts made of leather, which they are skilful in preparing.

Sunday, August 14.—The bargaining being at length concluded, we

got ourselves in readiness to pursue our journey, when a violent thunderstorm, gathering from the north, kept us back till nearly noon. We at length set out; but the recently bought animals were so intractable that we only moved on at a very slow pace. We had first to retrace our steps a little to the eastward, in order to cross the hilly chain which separated us from the sandy downs along the Niger; and had then to descend a very steep sandy slope, which brought us into an irregular valley, with the mountains of Dalla forming a conspicuous object towards the west. Having then turned round a mountain spur which stretched out into the plain on our right, we reached the encampment of Bélé, a powerful chief of the degraded tribe of the Haw-n-ádak. His exterior had nothing of that noble appearance which so eminently distinguishes the higher class of these wild tribes, as he was of unwieldy corpulency, and of a rather short figure, resembling the famous South-African chief, Nangôro, visited by Messrs Galois and Anderson. He received us, however, very hospitably, and proved to be rather an intelligent man; but, fortunately, he had not sufficient cleverness to discover that I was a Christian, although, from the very first moment when he beheld my luggage, he arrived at the firm conclusion that I was not what my companions represented me to be,—namely, a sherif from the far east, but he had made up his mind, on account of the little knowledge which I possessed of his language, and which I had not quite kept back before him, that I was a merchant, either from Ghadâmes or Morocco, and it was quite amusing to me to hear him argue this point, while he affirmed with the greatest obstinacy, and with an oath, that I was a Shillûh,—a Berber from the north,—and wanted to represent myself as a sherif, in order to pass through his tribe with less trouble and expense. He, as well as his people, became, by degrees, rather troublesome; but they treated us well, sending us two prepared sheep, and large dishes of rice boiled in an abundance of butter, but without salt. The chief himself is said to consume every day a sheep, and the supply of milk from seven cows,—in this respect reminding us of the Emperor Vitellius.

Monday, August 15—I presented to the chief a first-rate türkedi, two black shawls, and a red cap, but as my fine horse excited his cupidity, we had some difficulty in getting away, and matters appeared for some time rather serious. But having at length proceeded on our journey, after a little more than a mile, we ascended from the rich grassy plain, upon an undulating tract of deep sandy soil, richly clothed with mimosa and herbage, and broken now and then by a depression or cavity covered with the richest species of grass, called "banga." Numerous flocks of sheep were pasturing here, and a servant of Bélé, who accompanied us, felt no compunction in seizing the fattest specimen and slaughtering it. After a march of about eight miles, the poisonous euphorbia became very common, but we looked in vain for water, as we had taken no supply with us, and it was not till after a long march over the sandy downs, that we reached a pool of stagnant and dirty water. A little more than two miles beyond, we came to another encampment of Tuarek. Here fortunately I found better rest than at Bélé's, only a

few people being present at the time. The chief, too, being of rather a subordinate character, raised his pretensions less high.

On account of their degraded character and their low condition in the scale of Tuarek society, these people were not even allowed to wear swords, which is the emblem of the free and noble Amóshagh, but, besides their spears, they are only armed with a long "télak," or knife, worn at the left arm. All the Tuarek hereabouts wear short narrow shirts, and short and tightly fitting trousers; and almost all of them wear round the lower and upper part of their face a shawl composed of strips of different colours and materials, as I have stated above, only the chief himself uses a black tobe, and a shawl of the same colour.

These various tribes pasture their cattle quite differently from each other. Most of the Tuarek, like the Fúlbe in general, drive them out early in the morning, and fetch them home when the heat of the day commences, in order to milk them, after which the cattle are again driven out till evening, but the people of this as well as of the last day's encampment, pasture their cattle during the night, and fetch them home early in the morning for milking. We had a fine cool breeze in the evening, which refreshed me extremely while lying in front of my tent, but in the night a very heavy thunderstorm broke out, followed by a moderate quantity of rain.

Tuesday, August 16—It was almost noon when we started, for as long as my friend El Waláti had something to sell, there was no chance of travelling, and in order to diminish my dissatisfaction, it was pretended that one of my pack-oxen was lost. Here my companion bartered his young camel for sixty sheep, and the bargain being at length concluded, we were allowed to proceed on our journey. But before setting out I had to give my blessing to the whole population of the encampment, male as well as female. Among the latter I discovered a few pretty young women, particularly one, who, together with her baby, formed a most pleasing spectacle, her beauty being enhanced by her extreme shyness in approaching me, but their dress was very poor indeed, consisting of coarse cotton stuff, which was wrapped round the body and brought down over the head. All the boys under twelve years of age have the left side of their head entirely shaven, while from the crop on the right side a long curl hangs down.

At length we are again on the road, but our march, through a rather level track of country, was only of short duration, and after a little more than six miles, having crossed a basin where a large sheet of water had collected, we again took up our quarters in another encampment the chief of which was stated to possess great authority, so that I had once more to give presents to the value of nearly ten thousand shells, besides a túrkedi and "háf" to be given to the man belonging to Bélé, who had served us as a guide. I had likewise to send a present to a Tárki chief at some distance, in order to take every precaution recommended to me by my companion to ensure my safety, although I felt certain that he himself applied the greater portion to his own use. It was thus that my supplies rapidly disappeared, and I had a fair prospect, if this state of things should continue for any length of time, of arriving in Timbúktu

greatly lightened. We were however hospitably treated by our hosts, and were even regaled with the uncommon luxury of a large dish of "megata," a sort of macaroni, prepared from wheat with a rich seasoning of butter, and famous since the time of El Bekri. As a proof that we were approaching Timbúktu, I may mention that the people of this encampment were extremely anxious to get a sip of tea, which they called the water of Simsím, from the celebrated well of that name in Mekka. Another of my camels being knocked up, I here exchanged it for four bulls, one of which was fit for carrying burdens, being equal in value to two or three of the others, but I had afterwards a keen dispute on account of this bargain, the camel having subsequently died.

Wednesday, August 17.—On setting out from this encampment, we kept at first a little more westward, thus leaving the district of Banséna, which formerly seems to have been of some importance, to the north, in order to avoid the encampment of Íso, a brother of Somkí, who had sent a messenger the preceding day in order to invite us to pay him a visit. The district through which we passed is called Mínta, and is rich in ironstone, while ruins of former smelting-places are seen in different localities; but it was extremely barren, extensive tracts of bleak native soil, called "néga" or "hamraye," fatiguing the eye under a hot African sun. Further on the soil became swampy, and bore frequent footprints of the elephant, but after a march of a little more than three miles, while we again returned into a northerly direction, we entered an undulating sandy track clothed with bushes, and two miles and a half beyond again encamped on the site of a Tuarek ámazágh. Here, after having made some presents, we were well treated, two sheep being slaughtered for us, but we passed a most uncomfortable night on account of the vast number of mosquitoes which infested the place.

Thursday, August 18.—We at length made a tolerable day's march in order to reach the small town of Bámbara, which forms the southernmost of the fixed settlements of the Songhay along the creeks and backwaters of the river in this part of the country. The district through which we passed in the beginning of our march formed a tolerable level, thickly overgrown with bushes and the feathery bristle, which gradually attained such a height as to reach the rider on horseback. At times also the poisonous euphorbia predominated, and after a march of about nine miles our old friend the hájilí, or *Balanites Egyptiaca*, which I did not remember to have seen since leaving Fógba, began to appear. But far more cheerful than the sight of this tree was the view of a large sheet of water, which appeared on our right about three miles further on, and which excited in me the first idea of the size and richness of the upper course of the Níger, it is here called Dó, but in its further course northwards, where the eye could not reach the border, it bears the particular name of Siléddu, and at least at certain seasons of the year is in direct connection with the river.

Having then passed a small tract of cultivated ground and emerged from the undulating country, we obtained a sight of the town of Bámbara, situated a little in front of a chain of hills, as represented in the wood-cut opposite. In an hour more we reached the place, and at the

instigation of our Arab companion fired a salute with our pistols, whereupon the principal individuals made their appearance, and we obtained quarters without further delay. The town or village consists partly of low clay buildings, partly of huts, but the inhabitants appear to dwell almost exclusively in the latter, using the clay dwellings, which generally consist of low, oblong, and flat-roofed buildings, as store-rooms or magazines for depositing their treasures, that is to say, their long rolls of cotton-strips, "leppi," or "tári." The dwelling also which was assigned to me consisted of a rather low dirty hut, which was anything but well ventilated, and proved almost insupportable during the hot hours of the day. But the clay soil in the courtyard was too hard for pitching my tent, and besides, it was not advisable to expose myself in this manner to the gaze of inquisitive and curious observers. The inhabitants of this place, almost all of whom are Fúlbe, and on account of their large features evidently belong to the section of the *Toróde* or *Tórobe*, are ill-famed as "dhálemín," or evil-doers. However, they are a warlike set, and had succeeded a few months before in driving back the *Awelímmiden*, who had made a foray on a large scale against the



place. But *Bámbara* is important in an economical respect, for the inhabitants, besides possessing numerous cattle, cultivate a large extent of ground; even many of the people of *Timbúktu* have fields here, the transport of the grain being easy and cheap by means of the immense inland navigation which is formed by the many backwaters and branches of the *Niger*. But the neighbourhood of the place is very barren, and at that time especially, when no rain had fallen for some time, looked extremely dry, so that the camels had to be driven to a great distance to find pasturage. Some *Tuarek* half-castes are also settled in the place, and they kept up dancing every evening till a very late hour.

Bámbara is called *Hudári* by the *Tuarek* or *Imóshagh*, and *Sukurára* by the people of the kingdom of *Bámbara*, the *Bámanón*, or as they are called by the inhabitants of *Timbúktu*, *Benáber*. Why the name *Bámbara* has attached to this place in particular I cannot say, but probably the reason was, that the people of *Bámbara*, who some seventy years ago conquered all this country to the south of the river, retained dominion of this town for a longer time than of any other place in the neighbourhood. There is no doubt that the *Fúlbe*, or *Fullán*, as well as the *Songhay* and *Arabs*, call the place only by the latter name.

I had to stay in Bámbara several days, not at all for my own comfort, as I continually ran the risk of being recognised and identified, having been known as a Christian at the short distance of a few days' journey from here. Nothing but the scanty intercourse which is kept up in this region made such a sudden change of character possible, for as yet I had nobody to protect me. But my friend El Waláti, whose relation with the inhabitants of this place was of a peculiar character, derived the sole benefit from our stay. He had married here, four years previously, a rich wife, and had absconded with all her property: besides having seriously offended the powerful Tárki chief Sómki. Having thus made himself so obnoxious to them, he would not have been able to enter the place again, if he had not found an opportunity of enriching himself at my expense and enjoying the protection of my company. However, it was only by degrees that I became acquainted with all these circumstances, while I had to bear silently all the intrigues of this man, my only object being to reach safely in his company the town of Timbúktu; but it was evident enough that he was continually wavering, whether it was not more profitable for him to deliver me into the hands of the Fúlbe, as he knew well that in the town of Dár-e'-Salám, which was only thirty miles distant, there was a powerful governor, under the ruler of Mása, and himself a son of Mohammed Lebbo, who, at the first intelligence of my real character, would have cut short all my proceedings, and, in the most favourable case, would have sent me direct to his liege lord and nephew in Hamda-Alláhi.

I had to make here some considerable presents to a number of people. There was first our host Jóbbo, who had given us quarters, and who treated us very hospitably; then, the son of the chief or emír, who was absent in Hamda-Alláhi; next, three kinsmen of the latter, who were represented to me as dhálemín, and lastly, three Arabs from Timbúktu, who were staying here at the time, and whose friendly disposition I had to secure for some reason or other. One of the latter was a very amiable young man, of the name of Mohammed el Amín, son of the learned kádhí Mústapha, and it was he, in particular, who gave me some information with regard to my friend El Waláti, who, on his part, endeavoured to obtain the favour of this young man, by persuading me to make him a good present, and to commission him to take charge of my horse through the dangerous and watery tract of country from Sarayámo to Kábara. As for the second of these Arabs, he belonged to the small tribe of the Ansár, or, as they are generally called Lansár,—that most respected Arab tribe which, on account of its intimate connection with Mohammed, enjoyed everywhere and at all times great influence, but which is at present reduced to a very small fraction. He was a follower of Hammadi, the rival of the sheikh El Bakáy in Timbúktu, and seemed to be of such a hostile disposition towards my friend that the latter represented him to me as shamefully exiled from that town, and as totally disgraced. Besides these presents to the inhabitants of the place, I had also to reward the various people who had accompanied us from the Tuarek encampments in order to show us the road, or rather to drive the sheep and cattle belonging to El

Waláti. But in return for all these presents I was at least treated hospitably and, for these countries, even sumptuously; and I was glad to find that the rice here, which constituted the chief article of food, was of excellent quality.

While we were staying in this place I received a visit from two Tuarek chiefs, who, owing to our slow progress, had heard of me, and came in order to obtain from me my blessing, but more particularly some presents. The chief of them was a very respectable-looking man, of the name of Mohammed, or Hemáhemé, with large open features, such as are never seen among the Kél-owí, and of a tall stately figure. They behaved very friendly towards me, and one of them even embraced me very cordially; but the scale of their religious erudition was not very considerable, and I was greatly amused when El Waláti, in order to get back from them his tobacco-pouch, which they had secretly abstracted from him, suddenly seized one of my books, which happened to be "*Lander's Journey*," and, on threatening them with it as if it were the Kurán, the pouch was restored without delay.

I had been questioned repeatedly on my journey respecting the Méhedi, who was expected soon to appear, but these people here were uncommonly anxious to know something concerning him, and could scarcely be prevented from identifying me with this expected prophet, who was to come from the East. They were scarcely gone when a messenger arrived from the great chief Somki, whose name had already filled my imagination for so long a time, and, at El Waláti's most urgent request, who did not fail to enhance the importance of this man as much as he was able, I prepared a considerable present, worth altogether 33,000 shells, which my friend was to take to him on the following day.

Now it would not have been at all necessary to have come into any contact with this chief, as the direct road to Timbúktu led straight from here, without touching at Sarayámo, near which place Somki had formed his encampment, but my friend represented the direct road from here to Timbúktu as leading along the encampments of several powerful chiefs, whom it would be more prudent to avoid; and perhaps he was right, not so much from the reason stated as on account of the water-communication between Sarayámo and Timbúktu offering a great advantage. In conformity with these circumstances, on the third day of our stay here, El Waláti at length set out for the encampment of Somki, in order to obtain his protection, to enable me to pass safely through his territory; and I sent along with him my faithful servant Mohammed el Gatróni, whom I had just cured of a severe attack of dysentery, although I could not expect that he would be able to control the proceedings of the crafty Arab, as he did not understand the language of the Tuarek. They did not return until the third day, and gave me in the meantime full leisure to study a little more accurately the relations of this place.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE NETWORK OF CREEKS, BACKWATERS, AND LAKES BELONGING TO THE NIGER—SARAYÁMO—NAVIGATION TO KÁBARA.

ON my first arrival at the town of Bámbara, I had not been at all aware that it formed a most important point of my journey, it being for me, as proceeding from the south-east, what that celebrated creek three days west from Timbúktu was to the traveller from the north during the middle ages, and which on this account has received the name of "Rás el má." The town of Bámbara is situated on a branch, or rather a dead backwater of the river, forming a very shallow bottom of considerable breadth, but a very irregular border, and containing at that time but little water, so that the communication with the river was interrupted; but about twenty days later in the season, for about four or five months every year, during the highest state of the inundation, the boats proceed from here directly, either to Díre by way of Gálaye and Káñima, or to Timbúktu by way of Délego and Sarayámo, thus opening a considerable export of corn towards that dependent market-place, which again has to supply the whole of the nomadic tribes of Ázawád, and the neighbouring districts.

This shallow water is bordered on the west side by the hilly chain which I have mentioned before, and beyond there is another branch, which joins it towards the south. Such being the state of the water at present, there was no great activity, and two canoes only were lying here under repair, each of them being provided with two low chambers, or cabins, vaulted in with reeds and bushes, as I shall describe further on. Of course, when this basin is full of water, and navigated by numbers of canoes, the place must present quite another appearance, while at the time of my visit its shallow swampy state could not but increase the dulness of the whole neighbourhood, which had not yet been fertilised by the rainy season. I was assured by the inhabitants that only one plentiful shower had as yet fallen. This was the reason that, instigated by the absurd rumour which had preceded me that my favour with the Almighty was so great that it had some influence upon the fall of rain, all the inhabitants, although Mohammedans, assembled on the second day of El Waláti's absence, and, headed by the emír, came to me in procession, and solicited my interference in their behalf for a good shower of rain. I succeeded this time in eluding their solicitations for a direct prayer, satisfying them by expressing my fervent hope that the Almighty would have mercy upon them. But I was so favoured, that there was really a moderate shower in the evening, which did a great deal of good to the ground, although the air did not become much cooler, for it was excessively hot all this time, and sometimes almost insupportable in my narrow dirty hut. I remember in particular one miserable night which I spent here, when, not being able to obtain a wink of sleep, I wandered about all night, and felt totally exhausted in the morning. Notwithstanding the swarms of mosquitoes, I after-

wards preferred sleeping outside my hut, in order to inhale the slight refreshing breeze which used to spring up during the night. Unfortunately I had, to the best of my belief, long before broken my last thermometer, and was therefore unable, or rather believed myself unable, to measure the heat with accuracy, but it could certainly not be inferior to the greatest rate we had experienced in Kúkawa. The whole country round about the village is very bleak, consisting chiefly of black argillaceous soil, such as is common in the neighbourhood of large sheets of water, and scarcely a single tree offers its foliage as a shelter from the rays of the sun.

I had also sufficient leisure to pay full attention to the trading relations of the inhabitants, which, at this time of the year, are rather poor, for although a daily market is held, it is on a very small scale, and, besides sour milk and salt, very little is to be found. Even Indian corn is not brought regularly into the market, although so much agriculture is going on in the neighbourhood, and I had to buy my supply from strangers who by chance were passing through the place, while for one of my oxen I got only as much as forty *sáa*, or measures of corn of rice, on the contrary, which is extensively cultivated in the neighbourhood, the natives, even at this season, appeared to possess a sufficient supply. The standard currency consists of "*tári*," that is to say, cotton strips two hands wide, of which, unfortunately, I did not possess the smallest quantity; it is only in purchasing sweet or sour milk that the inhabitants accept shells. Everything that is sold in the market is measured and inspected by an officer, who does not bear the same title by which he is known in the eastern countries of the Fúlbe, viz "*lámido-lúmu*," but is here called "*emíro-fóba*."

A good deal of entertainment was afforded me by the daily turning out and bringing in of the several divisions of the five herds of cattle which the place possessed. Three herds returned early in the morning from their pasture grounds, where they had been left during the night, in order to be milked, and the two remaining ones were then turned out, in order to return during the heat of the day. But notwithstanding the considerable number of cattle which the place possessed, the drought was so great that there was only a small supply of milk at the time.

At length, on the evening of the third day after their setting out, my two companions, whom I had sent to Somki, returned, and El Waláti would fain have made me believe that that chief had at first most obstinately refused to receive the presents, and had peremptorily demanded that I should make him, in addition, a present of one of the horses; but the fact was, that he had persisted in representing that those presents did not come from me, but had employed them in order to make his own peace with that powerful chief, and to conclude some bargain with him. After all this, he had the insolence to propose that I also should go to that chief, in order to surrender to him some more of my property as his own; but I could not prevent it, and my only object was necessarily to get over my difficult situation as well as possible.

Thursday, August 25—Having, after the return of my friend from his important embassy, still been obliged to stay another day in this miserable place, and having had the misfortune to lose my best ox of burden, which El Waláti had sold to the Tuarek who came along with us, pretending that it had been stolen, I at length set out on my journey to Sarayámo. But just as we were about to start, a circumstance happened which might have proved fatal to my further proceedings, for, at the moment of departure, there arrived an Arab, a native of Tisit, who, besides having visited St. Louis, had made the pilgrimage to Mekka, and knew something about Europeans as well as about the Arabs of the East, and as I asked a great many questions about the ancient and celebrated town of Bîru, and the modern Waláta, he began to make some stricter inquiries concerning my native home, and the places from whence I had gathered my information, for not having found any one on his journey towards the East who knew anything about the seats of these Western Arabs, while the general name of Shingín is given to all of them, he was not a little astonished to find that I knew so much about his countrymen. However, my whole appearance inspired him with such confidence, that he continued to take great interest in me. He had already, the previous evening, sent me a fat sheep as a present, and he now accompanied me for a while, mounted on a beautiful white mare, but, as his company prevented my laying down the route with accuracy, I persuaded him not to give himself any further trouble.

Having crossed a small watercourse, we soon reached a larger one, which formed a running stream, carrying the surplus of the shallow creek of Bámbara towards a larger sheet, which, at the distance of a mile, we saw expand on our right. The surface of the country was undulating, with granite cropping out here and there, and with a good supply of stunted mimosa, besides the poisonous euphorbia, but, about two miles beyond the open water, we descended into a more level tract, covered with nothing but dry and short herbage, and abundance of the obnoxious feathery bristle, but this is very favourable ground for the cattle, for they are not less fond of this bristle than their masters themselves are of the seed, called "úzak," which from the most ancient times has constituted one of their chief articles of food. We passed, also, the sites of several former Tuarek encampments.

Having then entered a district where more dúm-bush appeared, we ascended a sandy ridge, from whence we beheld, in front of us, an extensive sheet of water, stretching out to a distance of several miles, its surface agitated by a strong breeze, and with tall reeds forming its border. It is called Nyéngay by the Fúlbe, and Isse-énga by the Tuarek, and is in connection with the branches of Bámbara and Káñima, winding along from here by way of Gálaye to the latter place, and from thence by way of Délego to Sarayámo, and thus opening an uninterrupted navigable canal, at least during the highest state of the inundation; but it is said to be dreaded by the boatmen of the frail native craft, who never dare to cross it in a storm. It seemed, in a south-westerly direction, from six to eight miles across, but towards

the north-west it became contracted in such a manner, that at the narrowest place only two canoes can sail abreast; after which it turned away, and could not be further surveyed from this point.

Having followed the border of this fine and imposing sheet of water, where numbers of people were catching fish, for about a mile and a half, we ascended the sandy downs on our right, and soon reached the encampment of Mohammed, the chief of the Kél-e'-súk, who a few days previously had paid me a visit in Bámbara. Here I had to give away several more of my effects, but we were treated most hospitably, and even sumptuously, and besides two enormous bowls full of rice and meat, swimming in an immense quantity of butter, a whole ox was slaughtered for us. The site of the encampment was very beautiful, and I walked for a long time about the downs, which were adorned with a rich profusion of trees of the acacia kind, and offered an interesting prospect over the lake, but the ensuing night was most miserably spent on account of the numerous swarms of mosquitoes which infested the encampment.

Friday, August 26—We were very early in motion, but a heavy thunderstorm which gathered from the south-east delayed our departure, although, taking into account the slow rate at which I was here obliged to travel, it was a matter of total indifference whether we started early or late, as I was quite in the hands of my friend the Waláti, who stopped wherever he had any business to transact, and did not set out again until he had concluded his bargain. The rain clouds then taking a more northerly direction, we at length set out, pursuing our track over the hilly country, and while we lost sight of the lake of Nyéngay on our left, soon discovered on our right another but smaller sheet of water called Gérru. The Nyéngay is said to be full of water all the year round, but the Gérru becomes dry in summer, when the inhabitants of Sarayámo repair hither in order to cultivate their rice-fields, the rice ripening with the rising waters, and being cut shortly before the river attains the highest state of inundation.

Having left these interesting sheets of water behind us, we traversed a district more richly adorned with acacias, and crossed a valley where the siwák, or *Capparis sodata* (a bush which I scarcely remembered to have seen since my return from Kánem), was growing in great exuberance, besides numbers of gerredh, or the useful *Acacia nilotica*, but we searched in vain for water. The country also which we traversed from here onwards was chiefly clothed with the *Capparis* and the *Mimosa nilotica*, besides a good deal of dùm-bush; but, further on, we emerged from this undulating tract into an open swampy ground, at present tolerably dry, and covered with rich herbage, while we left on our right the site of the formerly important town Sâma-kôra,* which once lorded it over a considerable territory till it was destroyed by the

* This is the name which the Songhay give to the place, "kôra" meaning "town" in the Songhay-kini; while the Wangarawa and the Bámbara call it Sâma-kanda, "kanda" meaning "country" or "district" in the Wakore; and the Fulbe, on account of the "swamp" which is formed here, Winde Sâme.

Tuarek, when the remnant of its population escaped towards Bamba and Ghag.

In these open swampy meadow grounds, girt by a dense belt of gerredh, where no Arab would think of pitching his tent, was the encampment of the chief Somki, with his family and his followers (the tents of the kind I have described being just pitched), and his numerous herds of cattle grazing right and left, besides about twenty camels. We found the chief reclining on his "teshégit" or divan of reeds, and as soon as he beheld us, he rose and saluted El Walāti and me. He was a man of middle stature, and of tolerably stout proportions, his white beard, which looked forth from under the lithām, giving him a highly respectable appearance. He, however, did not show us any signs of hospitality, which vexed me the more, as besides the considerable presents which I had sent to him a few days before, I had now again to make him another one, consisting of two türkedis and a haf; but I soon found that he was not aware of the former presents having been sent by me.

Being an intelligent man, who had had dealings with a great many people, he had some slight suspicion that I was not what my companions represented me to be. While I was sitting in my tent reading attentively a passage referring to these regions in the excellent little book of Mr. Cooley on the Negroland of the Arabs, which has rendered me very great assistance in directing my inquiries in these countries, he made his appearance very abruptly, and seemed rather surprised at finding me reading characters which he well knew were not Arabic, but, nevertheless, he suppressed his suspicions. Perhaps in consequence of the intrigues of El Walāti, he laid claims to the horse which I myself rode. The eagerness of the women hereabout to obtain tobacco was very remarkable, and they pestered my servants during a great part of the night.

Saturday, August 27.—We set out on our last day's journey by land, in order to reach the place where we were to embark on the river. Having emerged from the low swampy ground, we entered again sandy downs, principally clothed with háskanít, damankádda, and bú-rekkeba or *Panicum colonum*, and, having left on one side a smaller channel, we reached the branch of Fatta, which extends almost as far as Sarayámo, running parallel to several other creeks, called after the villages Kásba, Haibóngo, and Benesénga, which intersect the district named Bóddu.

The water at first formed a narrow irregular channel of about two hundred yards wide, very much resembling an artificial canal, as is the case with a great many of these backwaters, but gradually it began to widen, affording excellent soil for the cultivation of rice. Between this channel and the river, there are several other branches, which appear to join the creek which I navigated from Sarayámo. Altogether, in this level part of the Niger, the river appears to spread out in a labyrinth of channels and watercourses. As for the rice which was grown here exclusively, it appeared to have been just sown with the assistance of the dew, which suffices for its growth till the river rises and spreads its inundation.

Here we passed a small village inhabited by a Tarki, or rather Kel-e'-súki, of the name of Mohammed Bonyámi, who has settled here with his property, and who, while we passed by, came out of his hut, and, astonished at my unusual appearance, and delighted at seeing a stranger from such a distance, entreated me in the kindest manner to stay with him a short time, so that I had in consequence great difficulty in pursuing my march. He was a very decent and venerable-looking old man, of short stout figure, and with benevolent features, but his dress was of the simplest kind, consisting of a white tobe and a black shawl. A good many horses were pasturing hereabout, but not, as it would seem, to the advantage of the rice grounds, as they fed mostly on the young shoots. Having then left this watercourse at some distance on our right, we reached three miles further on the town of Sarayámo, the chief place in the province of Kiso. A great many people being here collected at the news of our arrival, we fired a salute with our pistols, and after a little search, owing to the very low entrances of most of the huts which would not admit my luggage, obtained tolerable quarters.

The town of Sarayámo is formed by an inner city, *kasr* or "*koira*," consisting of clay dwellings, very narrow and uncomfortable, and a large suburb on the east side formed of huts of large size, but all of them with very low doors. The courtyard where I was quartered was situated at the western border of this eastern suburb, on a sloping ground, descending towards a small ravine which separates the suburb from the *kasr*, and contained at the time a small quantity of dirty water. This situation had the disadvantage that, from the opposite slope, everything that was done in my courtyard could be observed, and there were a great many curious people, especially among the rising generation, who obtruded not a little on my privacy.

I had scarcely made myself comfortable, when I received a great number of visits, and it was not long before Mohammed Bonyámi arrived, mounted on a white mare. As El Waláti had persuaded me to take only one horse to Timbúktu, I sent two of my animals with this man to remain with him until my leaving that place, while I also entrusted to his care my five camels, to be taken to a brother of his. While I was conversing with these people, my friend the Háj Búda arrived also, with whom I continued to pass for a Syrian sherif, although he thought it strange that I would not say my prayers with him in the courtyard.

Sunday, August 28 — Having enjoyed a good night's rest, tolerably free from mosquitoes, as I had shut my hut at an early hour, I took a walk down to the river, the morning being, as usual, cool and fresh, and a slight breeze having sprung up. The bank on which the town stands was at present from twenty-five to thirty feet above the level of the river; but this elevation is of course greatly diminished by the rising of the inundation, the river reaching generally to the very border of the village. That branch which is not in direct connection with the water of Fatta, along which our last days march had lain, had no current, and was about two hundred yards in breadth. The communication by water along these shallow backwaters of the immense Niger just opening (for in the dry season the connection is interrupted), only one sea-worthy boat was

lying here at the time, neither conspicuous for its size nor for its comfortable arrangement, and with two cabins of matting, one in the prow and one in the stern, while another boat, measuring forty feet by eight, was just repairing. All the craft are built of planks sewed or tied together in a very bungling manner.

I learned, on this occasion, that it is only at this season of the year that people go from here to Timbúktu, which lies almost exactly north from this place, by an eastern winding, while later in the season they follow a westerly branch. A labyrinth of creeks, backwaters, and channels is in this manner spread over the whole of this country, of which people had no previous idea.

I had scarcely returned to my quarters, when the governor, or emír, of the place came to pay me a visit. This man, whose name was 'Othmán, was a cheerful kind of person. He stands in direct subjection to the chief of Hamda-Alláhi, without being dependent upon any other governor; and his province comprises some other places in the neighbourhood, such as Fatta, Horeséna, and Kabéka. Having made strict inquiries with regard to the present state of affairs in Stambúl, and having asked the news respecting the countries of the East in general, he left me, but returned again in the course of the afternoon, accompanied by the chief persons in the town, in order to solicit my aid in procuring rain. After a long conversation about the rainy season, the quantity of rain which falls in different countries, and the tropical regions especially,* I felt myself obliged to say before them the "fat-há," or opening prayer of the Kurán, and, to their great amusement and delight, concluded the Arabic prayer with a form in their own language,—"Alla hokki ndfam,"—which, although meaning originally "God may give water," has become quite a complimentary phrase, so that the original meaning has been almost lost, few people only being conscious of it. It so happened that the ensuing night a heavy thunderstorm gathered from the east, bringing a considerable quantity of rain, which even found its way into my badly thatched hut. This apparent efficacy of my prayer induced the inhabitants to return the following day, to solicit from me a repetition of my performance; but I succeeded in evading their request by exhorting them to patience. But, on the other hand, I was obliged, in addition to a strong dose of emetic, to give the governor my blessing, as he was going to the capital, and was rather afraid of his liege lord the young prince Ahmedu, while at the same time his overbearing neighbours the Tuarek inspired him with a great deal of fear. In the sequel, he was very well received in the capital, and therefore could not complain of the inefficacy of my inspiration; but nevertheless, not having had the slightest suspicion that I was not what I had represented myself to be, he was much shocked when he afterwards learned that I was a Christian, to the great amusement of the Sheikh el Bakáy, who wrote to him repeatedly to the effect that he ought to be well pleased that so wicked a person as a Christian had

* On this occasion I learned from the Haj of Tis't, who was present, that in his desert town there are in general three falls of rain every year.

procured him, not only rain, but even a good reception from his superior.

The town is tolerably flourishing, and the Fúlbe inhabitants, at least, possess a great number of horses. We counted, one evening, ninety returning from the pasture-grounds, while a good many more remained outside at a greater distance. The Fúlbe here belong to the following tribes: Urománge, Rilámbe, Oromanábe, Koirabe, Feroibe, Balámbe, Orohábe and Úrube. The whole population of the place may amount to about five thousand, but there did not appear to be many manufactures, even the native cloth, so well woven by the Songhay, is not manufactured here.

The situation of the town at this navigable blanch, however, produces some activity, although no regular market appears to be held: and, the second day of my stay here, a large boat arrived from Timbúktu, with eighteen rás (a piece weighing about sixty pounds) of salt, a large parcel of tobacco, and a good number of passengers. Shells have currency here, and I bought rice for fourteen hundred shells and a túrkedi, at the rate of forty shells for each sâa, or measure. Rice constitutes the chief article of food, although on the west side of the town some negro-corn is cultivated. Milk is plentiful.

The town of Dár-e'-salám, or Dári, the residence of 'Abd-e'-rahmán, the son of Mohammed Lebbo, lying on the bank of the river itself, is at a distance of thirteen hours on horseback from here, equal to about thirty miles, by way of Taíba.

Having succeeded in hiring the boat which had come from Timbúktu for the exclusive use of my own party, for 10,000 shells, I prepared my luggage, which, although now greatly reduced from the respectable bulk which it presented when setting out from Kátsena, was still sufficient to inspire me with the hope that I might succeed in securing the friendship of the more influential chiefs of these regions and in the evening of the last day of August I went on board of my small craft, and passed there a very comfortable night. The river, during the time of my residence in the place, had risen considerably, and soon promised to open the communication by the western branch.

Thursday, Sept 1.—After a good deal of delay, we at length began our voyage about a quarter before eight in the morning, and I felt my spirits greatly cheered when I found myself floating on this river, or backwater, which was to carry me all the way to the harbour of Timbúktu. The river near the town forms a fine open sheet, widening to about three hundred yards; but further on, as we were winding along in a north-easterly direction, it was greatly obstructed with rank grass, or rather býrgu, which very often covered the water entirely, so that the boat seemed to glide along a grassy plain. It was quite out of the question to use oars. We were therefore reduced to the necessity of proceeding with poles, generally moving at the rate of two miles and a third an hour, but very often less. Besides the býrgu, which constitutes the chief fodder for horse and cattle in all the districts along the Niger, and which even furnishes man with the sweet beverage called "ménshu" and a sort of honey called "kartu," white water-lilies,

or *Nymphaea lotus*, were in great quantities, and, between the latter, the water-plant "*seiranfusa*," which, being about ten inches long, floats on the water without having its roots fixed in the ground. But, after a voyage of about three miles, we emerged from the reedy water of Sarayamo into a more open branch, said to be that of Bámbara, which here joined it. According to some of my informants, this water is identical with the Gèrru, which I have mentioned on a former occasion. Here the eastern bank became quite free from reed-grass, while a herd of gazelles was to be seen near the shore; the western bank, meanwhile, being adorned with numerous dùm-palms, gáwo, and tamarind-trees, or, as they are called here, busúsu; while, further on, the ascending ground was covered with "*tunfáfia*" (*Asclepias gigantea*), "*retem*" (or broom), and "*damankádda*." But after a while, when rank grass again began to prevail, this arm also became greatly obstructed, being separated by the grass into several branches. The water being only from five to seven feet deep, we proceeded rather slowly onward, winding along in a northerly direction, at times diverging more to the west, at others more to the east, till about an hour after noon we reached the small town of Fatta, situated on the eastern shore, and surrounded by extensive rice-grounds, where the people were busy with the labours of the field.

The river here changes its direction to the west, being probably joined by another branch, which, however, I did not see, and we began steering in that direction, soothing our disappointment at not moving directly towards the object of our voyage with the animated songs of our boatmen, who accompanied the movements of their oars with a barbarous, but not unmelodious, account of the deeds of the great Áskia. A great many herds of cattle were to be seen on the left or southern side of the river, and gave life to the scenery. Our living also was not so bad, a couple of fine fishes, which we had succeeded in buying from some fishermen, having been prepared over the fire and affording us an excellent dinner.

The farther we proceeded onward the more the channel widened, becoming free from reeds, although occasionally adorned by a floating layer of water-lilies. However, beyond the village of Gurijigge, or Gundigge, the current became so strong that, in order to avoid it, we chose rather to enter the reeds, which broke the force of the water. It is natural that, as this is not a river of itself, fed by its own sources, but merely a backwater caused by the overflow of the great river, the current in general must come from the latter, and proceed inland.

Having kept for some time along the reed-grass of the southern shore in a winding direction, we again emerged into open water, where the poles of our boatmen, which measured about eighteen feet in length, found no bottom, and we kept steadily on, although occasionally quite alarmed by our south-westerly direction, which threatened to carry us rather to Hamda-Alláhi than to Timbúktu, till at length, a few miles on this side of the town of Goilo, we changed our direction to W.N.W., and, passing some floating reed islands, seemed to be in a fair direction to reach the chief object of our journey. But a storm that had been

gathering induced us with the approach of night to moor the boat in a wide grassy creek of the eastern shore, in order to shelter ourselves from the strong wind, which easily upsets this light craft. Four fishing boats were lying not far from us, and with their lights gave us a feeling of society, but the numerous swarms of mosquitoes molested us not a little, and the barking of an animal in the water greatly excited my curiosity. On inquiry, I learned that it proceeded from one of the young alligators, or rather zangway.

These boats have no means of approaching the shallow shore. Hence it is necessary for the passengers, two or three times a day, to wade through deep water backwards and forwards. This, coupled with the great quantity of water continually filling the bottom of these boats, is the reason why all the people who travel along the Niger are subject to rheumatism. The governor of Sáy, as I have already mentioned, in consequence of his voyage up the river to Gágho, had become quite lame.

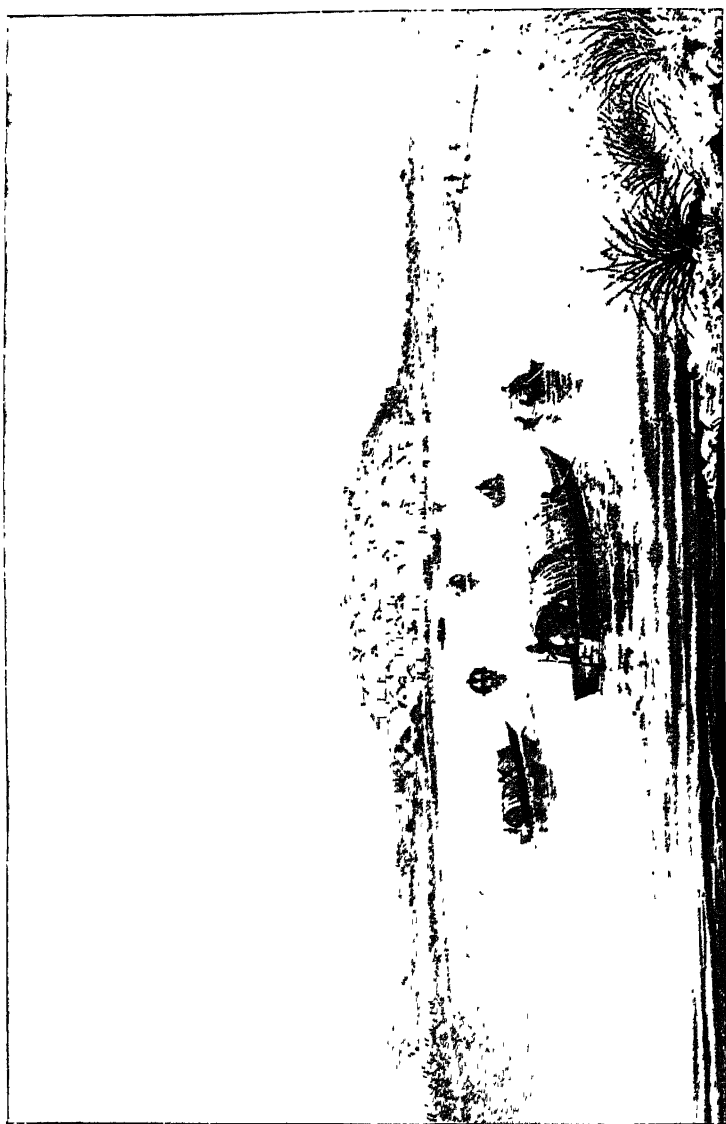
Friday, Sept. 2—It was a quarter to seven o'clock in the morning when we left the sea of reeds in which we had moored our vessel, which, in the absence of an anchor, is done by fixing a pole on each side of the prow, and one at the stern of the boat. We began our day's voyage by slowly gliding along the river, by the strength of a local current, which ran at the rate of about two miles an hour, but soon our boatmen began to make use of their oars, and we advanced with more rapidity. The open channel was here quite close to the eastern shore, the uniform level of which was broken by a hilly eminence covered with fine fields of millet, when we saw upon our left a smaller arm of the considerable channel running from the south-west. This, on inquiry, I found was in connection with that very watercourse which, at a later season, forms the general high road of those people who go from Sarayámo to Timbúktu. Even at this season of the year this branch is preferred by those who come from the north. Having passed this branch we halted a while at the western shore, where, at a short distance inland, there is a small village called Koito, surrounded by fine trees.

After a short delay we set out again on our zigzag voyage, while one of our boatmen, his harpoon in hand, proceeded on a fishing expedition. From a wide open water we soon got into a narrow channel, while the grassy expanse spread out on each side to a great extent, and, making our way with great difficulty, we emerged into a wide open branch, much more considerable than the one along which our course had lain, it being the principal trunk of the westerly watercourse of Sarayámo. As soon as we had entered it, some large specimens of the alligator tribe afforded proofs of a more extensive sheet of water, while the current, which at first was running against us, was so considerable that we advanced rather slowly. The whole breadth of the river or channel, forming one large unbroken sheet of water, was certainly not less than from six hundred to seven hundred yards, while the depth in the midst of the channel, at least as far as I had an opportunity of judging from the poles of our boatmen, measured fourteen feet and a half, and at times

even as much as eighteen, and probably more. The banks were enlivened by men and horses, and we passed an encampment of herdsmen with their cattle. The western shore especially was adorned with a profusion of dùm-palms, besides fine tamarind-trees, sarkakáya, and others of unknown species. Thus repeatedly delayed by shifting sands obstructing the channel of the river, we moved on in a tolerably direct northerly course, till we reached the village of Menesergay, situated on sandy downs about twenty feet high, beyond a deep gulf of the westerly shore. The low grassy ground on the eastern side formed the place of resort for numbers of pelicans, and the lower ground emerging at present only three feet out of the water, was enlivened by numbers of water-birds, which were looking out greedily for their prey.

Here we again changed our course, following a great many windings, but proceeding generally in an easterly direction. But now the water-course began to exhibit more and more the character of a noble river, bordered by strongly marked banks, clad with fine timber, chiefly tamarind and kaña trees, and occasionally enlivened by cattle. Our voyage was very delightful, gliding, as we were, smoothly along the surface of the water, and keeping mostly in the middle of the noble stream, our boatmen only changing their course once to touch at the northern shore, in order to procure for a few shells the luxury of some kola nuts, of which even these poor people were by no means insensible. At length, having passed between the villages of Haibóngu on the northern, and Dára-kaina on the southern, shore, we again exchanged our south-easterly direction for a more northerly one, proceeding along a very broad watercourse, but, after a while, the open water was broken by a broad grassy island, which left only a small channel on the west side, while that on the east was of tolerable width. Meanwhile the evening was approaching, and we met with several delays, once in order to buy some fish, and another time on account of our boatmen having lost their harpoon, with which they occasionally endeavoured to catch some large species of fish which were swimming alongside our boat. They were very dexterous in diving, although it required some time for them to ascertain the spot where the slender instrument had been fixed in the bottom. This harpoon was exactly similar to the double spear used by some divisions of the Batta, one of the tribes of Adamawa, such as the Bágelé, and even by some of the inhabitants of Bórúu.

We had now entered a splendid reach of the river, which, almost free from reeds, extended in an easterly direction, and we glided pleasantly along the smooth water at a short distance from the northern bank, which was thickly clad with trees; till at length, darkness setting in, we struck right across the whole breadth of the river, which now, in the quiet of the evening, spread out its smooth unrippled surface like a beautiful mirror, and which at this place was certainly not less than one thousand yards broad, straight for the evening fires of the village Banáy, which was situated on the opposite bank, and we moored our vessel at the north-easterly bend of the gulf round which the town is situated. Most of our party slept on shore, while others made them-



ΚΑΒΑΡΑ.

selves as comfortable as possible in the boat, and on the top of the matting which formed the cabins.

Here we awoke the next morning with a beautiful clear sky, and quietly enjoyed for a few hours the fine river scenery, bordered by a rich belt of vegetation, while our boatmen endeavoured to replace one of their poles, which they had broken, by a new one, and after some time succeeded in getting one which measured twenty-one feet. The town or village itself is inhabited by Songhay and Fúlbe, the latter being in possession of numerous flocks and herds. The cattle being just collected on the sandy beach near the river, were milked soon after sunrise, and furnished me with a draught of that delicious beverage, which must always constitute one of the greatest luxuries to a European traveller in these countries.

The chief part of the village extended along the bay to the south, at the point where we had moored our boat, but there was a suburb of detached huts, chiefly inhabited by Tuarek, and this part of the shore was beautifully adorned with large trees. When we at length continued our voyage, we observed also a great many dùm-palms, which served to further embellish the country, while kadéña, or tóso, seemed to form the staple produce of the inhabitants, and thickly lined the shores. The scenery was the more interesting, as, besides boys who were playing in the water, a numerous herd of cattle were just swimming across the river, which to animals not accustomed to such a task, would have been rather a difficult undertaking; and, even as it was, the people who accompanied them in boats had some difficulty in inducing them to continue their fatiguing trip when they once began to feel exhausted, especially as they were accompanied by their young calves. However, in these regions along the Niger, with its numerous channels, backwaters, and swamps, man as well as beast must be accustomed to swimming. I took great pains to discover whether there was any current here, but I did not succeed in ascertaining the fact, and altogether, in this network of creeks and backwaters, the current seems to be very uncertain, going in on one side and out on the other, notwithstanding that we were now approaching the trunk of the river, following in general a northerly direction with a slight westerly deviation. The gradually sloping bank was here covered with the dense rich bush called bógina by the Songhay.

But at present these shores, once animated with the bustle of many larger and smaller villages of the native Songhay, were buried in silence and solitude, a turbulent period of almost two hundred years having succeeded to the epoch when the great Songhay king, Mohammed el Háj Áskia, held the whole of these regions under his powerful sway. No less than four dwelling-places along this tract of the river had been destroyed on one and the same day by the father of Galájo, the prince whom we had met on our journey a short distance from Sáy. A solitary antelope, with her young, was the only living being in the present state of desolation that we observed during several hours' navigation, but the banks were occasionally lined with fine trees. Besides the tamarind-tree, a tree called bôgi appeared in great quantities; it bears a yellow

fruit about the size of a pear, having four or five large kernels, and which, on account of its pleasant acid taste, afforded us a very refreshing treat.

Having met with a short delay, in consequence of a thunderstorm which brought us but little rain, we observed the island of Kóra, which lies at the mouth of this channel, and the main river ahead of us, the water increasing in breadth, while one arm branches off round the south-western part of the island, presenting here the appearance of an inland sea. But we had scarcely caught a glimpse of the great river itself, when a second and heavier thunderstorm, which had long been gathering, threatened to break forth, and obliged us to seek shelter in the grassy eastern shore of the main. We had scarcely fastened the boat, when the rain came down in torrents, and lasted with great violence for nearly two hours, so that my berth was entirely swamped, and I remained in a most uncomfortable state during the whole of the night.

Sunday, Sept. 4—The weather having cleared up, we set out at an early hour, following a north-easterly direction through an open water not obstructed by reeds, but soon halted again for prayer near the green bushy shore, while from the opposite side of the island of Kóra, the lowing of cattle, cackling of fowls, and the voices of men were distinctly to be heard, the island being still tolerably well inhabited and the people being said to possess even a good number of horses. It was of considerable interest to me here to fall into the course pursued by that very mentorious French traveller, René Caillié, on his toilsome and dangerous journey through the whole western part of the continent of Africa, from Sierra Leone to Morocco, and it is an agreeable duty for me to confirm the general accuracy of his account. Following close upon the track of the enterprising and intelligent, but unfortunate Major Laing, who had been assassinated two years previously on his desperate journey from Timbúktu, Caillié naturally excited against himself the jealousy of the English, to whom it could not but seem extraordinary that a poor unprotected adventurer like himself should succeed in an enterprise where one of the most courageous and noble-minded officers of their army had succumbed.

Gliding slowly along the channel, which here was about six hundred yards in width, and gradually exchanging the eastern shore for the middle of the stream, we observ'd after a few miles' advance the first river-horses, or banga, that we had as yet seen in the Niger, carrying their heads out of the water like two immense boxes, and rather frightening our boatmen, who did not seem to relish a *tête-à-tête* with these animals, till I sent a ball after them.

Passing then the site of the former town of Gakoirá, near which the people were busy with the labours of the rice-fields, and having again landed on the opposite shore, which was covered with numerous kalgo trees, in order that the lazy boatmen might get their breakfast with comfort and ease, we had to follow a large bend of the river where the town of Danga is situated on the right, beyond a swampy low ground. This is probably the same town so repeatedly mentioned in the interesting records of Bába Ahmed, especially as the residence of the Púlo

chief, Sambo Lámido, who at the period of the ruin of the Songhay empire was the chief instrument in achieving that destruction. We then crossed from here to the other side, and passed the town of Sanyáre on a projecting headland, which at times appears to be changed into an island, and containing, besides a good number of reed huts, even a few clay dwellings. Here our people indulged in the hope of procuring some tobacco, but were sadly disappointed, the natives being too much afraid of their fanatical master, the Shékhó Ahmedu ben Ahmedu.

Having left this village behind us, we entered a fine northerly reach belonging to the branch which was finally to carry us into the great river itself, and left the town of Sanyáre beyond the shallow sandbank, conspicuous on account of a group of majestic tamarind-trees. Here the inhabitants wanted to barter some sour milk for negro corn, which to them, with their ordinary diet of rice, seemed to be a luxury. Having lost some time, we at length had the broad sheet of the Niger before us, and here, at the point of junction, there started forth from the easterly shore a group of solitary trees, which appeared to form the usual nocturnal place of resort for all the water-fowl in the neighbourhood, the trunks as well as the branches of the trees being overlaid with a white crust formed by the droppings of these visitors, which with animated cries were collecting together towards the close of the evening. Having here left the shore, which at present formed a low and bare headland, but which in the course of a month would be entirely under water, we at once entered the middle of that magnificent river the Ísa, or Mayo Balléo, running here from W. 35° S to E. 35° N, which has excited the lively curiosity of Europeans for so many years. It was at this spot about a mile across, and by its magnitude and solemn magnificence in the new moon which was rising in front of us, and with the summer lightning at times breaking through the evening sky, inspired my servants with real awe and almost fright, while we were squatting on the shelving roof of our frail boat, and looking with searching eyes along the immense expanse of the river in a north-easterly direction, where the object of our journey was said to lie.

Whether from the excitement of the day, or from the previous night's wetting, when at length we lay to at the ancient Songhay town of Koiretágo, which had once been a place of importance, but had been almost destroyed by the Fúlbe in conjunction with the Tárkí chief Somkí, I was seized with a severe attack of fever, but in order to take care of my luggage I was unwilling to go on shore, where I might have lain down on a fine sandy beach, choosing rather to remain on board our frail boat.

CHAPTER XX.

ARRIVAL AT KÁBARA.—ENTRANCE INTO TIMBÚKTU.

Monday, Sept. 5.—Thus the day broke which, after so many months' exertion, was to carry me to the harbour of Timbúktu. We started at

a tolerably early hour, crossing the broad sheet of the river, first in a north-easterly, then in an almost northerly direction, till finding ourselves opposite the small hamlet Tásakal, mentioned by Caillié, we began to keep along the windings of the northern bank which, from its low character, presented a very varying appearance, while a creek, separating from the trunk, entered the low ground. The river a month or two later in the season inundates the whole country to a great distance, but the magnificent stream, with the exception of a few fishing-boats, now seemed almost tenantless, the only objects which in the present reduced state of the country animated the scenery being a number of large boats lying at anchor in front of us near the shore of the village Koróme. But the whole character of the river was of the highest interest to me, as it disclosed some new features for which I had not been prepared, for, while the water on which Koróme was situated formed only by far the smaller branch, the chief river, about three quarters of a mile in breadth, took its direction to the south-east, separated from the former by a group of islands called Day, at the headland of which lies the islet of Tárashám *

It was with an anxious feeling that I bade farewell to that noble river as it turned away from us, not being sure whether it would fall to my lot to explore its further course, although it was my firm intention at the time to accomplish this task if possible. Thus we entered the branch of Koróme, keeping along the grass which here grows in the river to a great extent, till we reached the village, consisting of nothing but temporary huts of reed, which, in the course of a few weeks, with the rising of the waters, were to be removed further inland. Notwithstanding its frail character, this poor little village was interesting on account of its wharfs, where a number of boats were repairing. The master of our own craft residing here (for all the boatmen on this river are serfs, or nearly in that condition), we were obliged to halt almost an hour and a half, but in order not to excite the curiosity of the people, I thought it prudent to remain in my boat. But even there I was incommoded with a great number of visitors, who were very anxious to know exactly what sort of person I was. It was here that we heard the unsatisfactory news that El Bakáy, whose name as a just and intelligent chief alone had given me confidence to undertake this journey, was absent at the time in Gúndam, whither he had gone in order to settle a dispute which had arisen between the Tuarek and the Berabish; and as from the very beginning, when I was planning my journey to Timbúktu, I had based the whole confidence of my success upon the noble and trustworthy character which was attributed to the Sheikh El Bakáy by my informants, this piece of information produced a serious effect upon me.

At length we set out again on our interesting voyage, following first a south-easterly, then a north-easterly direction along this branch, which, for the first three miles and a half, retained some importance, being here about two hundred yards wide, when the channel divided a second time, the more considerable branch turning off towards Yélluwa

* "Tárashám" means a house or dwelling.

and Zegália, and other smaller hamlets situated on the islands of Day, while the watercourse which we followed dwindled away to a mere narrow meadow-water, bearing the appearance of an artificial ditch or canal, which, as I now heard, is entirely dry during the dry season, so that it becomes impossible to embark directly at Kábara for places situated higher up or lower down the river. But at that time I had formed the erroneous idea that this canal never became navigable for more than four months in the year, and then concluded that it would have been impossible for Caillié to have reached Kábara in his boat in the month of April. The navigation of this water became so difficult, that all my people were obliged to leave the boat, which, with great difficulty was dragged on by the boatmen, who themselves entered the water and lifted and pushed it along with their hands. But before we reached Kábara, which is situated on the slope of a sandy eminence, the narrow and shallow channel widened to a tolerably large basin of circular shape, and here, in front of the town, seven good-sized boats were lying, giving to the whole place some little life. Later in the season, when the channel becomes navigable for larger boats, the intercourse becomes much more animated. During the palmy days of the Songhay empire, an uninterrupted intercourse took place between Gágho and Timbúktu on the one side, and between Timbúktu and Jenni on the other, and a numerous fleet was always lying here under the orders of an admiral of great power and influence. The basin has such a regular shape, that it looks as if it were artificial; but, nevertheless, it may be the work of nature, as Kábara from the most ancient times has been the harbour of Timbúktu, and at times seems even to have been of greater importance than the latter place itself.

A branch of the river turns off to the east, without however reaching the main trunk, so that in general, except when the whole country is inundated, boats from Kábara which are going down the river must first return in a south-westerly direction towards Koióme, in order to reach the main branch. Even at the present time, however, when this whole region is plunged into an abyss of anarchy and misrule, the scene was not entirely wanting in life, for women were filling their pitchers or washing clothes on large stones jutting out from the water, while a number of idle people had collected on the beach to see who the stranger was that had just arrived.

At length we lay to, and sending two of my people on shore, in order to obtain quarters, I followed them as soon as possible, when I was informed that they had procured a comfortable dwelling for me. The house where I was lodged was a large and grand building (if we take into account the general relations of this country), standing on the very top of the mound on the slope of which the town is situated. It was of an oblong shape, consisting of very massive clay walls, which were even adorned, in a slight degree, with a rude kind of relief, and it included, besides two ante-rooms, an inner courtyard, with a good many smaller chambers, and an upper story. The interior, with its small stores of every kind, and its assortment of sheep, ducks, fowls, and pigeons, in different departments, resembled Noah's ark, and afforded a

cheerful sight of homely comfort which had been preserved here from more ancient and better times, notwithstanding the exactions of Fúlbe and Imoshagh.

Having taken possession of the two ante-rooms for my people and luggage, I endeavoured to make myself as comfortable as possible, while the busy landlady, a tall and stout personage, in the absence of her husband, a wealthy Songhay merchant, endeavoured to make herself agreeable, and offered me the various delicacies of her store for sale, but these were extremely scanty, the chief attraction to us, besides a small bowl of milk seasoned with honey, being some onions, of which I myself was not less in want than my people for seasoning our simple food, but fresh ones were not even to be got here, the article sold being a peculiar preparation which is imported from Sansandi, the onions, which are of very small size, being cut into slices and put in water, then pounded in a wooden mortar, dried again, and, by means of some butter, made up into a sort of round ball, which is sold in small pats of an inch and a half in diameter for five shells each: these are called "lávashi" in Fulfúlde, or "gabú" in the Songhay language. Besides this article, so necessary for seasoning the food, I bought a little bulánga, or vegetable butter, in order to light up the dark room where I had taken up my quarters, but the night which I passed here was a very uncomfortable one, on account of the number of mosquitoes which infest the whole place.

Thus broke September 6th.—a very important day for me, as it was to determine the kind of reception I was to meet with in this quarter. But notwithstanding the uncertainty of my prospects, I felt cheerful and full of confidence, and, as I was now again firmly established on dry soil, I went early in the morning to see my horse, which had successfully crossed all the different branches lying between Kábara and Sarayámo, but I was sorry to find him in a very weak and emaciated condition.

While traversing the village, I was surprised at the many clay buildings which are to be seen here, amounting to between one hundred and fifty and two hundred, however, these are not so much the dwellings of the inhabitants of Kábara themselves, but serve rather as magazines for storing up the merchandise belonging to the people of, and the foreign merchants residing in, Timbúktu and Sansandi. There are two small market-places, one containing about twelve stalls or sheds, where all sorts of articles are sold, the other being used exclusively for meat. Although it was still early in the day, women were already busy boiling rice, which is sold in small portions, or made up into thin cakes boiled with bulánga, and sold for five shells each. Almost all the inhabitants, who may muster about two thousand, are Songhay; but the authorities belong to the tribe of the Fúlbe, whose principal wealth consists of cattle, the only exception being the office of the inspector of the harbour,—a very ancient office, repeatedly mentioned by Ahmed Bába,—which at present is in the hands of Múláy Kásim, a sheriff whose family is said to have emigrated originally from the Ghaib or Morocco, but who has become so Sudánised that he has forgotten all his former

knowledge of Arabic. On account of the cattle being driven to a great distance, I found that milk was very scarce and dear. The inhabitants cultivate a little rice, but have some cotton, besides bámbia, or *Corchorus olitorius*, and melons of various descriptions.

Having returned to my quarters from my walk through the town, I had to distribute several presents to some people whom El Waláti chose to represent as his brothers and friends. Having then given to himself a new, glittering, black robe of Núpe manufacture, a new "háf," and the white bernús which I wore myself, I at length prevailed upon him to set out for the town, in order to obtain protection for me, for as yet I was an outlaw in the country, and any ruffian who suspected my character might have slain me, without scarcely anybody caring anything about it, and circumstances seemed to assume a very unfavourable aspect. For there was a great movement among the Tuarek in the neighbourhood, when it almost seemed as if some news of my real character had transpired. Not long after my two messengers were gone, a Tarki chief, of the name of Knéha, with tall and stately figure, and of noble expressive features, as far as his shawl around the face allowed them to be seen, but, like the whole tribe of the Kél-hekikan to which he belongs, bearing a very bad character as a freebooter, made his appearance, armed with spear and sword, and obtruded himself upon me while I was partaking of my simple dish of rice, notwithstanding which, he took his seat at a short distance opposite to me. Not wishing to invite him to a share in my poor frugal repast by the usual "bismillah," I told him, first in Arabic and then in Fulfúlde, that I was dining, and had no leisure to speak with him at present. Whereupon he took his leave, but returned after a short while, and, in a rather peremptory manner, solicited a present from me, being, as he said, a great chief of the country, but as I was not aware of the extent of his power, and being also afraid that others might imitate his example, I told him that I could not give him anything before I had made due inquiries respecting his real importance from my companion who had just gone to the town. But he was not at all satisfied with my argument; representing himself as a great "dhálem," or evil-doer, and that as such he might do me much harm, till at length, after a very spirited altercation, I got rid of him.

He was scarcely gone, when the whole house was filled with armed men, horse and foot, from Timbúktu, most of them clad in light blue robes, tightly girt round the waist with a shawl, and dressed in short breeches reaching only to the knee, as if they were going to fight, their head being covered with a straw hat of the peculiar shape of a little hut with regular thatchwork, such as is fashionable among the inhabitants of Mása and of the provinces further west. They were armed with spears, besides which some of them wore also a sword: only a few of them had muskets. Entering the house rather abruptly, and squatting down in the ante-chambers and courtyard, just where they could find a place, they stared at me not a little, and began asking of each other who this strange-looking fellow might be, while I was reclining on my two smaller boxes, having my larger ones and my other

luggage behind me. I was rather at a loss to account for their intrusion, until I learned, upon inquiry of my landlady, that they were come in order to protect their cattle from the Tuarek, who at the time were passing through the place, and who had driven away some of their property. The very person whom they dreaded was the chief Knéha, who had just left me, though they could not make out his whereabouts. Having refreshed themselves during the hot hours of the day, these people started off, but the alarm about the cattle continued the whole of the afternoon, and not less than two hundred armed men came into my apartments in the course of an hour.

My messengers not returning at the appointed time from their errand to the town, I had at length retired to rest in the evening, when shortly before midnight they arrived, together with Sidi Alawâte, the Sheikh El Bakáy's brother, and several of his followers, who took up their quarters on the terrace of my house in order to be out of the reach of the mosquitoes; and after they had been regaled with a good supper, which had been provided beforehand by some of the townspeople, I went to pay my respects to them.

It was an important interview, for, although this was not the person for whom my visit was specially intended, and whose favourable or unfavourable disposition would influence the whole success of my arduous undertaking, yet for the present I was entirely in his hands, and all depended upon the manner in which he received me. Now my two messengers had only disclosed to himself personally, that I was a Christian, while at the same time they had laid great stress upon the circumstance that, although a Christian, I was under the special protection of the sultan of Stambúl; and Sidi Alawâte inquired therefore of me, with great earnestness and anxiety, as to the peculiar manner in which I enjoyed the protection of that great Mohammedan sovereign.

Now it was most unfortunate for me that I had no direct letter from that quarter. Even the firmán with which we had been provided by the Bashá of Tripoli had been delivered to the governor for whom it was destined, so that at the time I had nothing with me to show but a firmán which I had used on my journey in Egypt, and which of course had no especial relation to the case in question. The want of such a general letter of protection from the sultan of Constantinople, which I had solicited with so much anxiety to be sent after me, was in the sequel the chief cause of my difficult and dangerous position in Timbúktu; for, furnished with such a letter, it would have been easy to have imposed silence upon my adversaries and enemies there, and especially upon the merchants from Morocco, who were instigated by the most selfish jealousy to raise all sorts of intrigues against me.

Having heard my address with attention, although I was not able to establish every point so clearly as I could have wished, the sheikh's brother promised me protection, and desired me to be without any apprehension with regard to my safety; and thus terminated my first interview with this man, who, on the whole, inspired me with a certain degree of confidence, although I was glad to think that he was not the man upon whom I had to rely for my safety. Having then had a further



TIMBÚKTU, FROM THE TERRACE OF DR. BARTH'S HOUSE.

chat with his telamíd or pupils, with whom I passed for a Mohammedan, I took leave of the party and retired to rest in the close apartments of the lower story of the house.

Wednesday, Sept 7.—After a rather restless night, the day broke when I was at length to enter Timbúktu, but we had a good deal of trouble in performing this last short stage of our journey, deprived as we were of beasts of burden, for the two camels which the people had brought from the town in order to carry my boxes, proved much too weak, and it was only after a long delay that we were able to procure eleven donkeys for the transport of all my luggage. Meanwhile the rumour of a traveller of importance having arrived had spread far and wide, and several inhabitants of the place sent a breakfast both for myself and my protector. Just at the moment when we were at length mounting our horses, it seemed as if the Tárki chief Knéha was to cause me some more trouble, for in the morning he had sent me a vessel of butter in order thus to acquire a fair claim upon my generosity, and coming now for his reward, he was greatly disappointed when he heard that the present had fallen into the hands of other people.

It was ten o'clock when our cavalcade at length put itself in motion, ascending the sandhills which rise close behind the village of Kábára, and which, to my great regret, had prevented my obtaining a view of the town from the top of our terrace. The contrast of this desolate scenery with the character of the fertile banks of the river which I had just left behind was remarkable. The whole tract bore decidedly the character of a desert, although the path was thickly lined on both sides with thorny bushes and stunted trees, which were being cleared away in some places in order to render the path less obstructed and more safe, as the Tuarek never failed to infest it, and at present were particularly dreaded on account of their having killed a few days previously three petty Tawáti traders on their way to Árawán. It is from the unsafe character of this short road between the harbour and the town, that the spot, about halfway between Kábára and Timbúktu, bears the remarkable name of "Ur-immádes," "he does not hear," meaning the place where the cry of the unfortunate victim is not heard from either side.

Having traversed two sunken spots designated by especial names, where, in certain years when the river rises to an unusual height, as happened in the course of the same winter, the water of the inundation enters and occasionally forms even a navigable channel; and leaving on one side the talha tree of the Welí Sáláh, covered with innumerable rags of the superstitious natives, who expect to be generously rewarded by their saint with a new shirt, we approached the town but its dark masses of clay not being illuminated by bright sunshine, for the sky was thickly overcast and the atmosphere filled with sand, were scarcely to be distinguished from the sand and rubbish heaped all round; and there was no opportunity for looking attentively about, as a body of people were coming towards us in order to pay their compliments to the stranger and bid him welcome. This was a very important moment, as, if they had felt the slightest suspicion with regard to my character, they

might easily have prevented my entering the town at all, and thus even endangered my life.

I therefore took the hint of Alawáte, who recommended me to make a start in advance in order to anticipate the salute of these people who had come to meet us; and putting my horse to a gallop, and gun in hand, I galloped up to meet them, when I was received with many saláms. But a circumstance occurred which might have proved fatal, not only to my enterprise, but even to my own personal safety, as there was a man among the group who addressed me in Turkish, which I had almost entirely forgotten; so that I could with difficulty make a suitable answer to his compliment; but avoiding further indiscreet questions, I pushed on in order to get under safe cover.

Having then traversed the rubbish which has accumulated round the ruined clay wall of the town, and left on one side a row of dirty reed huts which encompass the whole of the place, we entered the narrow streets and lanes, or, as the people of Timbúktu say, the *tijerátén*, which scarcely allowed two horses to proceed abreast. But I was not a little surprised at the populous and wealthy character which this quarter of the town, the *Sáne-Gúngu*, exhibited, many of the houses rising to the height of two stories, and in their façade evincing even an attempt at architectural adornment. Thus, taking a more westerly turn, and followed by a numerous troop of people, we passed the house of the Sheikh El Bakáy, where I was desired to fire a pistol; but as I had all my arms loaded with ball I prudently declined to do so, and left it to one of my people to do honour to the house of our host. We thus reached the house on the other side of the street, which was destined for my residence, and I was glad when I found myself safely in my new quarters.

But before describing my residence in this town, I shall make a few general remarks with regard to the history of Songhay and Timbúktu.

CHAPTER XXI.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORY OF SONGHAY AND TIMBÚKTU.

PREVIOUSLY to my journey into the region of the Niger, scarcely any data were known with regard to the history of this wide and important tract, except a few isolated facts, elicited with great intelligence and research by Mr. Cooley* from El Bekri, the history of Ebn Khaldún, the obscure and confused report of Leo about the great Ischia, and the barren statement of the conquest of Timbúktu and Gágho, or Gógo, by Múláy Ahmed el Dhéhebi, as mentioned by some historians of Morocco and Spain. But I myself was so successful as to have an opportunity of perusing a complete history of the kingdom of Songhay, from the very dawn of historical records down to the year 1640 of our era; although, unfortunately, circumstances prevented my bringing back a complete copy of this manuscript, which forms a respectable quarto

* Cooley, *Negroland of the Arabs*.

volume, and I was only able, during the few days that I had this manuscript in my hands during my stay in Gandó, to make short extracts of those passages from its contents which I thought of the highest interest in an historical and geographical point of view.

These annals, according to the universal statement of the learned people of Negroland, were written by a distinguished person of the name of Ahmed Babá, although in the work itself that individual is only spoken of in the third person, and it would seem that additions had been made to the book by another hand, but on this point I cannot speak with certainty, as I had not sufficient time to read over the latter portion of the work with the necessary attention and care. As for Ahmed Babá, we know from other interesting documents which have lately come to light,* that he was a man of great learning, considering the country in which he was born, having composed a good many books or essays, and instructed a considerable number of pupils. Moreover, we learn that he was a man of the highest respectability, so that even after he had been carried away prisoner by the victorious army of Múláy Ahmed el Dhéhebi, his very enemies treated him with the greatest respect, and the inhabitants of Morocco, in general, regarded him with the highest veneration †

This character of the author would alone be sufficient to guarantee the trustworthiness of his history, as far as he was able to go back into the past with any degree of accuracy, from the oral traditions of the people, or from written documents of an older period. for that the beginning of his annals, like that of every other nation, should be enveloped in a certain degree of mystery and uncertainty is very natural, and our author himself is prudent enough to pass over the earlier part in the most rapid and cursory manner, only mentioning the mere name of each king, except that he states the prominent facts with regard to the founder of each dynasty. Nay, even what he says of the founder of the dynasty of the Zâ, allowance being made for the absurd interpretation of names, which is usual with Arabs and Orientals in general, and also the particulars which he gives with regard to Kilun, or Kilnu, founder of the dynasty of the Soum, ‡ is very characteristic, and certainly true in the main. For there is no doubt that the founder of the first dynasty immigrated from a foreign country,—a circumstance which is confirmed by other accounts,—and nothing is more probable than that he abolished the most striking features of pagan superstition, namely, the worship of a peculiar kind of fish, which was probably the famous ayú, or *Manatus*, of which I have spoken on a former occasion, and of whose habitat in the waters of the Niger I shall say more further on, while 'Alí Killan succeeded in usurping the royal power by liberating

* *Revue Africaine*, vol. i, p. 287, "Conquête du Soudan par les Marocains," par le Baron Macguckin de Slane. *Journal Asiatique*, 1855, "Littérature du Soudan," par M. le Professor Cherbonneau.

† This character is most strikingly indicated in those very remarks which M. le Baron de Slane has published in the notice (see preceding note) which was intended to depreciate the merit of Ahmed Babá as a historian.

‡ According to Leo, this dynasty emigrated from Lybia.

his country from the sovereignty of the kings of Melle, who had conquered Songhay about the middle of the fourteenth century. Nor can there be any doubt of the truth of the statement that Zâ-Kasî, the fifteenth king of the dynasty of the Zâ, about the year 400 of the Hejra, or in the beginning of the eleventh century of our era, embraced Islâm, and was the first Mohammedan king of Songhay. No man who studies impartially those very extracts which I have been able to makè from the manuscript, in great haste and under the most unfavourable circumstances, and which were translated and published in the *Journal of the Leipzig Oriental Society*, vol ix, p 518, by Mr. Ralfs, can deny that they contain a vast amount of valuable information. But the knowledge which Europeans possessed of those countries, before my discoveries, was so limited, as to render the greater part of the contents of my extracts, which are intimately related to localities formerly entirely unknown, or in connection with historical facts not better ascertained, difficult of comprehension. But with the light now shed by my journey and my researches over these regions and their inhabitants, I have no hesitation in asserting that the work of Ahmed Bâbâ will be one of the most important additions which the present age has made to the history of mankind, in a branch which was formerly almost unknown.

Ahmed Bâbâ, however, limits himself to the records of the political relations of Songhay, and does not enter into any ethnological questions, leaving us entirely in the dark as to the original seats of the tribe, for while in general, on the banks of the Niger, the towns of Tindirma and Dire are supposed to be the original seats of the Songhay, Ahmed Bâbâ apparently restricts the limits of the ancient Songhay to the eastern quarter around Kûkiya, stating distinctly that the town of Timbûktu was not under the authority of any foreign king before it became subjected to the dominion of Kunkur-Mûsa, the celebrated king of Melle. Yet from this statement we cannot conclude with absolute certainty that the banks of the great river to the south-west of that town were not comprised in the kingdom of Songhay before that period, for Timbûktu, lying on the north side of the river, and being founded by the Tuarek or Imóshagh, was an independent place by itself, and in the beginning not closely connected with the history of the surrounding region. It might easily have happened, therefore, that the Songhay language was not at all spoken in Timbûktu at a former period, without any conclusion being drawn from this circumstance respecting the country to the south and south-west of the river. But although, according to Ahmed Bâbâ's account, the foundation of the place was entirely due to the Imóshagh, it is probable that, from the very beginning, a portion of the inhabitants of the town belonged to the Songhay nation;* and I rather suppose, therefore, that the original

* "The palace which was erected in Timbuktu was called 'mâduk,' or 'mâdugu.' This is evidently a Mandingo word, meaning 'the house of the king;' but it was certainly called so in the language of the conquerors, and not in that of the natives, and Ahmed Bâbâ understands the former when he says that the building was called by this name in *their* language."—*Journal of Leipzig Oriental Society*, ix., p. 525.

form of the name was the Songhay form *Túmbutu*, from whence the *Imóshagh* made *Tumbýtku*, which was afterwards changed by the Arabs into *Tumbuktu*.*

But the series of chronological facts which we learn from *Áhmed Bábá*, or from other sources, I shall give in a tabular form in the Appendix. Here I will only draw the reader's attention to a few of the most striking facts, and make some general remarks on the character of that history.

It is very remarkable, that while Islám in the two larger westerly kingdoms which flourished previously to that of Songhay,—I mean *Ghána*, or *Ghánata*, and *Melle*,—had evidently emanated from the north, and especially from *Sijilméssa*, Songhay appears to have been civilised from the other side, namely, from Egypt, the intimate relation with which is proved by many interesting circumstances, although, in a political respect, it could only adopt the same forms of government which had been developed already in *Ghána* and *Melle*; nay, we shall find even some of the same titles. With respect to *Ghána*, we learn from *Áhmed Bábá* the very interesting fact that twenty kings were supposed to have ruled over that kingdom at the time when Mohammed spread the new creed which was to agitate and to remodel half of the globe.

The kingdom of Songhay, even after '*Alí Killun* had made it independent of *Melle*, could not fail to remain rather weak and insignificant, as even *Timbúktu*, and probably a great portion of the country to the east of that town, was not comprised in its limits. nay, it even appears that the kingdom was still, at times, dependent in a certain degree upon *Melle*, the great kingdom on the upper course of the Niger; and it was not until almost one hundred and fifty years after the time of '*Alí Killun* that the powerful king *Sonni 'Alí*, the *Sonni Héli* of *Leo Africanus*, conquered *Timbúktu*, wresting it, with immense slaughter, A.H. 894, A.D. 1488, from the hands of the *Tuarek*, who had themselves conquered it from *Melle*. This king, although he is represented by all the learned men of *Negroland* as a very cruel and sanguinary prince, was no doubt a great conqueror; for although it was he who, in taking possession of this town, inflicted upon the inhabitants a most severe punishment, surpassing even the horrors which had accompanied the taking of the town by the king of *Mósi*, nevertheless it was he also who gave the first impulse to the great importance which *Timbúktu* henceforth obtained, by conquering the central seat of the old empire of *Ghánata*, and thus inducing the rich merchants from the north, who had formerly been trading with *Bíru* or *Waláta*, and who had even occasionally

* The *u* sound in the first syllable of the name is the only original one, not only in the Songhay, but also in the Arabic form; but it has gradually been changed into an *i*, and almost all the Arabs at the present time pronounce and write *Tmbuktu*. The town was probably so called because it was built originally in a hollow or cavity in the sandhills. *Túmbutu* means hole or womb in the Songhay language: if it were a *Temáshight* word, it would be written *Tmbuktu*. The name is generally interpreted by Europeans, *well of Buktu*, but *tim* has nothing to do with *well*.

resided there, to transfer their trade to Timbúktu and Gágbo. It is the same king, no doubt, that attracted the attention of the Portuguese, who, in the reigns of João and Emmanuel, sent several embassies into the interior, not only to Melle,* which at that time had already greatly declined in power and importance, but also to Timbúktu, where Sonni 'Alí seems to have principally resided, and it was perhaps partly on account of the relations which he entertained with the Christian king (to whom he even opened a trading station as far inland as Wadán or Hóden), besides his cruelty against the chiefs of religion, that the Mohammedans were less satisfied with his government; for there is no doubt that he was not a strict Mohammedan.

It was Háj Mohammed Áskia who founded the new homonymous dynasty of the Áskia, by rising against his liege lord, the son of Sonni 'Alí, and, after a desperate struggle, usurping the royal power, and, notwithstanding the glorious career of that great conqueror, we may fancy we can see in the unfortunate circumstances of the latter part of the reign of that king, a sort of Divine punishment for the example which he had given of revolt.

We have seen that the dynasty of the Zá, of which that of the Sonni seems to have been a mere continuation, immigrated from abroad, and it is a circumstance of the highest interest to see king Mohammed Áskia,—perhaps the greatest sovereign that ever ruled over Negroland,—who was a native of this very country, born in the island of Néní, a little below Síder, in the Niger, setting us an example of the highest degree of development of which negroes are capable. For, while Sonni 'Alí, like his forefathers, still belonged to that family of foreign settlers who either came from Yemen, according to the current tradition, or as is more credible, immigrated from Libya, as Leo states, the dynasty of the Áskia was entirely of native descent; and it is the more remarkable, if we consider that this king was held in the highest esteem and veneration by the most learned and rigid Mohammedans, while Sonni 'Alí had rendered himself so odious that people did not know how to give full vent to their indignation in heaping the most opprobrious epithets upon him.

It is of no small interest to a person who endeavours to take a comprehensive view of the various races of mankind, to observe how, during the time when the Portuguese, carried away by the most heroic enterprise and the most praiseworthy energy, having gradually discovered and partly taken possession of the whole western coast of Africa, and having at length doubled its southernmost promontory, under the guidance of Almeida and Albuquerque, founded their Indian empire, that at this same time a negro king in the interior of the continent not only extended his conquests far and wide, from the centre of Háusa almost to the borders of the Atlantic, and from the pagan country of Mósi, in 12° northern latitude, as far as Tawát to the south of Morocco,

* It is remarkable that, in a map published at Strasburg in the year 1513, the kingdom of Melle appears under the name of Regnum Musa Melle de Ginoria. Atlas of Santarem, pl. No. 13.

but also governed the subjected tribes with justice and equity, causing well-being and comfort to spring up everywhere within the borders of his extensive dominions,* and introducing such of the institutions of Mohammedan civilisation as he considered might be useful to his subjects. It is only to be lamented that, as is generally the case in historical records, while we are tolerably well informed as to the warlike proceedings of this king, it is merely from circumstances which occasionally transpire and are slightly touched upon, that we can draw conclusions as to the interior condition of his empire, and on this point I will make a few observations, before I proceed to the causes which rendered the foundation of this empire so unstable.

In a former part of my researches I have entered into the history and the polity of the empire of Bôrnú, and it is interesting to compare with the latter that of the Songhay empire, which attained the zenith of its power just at the time when Bôrnú likewise, having recovered, in consequence of the energy and warlike spirit of the king 'Alí Ghajidéni, from the wounds inflicted upon it by the loss of Kanem, the desperate struggle with the tribe of the Soy, and a series of civil wars, attained its most glorious period during the reign of the two Edris, in the course of the sixteenth century of our era.

In instituting such a comparison between these two extensive kingdoms of Negroland, we soon discover that the Songhay empire, although likewise stated to be founded by a Libyan dynasty, was far more despotic than its eastern rival, and it is in vain that we here look either for a divan of twelve great officers, forming a powerful and highly influential aristocracy, or that eclectic form of choosing a successor, both of which we find in Bôrnú; nay, not even the office of a vizier meets our eye, as we peruse the tolerably rich annals of Ahmed Bábá. We find, no doubt, powerful officers also in the Songhay empire, as must naturally be the case in a large kingdom, but these appear to have been merely governors of provinces, whom the king installed or deposed at his pleasure, and who exercised no influence upon the internal affairs of the kingdom, except when it was plunged into civil war.

These governors bore generally the title of "farma," or "feréng," a title which is evidently of Mandingo origin, and was traditionally

* It is not to be wondered at that Leo, who visited Negroland just at the time when this prince was aspiring to power, and who must have written the greater part of what he relates of him and his conquests from information which he had received after he had left the country, should treat this usurper, whose identity with his Ischia cannot be doubtful, with very little indulgence, and it even seems as if he purposely intended to give a bad interpretation to everything which the king undertook, a fact which is clearly evident from what he relates with regard to his proceedings in Hausa. That the taxes imposed by him upon his subjects may have been heavy, I concede may be true, as without a considerable revenue he was not able to keep up a strong military force; but at least they evidently must have been much less than they were in the time of Sonni 'Alí, when almost the whole population was engaged in war. We find a very heavy duty upon salt, from each load 5*l*.

derived from the institutions of the kingdom of Melle, while the native Songhay title of "koy" appears to be used only in order to denote officers of certain provinces, which originally were more intimately related to Songhay; and in this respect it is a remarkable fact, that the governor of Timbúktu or Tumbutu, is constantly called Tumbutu koy, and is only once called Tumbutu-mangha*. Besides this province, those which we find mentioned in the report of Ahmed Bába are the following, going from east to west —Dendi, or as it is now generally called Déndina, the country between Kebbi and Sáy,† which I have described in the account of my own journey, and which seems to have contained a Songhay population from tolerably ancient times, at least before the beginning of the sixteenth century, but we find none of the three divisions of this important province specified, not even Kenga or Zágha. This is to be regretted, as they appear to have been of ancient origin, and as their history, especially that of Zágha, which seems to have derived its name from the more celebrated town of the same name on the upper course of the river, would be highly interesting.

The country from hence towards the capital we never find comprised by Ahmed Bába under a general name, nor do we meet with the names of Zabérma or Zúrma, which I therefore conclude to be of more recent origin, although that country, at present so named, was evidently comprised in the kingdom of Songhay. West of Gágho, on the banks of the river, we next find the province of Banku or Bengu,‡ which evidently comprised that part of the river which is studded with islands, as we find the inspector of the harbour of Kabara taking refuge in the district of Banku, with the whole of his fleet, after the capture of the town by the people of Morocco. Passing then by the province of Bantal, the limits of which I have not been able to make out, we come to the province of Bel or Bal, which evidently comprised the country on the north side of the river round about Timbúktu, and, perhaps, some distance westwards; but without including that town itself, which had a governor of its own, nor even the harbour of Kábara, which at that time was of sufficient importance to be placed under the inspection of a special officer, or "farma," who, however, seems to have been subjected in a certain degree to the inspection of the Bal-má, or the governor of Bal, who was able to call him to account §. The governor of the province of Bal, who bore the peculiar title of "Bal-má," a word likewise of Mandingo origin, má corresponding to the Songhay word "koy," seems to have been of great importance in a military respect, while in a moral point of view the governor of the town of Timbúktu enjoyed perhaps

* *Journal of the Leipzig Oriental Society*, vol. ix, p. 554. If there be no mistake, there was a "koy" as well as a "farma" in some of the provinces, such as Bára.

† A governor of the town of Sáy is perhaps indicated under the title of Sáy-weh. *Ibid.*, p. 550.

‡ That Banku lay between Timbúktu and Ghágo is evident from the fact, that the governor of that province fled to Gágho, when Mohammed Sadik, the governor of Bel, or Bal, marched upon the capital of the empire.

§ See the account in the *Journal of the Leipzig Oriental Society*, p. 545.

greater authority, and the office of the Túmbutu-koy seems always to have been filled by a learned man or *fakih*, proving that this town was regarded at that time as the seat of learning, and that the *fakih* who governed the town of Tímúktu possessed great power is evident from the fact, that Áhmed Bába mentions it as a proof of great neglect on the part of Al Hádi the governor of Tíndirma, that he did not go in person to the *kádhí* to pay him his compliments

Proceeding then westward from Bal and Tímúktu, we come to the very important province of Kúrmina, with the capital Tíndirma, which very often served as a residence for the king himself, and became the chosen seat of Áskia Dáúd. The importance of the province of Kúrmina seems to have been based, not merely upon its military strength and populousness, but upon the circumstance of its having to supply Songhay Proper, together with its two large towns of Gágho and Kúkia, with grain; and it is evidently on this account that the governor of that province is on one occasion called the store-keeper and provider of the king*. South-west from the province of Kúrmina, there were two provinces, Dirma† and Bara, the exact boundaries of which it is difficult to determine, except that we know that Bara must have lain rather along the south-easterly branch of the river; while Dirma, having probably derived this name from the town of Dire, is most likely to be sought for on the north-westerly branch, although Caillié places Dírman, as he calls it, south of the river. The province or district of Sháá‡ may probably be identical with the district round the important town of Sâ, situated a short distance to the north-east of the lake Debu. Proceeding further in the same direction, we have the province of Másina, a name which, under the form of Másín, is mentioned as early as the latter part of the eleventh century by El Bekrí, but the limits of which it is very difficult to define, although it is clear that its central part comprises the island formed by the different branches of the river, the Máyo balléo and the Máyo ghannéo, or dhannéo, and probably comprised in former times the ancient and most important town of Zágħa the chief seat of Tekrúr, which Háj Mohammed Áskia had conquered in the beginning of his reign. It is peculiar, however, and probably serves to show the preponderance of the element of the Fúlbe in Másina, where they seem to have established themselves from very ancient times, that the governor of this province bore the title of Másina-mangħa, instead of Másina-farma.

To the north-west of Másina, we have the province of Bághena, which comprised the central portion of the ancient kingdom of Ghána, or Ghánata, and the important town of Bíru, or Waláta, which, before Tímúktu rose to greater importance, that is to say, before the time of

* *Journal of the Leipzig Oriental Society*, p. 514 — "Then he made Kishya feréng of Kúrmina, and gave him the office of *mezra*"

† It is not improbable that Dirma was originally the name or the title of the governor of Dire, as Balmá was that of the governor of Bal, and that it was in after times conferred upon the province of which he was the ruler. Caillié, vol. II, p. 29

‡ *Journal of the Leipzig Oriental Society*, p. 544.

Sonni 'Ali, was the great centre of commerce in this part of Negroland. The province of Bâghena was also of considerable importance on account of its situation, bordering, as it did, closely upon the central parts of the empire of Melle, which, at this time, formed almost the only portion that remained of that vast empire, and which was nearly overwhelmed by the Songhay in the course of the sixteenth century. Even the Imôshagh or Tuarek became tributaries.

South of the river two other provinces are mentioned by Ahmed Bâbâ, namely, the province of Hómbori, which from the nature of the country was also called Tondi, or El Hajri, and Burgu, or rather Barba, though the latter country was apparently never entirely subjected.

The governors of these provinces were certainly possessed of considerable power, and belonging, as they did in general, to the royal family, exercised a very prejudicial influence upon the destinies of the empire, as at the same time the central government became weak and debilitated. The governor of Kúrmina, especially, conscious of the important influence and the rich character of his province, was very prone to mutiny and revolt. For as it was certainly a great advance in the scale of civilisation, that it was not customary amongst the Songhay to murder the younger brothers of the newly elected king, or to render them incapable of aspiring to the royal dignity by depriving them of their sight (as is still the custom in Wádây), or in some other manner disabling them; so, on the other hand, it was no doubt very prejudicial to the stability of the empire, that so many royal princes were constantly installed as governors of powerful provinces, some of them situated at a great distance from the capital. Such a government could only prosper under the rule of a powerful king, such as Mohammed el Háj Askia was during his most vigorous period.

On the other hand, we find that the government of Songhay was far more despotic than that of Bórnu, where, as I have had occasion to relate, the election of a new king from among the royal princes was placed in the hands of three electors, themselves chosen from the most trustworthy men of the country; while the kings of Songhay appear originally to have designated their own successor among the royal princes, there being even an established dignity of something like an heir-apparent or crown-prince, with the title of "feréng-mangha : " * but this principle, as is naturally the case in barbaric states without any written constitution, was only observed as long as the king exercised paramount authority, while we see in other cases the army, or even a

* The exact meaning of the title "feréng-mangha," and the authority with which it was invested, are not quite clear; for although there is little doubt that "feréng-mangha" signifies "great prince," it is remarkable that on various occasions we find two "feréng-mangha" instead of one; and it is stated of Mohammed Bar Askia, that he expressly designated two (J. O. S., p. 545). Moreover, we find that neither of these two was taken into account in appointing a successor (ib., p. 546). But another passage (ib., p. 552) is not less clear, stating plainly that, the feréng-mangha having fallen in battle, the Askia named another prince as his successor, implying clearly the identity of the title "feréng-mangha" with that of heir-apparent.

powerful governor, choosing a successor, as that of Dendi, who deposed Mohammed Bankorí, and installed in his place Áskia Ismáíl.

As I stated before, we do not even find in Songhay a regular vizier, but we find a sort of treasurer in the person of the "khatíb," that is to say the imám who preaches before the congregation every Friday. Thus we find the great Háj Mohammed Áskia taking the whole of the money which he thought necessary for his royal pilgrimage, viz 300,000 mithkáls, out of the royal treasury, which was in the hands of the khatíb 'Omár, * but we even find, in another passage, the same khatíb authorised to liberate a princely prisoner; and, from a third passage,† it is quite evident that the khatíb in Gágho exercised the same authority as the kádhi in Timbúktu, although we find a kádhi besides him in the capital.

There appears to have been an established state prison in Songhay, namely, in a place called Kantú, the exact situation of which, however, I have not yet been able to ascertain. This prison could not fail to become of great importance as the dissensions and feuds in the royal family increased, and there appears to be no doubt that at times it was quite full of royal prisoners, and in this respect, as well as on account of the various assassinations which occurred there, fully corresponded with the character of the Tower in the middle ages. There is no doubt that polygamy, with its consequent intrigues in the harim, was the chief cause of the speedy decline of the Songhay empire from the high position it had attained under the rule of Sonni 'Alí and Háj Mohammed Áskia. The large number of ambitious children that Áskia Dáúd, the most peaceful of the Songhay rulers, left behind him, seems especially to have contributed in a great measure to this speedy decline; but the example had been set by that ruler himself, who, having no other claims to the royal dignity than his talent and energy, revolted against his hege lord, whom he conquered and supplanted, but had himself to endure the misfortune of being persecuted, and finally dethroned in his old age, by his own son Músa.

On the subject of the manners and customs and the state of society in Songhay during its period of power, we find but little in the short extracts which I was able to make from the history of Áhmed Bába, still a few hints as to some remarkable usages are to be gleaned from them. Islám, as we have seen, had been adopted by the royal family at the beginning of the eleventh century of our era, but we learn from the eminent Andalusian geographer El Bekrí, who finished his work on Africa in the year 1067, that while the king was a Moslim by law, receiving at his accession to the throne, as emblems of his authority, a sword, ring, and a copy of the Kuán, which were said to have been sent by an Emír el Múmenín (from Egypt), the greater part of the inhabitants even of the capital, at that time, were still addicted to paganism; and we may fairly conclude from the description of Leo Africanus, and from what we observe in Negroland at the present day, that even during the time of the Áskias, the greater part of the natives

* *Journal of the Leipzig Oriental Society*, p 533.

† *Ibid.*, p. 555.

of the country were idolaters, at least in heart and superstitious usages. However it would seem as if they had received, in more ancient times, several institutions from the Egyptians, with whom, I have no doubt, they maintained an intercourse, by means of the energetic inhabitants of Agula, from a relatively ancient period; and among these institutions I feel justified in reckoning the great care which the Songhay bestowed upon their dead. We see that even those among their kings who died in the very remotest part of the empire were transported with the greatest trouble to the capital, in order to be buried there with due ceremony. For instance, Sonni 'Alí had died in Gurma, but his sons, who accompanied him on the expedition, took out his entrails, and filled his inside with honey, in order that it might be preserved from putrefaction. The remains of Áskia Dáúd were transported all the way from Tindirma to Gágbo in a boat. Even in the case of the slaughter of distinguished enemies, we find strict orders given to perform towards them the ceremonies usual with the dead.

The attention thus bestowed upon the dead seems not to have been in consequence of the introduction of Islám, but appears rather to have been traditionally handed down from the remotest antiquity. Nevertheless, it is clear that the adoption of Islám exercised considerable influence upon the civilisation of these people, and we even find a Medreseh mentioned in Gágbo, an establishment the institution of which we have probably to assign to El Háj Mohammed, who, while on his pilgrimage to Mekka, solicited the advice of the most learned men in Egypt, and especially that of the sheikh Jelál e' dín e' Soyúti, as to the best method of propagating the Mohammedan religion in his own country.

The influence of learning and study, even in the royal family, is apparent enough from the example of the pretender Mohammed Bánkori, who, when on his march to Gágbo, ready to fight the king El Haj Áskia, was induced by the kádhi of Timbúktu, whom he by chance visited, to give up his ambitious designs for a quiet course of study, to the great astonishment and disappointment of his army, who expected to be led by him, in a bloody contest, to power and wealth. Ahmed Bábá himself, the author of the history of Songhay, who gives a long list of learned natives of Negroland, may serve as a fair specimen of the learning in Timbúktu at that time. He had a library of 1,600 books.

A great deal of commerce was carried on in Songhay during the dominion of the Áskías, especially in the towns of Gágbo and Kúkiya; the latter being, as it appears, the especial market for gold as early as the latter half of the eleventh century. Salt, too, was the staple commodity, while shells already at that time constituted the general currency of the market; not, however, the same kind of shells that are used at present, but a different sort which were introduced from Persia; and there is no doubt that, even at that time, almost all the luxuries of the Arabs found their way into this part of Negroland. That Timbúktu also, since the decline of Biru or Waláta, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, formed an important place for foreign commerce, is

evident from the fact that the merchants of Ghadámes, even at the taking of the town by the Bashá Jódar, inhabited the same quarter as at the present day.

We also see, from Leo's account,* that the king of Songhay was obliged to spend a great proportion of his revenue in the purchase of horses from Barbary, by means of which he improved the native breed, as we have seen was the case in Bórnu, cavalry constituting the principal military strength of countries in the state of civilisation which prevails in Negroland. We also find coats of mail mentioned, as well as brass helmets, but no allusion is made to even a single musketeer, nor is the use of any firearms intimated by Áhmed Bába, although he distinctly describes several engagements, and even single combats. It was this circumstance which secured to the small army sent by the Emperor of Morocco, a superiority which could not be contested by any numbers which the last Áskia, ruling over a kingdom of vast extent but undermined by intrigues and civil war, was able to oppose to it, and we must not conclude, from this circumstance, that an army of 4,000 men was a great thing at that time in point of numbers, for the kings of Negroland, at least those of Songhay and Bórnu, at that period, were able to raise greater armies than any of the present kings of those regions could bring together, and we hear of an army of 140,000 men.

The circumstance of the kings of Songhay not having procured at that time—the end of the sixteenth century of our era—even the smallest number of firearms, is remarkable, if we compare with it the fact which I have dwelt upon in its proper place, that Edris Álawóma, the king of Bórnu who ruled in the latter part of the sixteenth century, possessed a considerable number of muskets. The cannon which was found among the Songhay when they were conquered by the Moroccans had, I have no doubt, formed part of the present which the Portuguese had forwarded to Áskia Músa, as we shall further see in detail in the chronological tables, but the fact of the enemy having found this piece of ordnance among the spoil of the capital, and not in the thick of the battle, sufficiently proves that the Songhay did not know how to use it. As for the matchlocks, which even at the present day are preserved in Gágho, and of which, by some accident, I did not obtain a sight, they belonged originally to the very conquerors from Morocco, who afterwards, as Rumá, formed a stationary garrison, and even a certain aristocratic body, in all the chief towns of the kingdom.

Side by side with a certain degree of civilisation, no doubt, many barbarous customs were retained, such as the use of the lash, which in other parts of Negroland we find rarely employed, except in the case of slaves, but which, in Songhay, we see made use of constantly, even in the case of persons of the highest rank; and instances occur, as in that of the instigator of the revolt of El Hádi, under the king El Háj, of persons being flogged to death.†

It is certainly a memorable fact, of which people in Europe had scarcely any idea, that a ruler of Morocco, at the time when Spain

* Leo Africanus, l. vii, c. 3.

† *Journal of the Liverpool Oriental Society*, p. 543.

had attained its highest degree of power under Philip II., and was filled with precious metals, should open an access to an extensive and rich country, from whence to procure himself an unlimited supply of gold, to the surprise of all the potentates of Europe. It is, moreover, a very remarkable circumstance, that the soldiery by means of which Múláy Hámed subdued that far-distant kingdom, and who were left as a garrison in the conquered towns, intermarrying with the females of the country, in the same way as the Portuguese did in India, managed to rule those extensive regions by themselves, even long after they had ceased to acknowledge the supremacy of the Emperor of Morocco, whose soldiers these Rumá originally had been, Rumá or Ermá being the plural form of Rámi, "shooter" or "sharpshooter;" and although they appear never to have formed a compact body ruled by a single individual, but rather a number of small aristocratic communities, the Rumá in Timbúktu having scarcely any connection with those in Bághena, nay, probably not even with those in Bamba and Gágho, yet superior discipline enabled them to keep their place. The nationality of these Rumá puzzled me a long time, while I was collecting information on these regions in the countries farther eastward; and they have lately attracted the attention of the French traveller Raffenet,* during his journey to Kaárta, when he learnt so much about a people, whom he calls "Arama," that he supposed them to be a distinct tribe, although the vocabulary which he collected of their idiom, shows it to be nothing but a slight variety of the Songhay language. However, it is clear, that under such circumstances the dominion exercised by this set of half-castes could not but be of a very precarious character; and after a protracted struggle with the smaller tribes around, they have been entirely crushed by the Tuarek, and in most of the towns of Songhay form at present an integral part of the degraded native population, although they have preserved their name of Rumá, or, as the name is generally pronounced, Rummá, and still claim a sort of moral ascendancy.

It will be seen from the preceding sketch that Timbúktu has rather unjustly figured in Europe as the centre and the capital of a great Negro empire, while it never acted more than a secondary part, at least in earlier times; and this character evidently appears from the narrative of Ebn Batúta's journey, in the middle of the fourteenth century. But on account of Timbúktu becoming the seat of Mohammedan learning and Mohammedan worship, and owing to the noble character of its buildings, well deserving to rank as a city or "medína," a title which the capital itself perhaps never deserved, it always enjoyed great respect, even during the flourishing period of the latter; and after Gágho or Gógó had relapsed into insignificance, in consequence of the conquest by the Rumá at the end of the sixteenth century, Timbúktu, on account of its greater proximity to Morocco, became the more important place, where gradually the little commerce which still remained in that distracted region of the Niger was concentrated. But, nevertheless,

* See Raffenet, *Nouveau Voyage dans le pays des Nègres* (made in 1847), Paris, 1856, vol. ii., p. 349 *et seq.*; the Vocabulary, *ibid.* p. 399, *et seq.*

during the age of anarchy which succeeded to the conquest of the country by the Rumá, and owing to the oppression from the Tuarek tribes on the one side, and the Bámbara and Fúlbe on the other, the state of affairs could not be very settled, and the town, shaken as it was to its very base by that fearful struggle of the inhabitants with the Kádhi Mústapha, with massacre, rapine, and conflagration following in its train, could not but decline greatly from its former splendour; yet under the alternately predominating influence of paganism, represented most strongly by the warlike tribe of the Bámbara, and of Mohammedanism, represented by the Arab tribes,* it struggled on, till in consequence of its being conquered by the Fúlbe of Masina, in the year 1826, a few months before the unfortunate Major Laing succeeded in reaching the town, it was threatened with the loss of all its commerce. For these people, owing to the impulse given to Mohammedanism in this part of Negroland by their countryman 'Othmán dan Fódíye,† had become far more fanatical champions of the faith than the Arabs and Moors, and treating the inhabitants of the newly conquered city, as well as the foreigners who used to visit it, with extreme rigour, according to the prejudices which they had imbibed, they could not fail to ruin almost the whole commercial activity of the place. Their oppression was not confined to the pagan traders, the Wangaráwa, who carry on almost the whole commerce with the countries south of the Niger, but extended even to the Mohammedan merchants from the north, especially the traders from Tawát and Ghadámes, against whom the Morocco merchants, instigated by a feeling of petty rivalry, succeeded in directing their rancour. It was in consequence of this oppression, especially after a further increase of the Fúlbe party in the year 1831, that the Ghadámsíye people induced the Sheikh el Mukhtár, the elder brother of El Bakáy, and successor of Sidi Mohammed, to remove his residence from the hille, or hillet e' sheikh el Mukhtár, in Azawád, half a day's journey from the well Bel Mehán to Timbúktu. Thus we find in this distracted place a third power stepping in between the Fúlbe on the one side and the Tuarek on the other, and using the power of the latter as far as their want of centralisation allowed, against the overbearing character of the former. In consequence of this continued collision, the Tuarek drove the Fúlbe completely out of the town, about the year 1844, when a battle was fought on the banks of the river, in which a great number of the latter were either slain or drowned. But the victory of the Tuarek was of no avail, and only plunged the distracted town into greater misery, for, owing to its peculiar situation on the border of a desert tract, Timbúktu cannot rely upon its own resources, but must always be dependent upon those who rule the more fertile

* This condition of the town explains the great divergence of reports as to the creed prevalent in Timbúktu; but it is unintelligible that a person could actually visit the town without becoming aware that it contained several mosques, and very large ones, too, for such a place.

† See what I have said about the Sheikh Ahmedu, or rather Mohammed Lebbo, the founder of the kingdom of Hamda-Alláhi, having brought from Gando the religious banner under which he conquered Másina

tracts higher up the river; and the ruler of Māsina had only to forbid the exportation of corn from his dominions to reduce the inhabitants of Timbúktu to the utmost distress. A compromise was therefore agreed to in the year 1846, through the mediation of the Sheikh el Bakáy, between the different parties, to the effect that Timbúktu should be dependent on the Fúlbe without being garrisoned by a military force, the tribute being collected by two kádhis, one Pulló, and the other Songhay, who should themselves decide all cases of minor importance, the more important ones being referred to the capital. But, nevertheless, the government of the town, or rather the police, as far as it goes, is in the hands of one or two Songhay mayors, with the title of emír, but who have scarcely any effective power, placed as they are between the Fúlbe on the one side and the Tuarek on the other, and holding their ground against the former through the two kádhis, and against the latter by means of the Sheikh el Bakáy. Such is the distracted state of this town, which cannot be remedied before a strong and intelligent power is again established on this upper course of the Niger, so eminently favourable for commerce.

After these general remarks on the character of the history of Songhay, I proceed to give a diary of my stay in Timbaktu.

CHAPTER XXII.

FIRST MONTH OF RESIDENCE IN TIMBÚKTU.

It had been arranged that, during the absence of the Sheikh el Bakáy, whose special guest I professed to be, my house should be locked up and no one allowed to pay me a visit. However, while my luggage was being got in, numbers of people gained access to the house, and came to pay me their compliments, and while they scrutinised my luggage, part of which had rather a foreign appearance, some of them entertained a doubt as to my nationality. But of course it could never have been my intention to have impressed these people with the belief of my being a Mohammedan, for having been known as a Christian all along my road as far as Libtáko, with which province the Arabs of Ázawád keep up a continual intercourse, although there the people would scarcely believe that I was a European, the news of my real character could not fail soon to transpire; and it was rather a fortunate circumstance that, notwithstanding our extremely slow progress and our roundabout direction, the news had not anticipated us. I had been obliged to adopt the character of a Mohammedan, in order to traverse with some degree of safety the country of the Tuarek, and to enter the town of Timbúktu, which was in the hands of the fanatical Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi, while I had not yet obtained the protection of the chief whose name and character alone had inspired me with sufficient confidence to enter upon this enterprise.

Thus I had now reached the object of my arduous undertaking, but it was apparent from the very first, that I should not enjoy the triumph of having overcome the difficulties of the journey in quiet and repose. The continuous excitement of the protracted struggle, and the uncertainty whether I should succeed in my undertaking, had sustained my weakened frame till I actually reached this city; but as soon as I was there, and almost at the very moment when I entered my house, I was seized with a severe attack of fever. Yet never were presence of mind and bodily energy more required; for the first night which I passed in Timbúktu was disturbed by feelings of alarm and serious anxiety.

On the morning of September 8th, the first news I heard was, that Hammádi the rival and enemy of El Bakáy had informed the Fúlbe, or Fullan, that a Christian had entered the town, and that, in consequence, they had come to the determination of killing him. However, these rumours did not cause me any great alarm, as I entertained the false hope that I might rely on the person who, for the time, had undertaken to protect me, but my feeling of security was soon destroyed, this very man turning out my greatest tormentor. I had destined for him a very handsome gift, consisting of a fine cloth bernús, a cloth kaftán, and two tobés, one of silk and the other of indigo-dyed cotton, besides some smaller articles; but he was by no means satisfied with these, and peremptorily raised the present to the following formidable proportions —

	Shells.
Two blue bernúses of the best quality, worth.	100,000
One kaftán	40,000
Two waistcoats; one red and one blue	15,000
Two silk tobés	35,500
Two Nupe tobés	30,000
A pair of small pistols, with 7 lbs. of fine powder	
Ten Spanish dollars.	
Two English razors, and many other articles	

While levying this heavy contribution upon me, in order to take from the affair its vexatious character, my host stated, that as their house and their whole establishment were at my disposal, so my property ought to be at theirs. But even this amount of property did not satisfy him, nor were his pretensions limited to this; for, the following day, he exacted an almost equal amount of considerable presents from me, such as two cloth kaftáns, two silk hamáil, or sword belts, three other silk tobés, one of the species called jellábi, one of that called harir, and the third of the kind called filfil, one Nupe tobe, three túrkedis, a small six-barrelled pistol, and many other things. He promised me, however, on his part, that he would not only make presents of several of these articles to the Tuarek chiefs, but that he would also send a handsome gift to the governor of Hamda-Alláhi, but this latter condition at least, although the most important, considering that the town was formally subjected to the supremacy of the ruler of Másina, was never fulfilled;

and although I was prepared to sacrifice all I had for the purposes of my journey, yet it was by no means agreeable to give up such a large proportion of my very limited property to a younger brother of the chief under whose protection I was to place myself. Thus my first day in Timbükto passed away, preparing me for a great deal of trouble and anxiety which I should have to go through; even those who professed to be my friends treating me with so little consideration.

However, the second day of my residence here was more promising. I received visits from several respectable people, and I began to enter with spirit upon my new situation, and to endeavour by forbearance to accommodate myself to the circumstances under which I was placed. The state of my health also seemed to improve, and I felt a great deal better than on the preceding day. I was not allowed to stir about, but was confined within the walls of my house. In order to obviate the effect of this want of exercise as much as possible, to enjoy fresh air and at the same time to become familiar with the principal features of the town, through which I was not allowed to move about at pleasure, I ascended as often as possible the terrace of my house. This afforded an excellent view over the northern quarters of the town. On the north was the massive mosque of Sankoré, which had just been restored to all its former grandeur through the influence of the Sheikh el Bakáy, and gave the whole place an imposing character. Neither the mosque Sidi Yahia, nor the "great mosque, or Jingeré-bér, was seen from this point, but towards the east the view extended over a wide expanse of the desert, and towards the south the elevated mansions of the Ghadámíyé merchants were visible. The style of the buildings was various. I could see clay houses of different characters, some low and unseemly, others rising with a second story in front to greater elevation, and making even an attempt at architectural ornament, the whole being interrupted by a few round huts of matting. The sight of this spectacle afforded me sufficient matter of interest, although, the streets being very narrow, only little was to be seen of the intercourse carried on in them, with the exception of the small market in the northern quarter, which was exposed to view on account of its situation on the slope of the sand-hills which, in course of time, have accumulated round the mosque.

But while the terrace of my house served to make me well acquainted with the character of the town, it had also the disadvantage of exposing me fully to the gaze of the passers by, so that I could only slowly and with many interruptions succeed in making a sketch of the scene thus offered to my view. At the same time I became aware of the great inaccuracy which characterises the view of the town as given by M. Caillié; still, on the whole, the character of the single dwellings was well represented by that traveller, the only error being that in his representation the whole town seems to consist of scattered and quite isolated houses, while, in reality, the streets are entirely shut in, as the dwellings form continuous and uninterrupted rows. But it must be taken into account that Timbükto, at the time of Caillié's visit, was not so well off as it is at present, having been overrun by the Fúlbe

the preceding year, and he had no opportunity of making a drawing on the spot.

Although I was greatly delighted at the pleasant place of retreat for refreshing my spirits and invigorating my body by a little exercise which the terrace afforded me, I was disgusted by the custom which prevails in the houses like that in which I was lodged, of using the terrace as a sort of closet, and I had great difficulty in preventing my guide Ammer el Walâti, who still stayed with me and made the terrace his usual residence, from indulging in this filthy practice.

Being anxious to impart to my friends in Europe the news of my safe arrival in this far-famed town, I was busily employed in writing letters, which gave fresh impulse to my energy. My tormentor Sidi Alawâte himself seemed anxious to rouse my spirits, which he could not but be conscious of having contributed a great deal to depress, by sending me word that he himself would undertake to accompany me on my home journey, as he intended making the pilgrimage to Mekka; but, having once had full opportunity of judging of the character of this man, I placed but little confidence in his words.

Meanwhile, I began to provide what was most necessary for my comfort, and bought for myself and my people a piece of good bleached calico, "shigge," or "sehen hindî," as it is called here, for 13,500 shells, and three pieces of unbleached calico for 8,000 each. At the same time I sent several articles into the market, in order to obtain a supply of the currency of the place, 3,000 shells being reckoned equal to one Spanish dollar.

Thus I had begun to make myself a little more comfortable, when suddenly on the morning of the 10th, while I was suffering from another attack of fever, I was excited by the report being circulated, that the party opposed to my residence in the town was arming in order to attack me in my house. Now, I must confess that, notwithstanding the profession of sincere friendship made to me by Sidi Alawâte, I am inclined to believe that he himself was not free from treachery, and, perhaps, was in some respect implicated in this manœuvre, as he evidently supposed that, on the first rumour of such an attack being intended, I should abandon my house, or at least my property, when he might hope to get possession underhand of at least a good portion of the latter before the arrival of his brother, whom he knew to be a straightforward man, and who would not connive at such intrigues. With this view, I have no doubt, he sent a female servant to my house, advising me to

* It is a highly interesting fact, that we find this native name, which is given to calico in the region of the Niger, already mentioned by that most eminent and clear-sighted of Arab geographers, Abu 'Obaid Allah el Bekri, in the middle of the eleventh century, or fully 800 years ago. For, in describing the manufacture of cotton in the town of Silla, which has become so familiar to Europeans in consequence of Mungo Park's adventures, he expressly mentions that this calico was called "shigge" by the natives (El Bekri, ed. de Slane, 1857, p. 173). Great interest is imparted by such incidents to the life of a region which, to the common observer, seems dead and uninteresting.

deposit all my goods in safety with the Taleb el Wāñ, as the danger which threatened me was very great, but this errand had no other effect than to rouse my spirits. I armed immediately, and ordered my servants to do the same, and my supposed protector was not a little astonished, when he himself came shortly afterwards with the Walātu (who, no doubt, was at the bottom of the whole affair), and found me ready to defend myself and my property, and to repulse any attack that might be made upon my residence, from whatever quarter it might proceed. He asked me whether I meant to fight the whole population of the town, uttering the words "gūwet e' Rūm," "strength of the Christians," and protested that I was quite safe under his protection and had nothing to fear, and certainly, for the moment, my energetic conduct had dispersed the clouds that might have been impending over my head.

But notwithstanding his repeated protestations of sincere friendship, and although he confirmed with his own mouth what I had already heard from other people, that he himself was to accompany me on my return journey as far as Bórnu, he did not discontinue for a moment his importunity in begging for more presents day by day.

One day he called on me in company with his principal pupils, and earnestly recommended me to change my religion, and from an unbeliever to become a true believer. Feeling myself strong enough in arguments to defend my own religious principles, I challenged him to demonstrate to me the superiority of his creed, telling him that in that case I should not fail to adopt it, but not till then. Upon this, he and his pupils began with alacrity a spirited discussion, in the firm hope that they would soon be able to overcome my arguments; but after a little while they found them rather too strong, and were obliged to give in, without making any further progress at the time in their endeavours to persuade me to turn Mohammedan. This incident improved my situation in an extraordinary degree, by basing my safety on the sincere esteem which several of the most intelligent of the inhabitants contracted for me.

While thus gaining a more favourable position, even in the eyes of this unprincipled man, I had the pleasure of receiving a letter from his elder, more intelligent, and straightforward brother, the Sheikh el Bakáy himself, late in the evening of the 13th, full of the most assuring promises that I should be quite safe under his protection, and that he

* On this occasion, which was a rather serious one, a most ridiculous misunderstanding was caused by the peculiarity of the Arabic dialect used in Timbuktú, which puzzled me and my companions very often, and sometimes made conversation between me and my friends very difficult and intricate. When the servant said that we should remove all our "haiwán" from our house, supposing that she meant animals, we told her that we had only one animal in our house, viz. my horse; and it was some time before we learned that in Timbuktú, which is inhabited mostly by such Arabs as have been at a former period dwellers in the desert, and whose property consisted almost exclusively of camels and cattle, the word "haiwán" comprises all kinds of movable property.

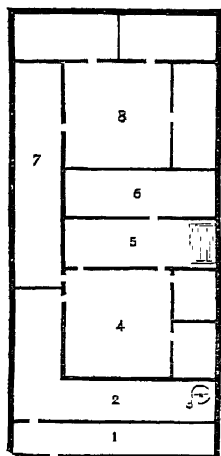
would soon arrive to relieve me from my unsatisfactory position. And although I felt very unwell all this time, and especially the very day that I received this message, I did not lose a moment in sending the Sheikh a suitable answer, wherein I clearly set forth all the motives which had induced me to visit this city, in conformity with the direct wish of the British government, whose earnest desire it was to open friendly intercourse with all the chiefs and princes of the earth, mentioning among other Mohammedan chiefs with whom such a relation existed, the Sultan 'Abd el Mejid, Múlá 'Abd e' Rahmán, and the Imám of Maskat, and whose attention the region of the Great River (Nígr), together with Timbúktu, had long attracted. At the same time I assured him that his own fame as a just and highly intelligent man, which I had received from my friends far to the east in the heart of Negroland, had inspired me with full confidence that I should be safe under his protection. In consequence of the views which I set forth in this letter, I was so fortunate as to gain the lasting esteem of this excellent man, who was so much pleased with the contents of it, that on its arrival in Gúndam, where he was at the time, he read it to all the principal men, Tuarek, Songhay, and even Fullán, in whose company he was staying.

Meanwhile, in order to obtain the friendship and to secure the interest of other and more selfish people, I gave away a great many presents, but, from what I learned afterwards, I had reason to suspect that they did not all reach the persons for whom they were intended. Most of them remained in the possession of the greedy Weled Ámmer Walati, through whose hands they had unfortunately to pass.

The day that I received the important message from the Sheikh has been impressed on my memory with so much greater force, as it was the grand festival of the Mohammedans, or the 'Aíd el Kebír. Here also in this city, so far remote from the centre of Mohammedan worship, the whole population, on this important day, said their prayers outside the town, but there being no paramount chief to give unity to the whole of the festive arrangements, the ceremonies exhibited no striking features, and the whole went off very tamely, only small parties of from six to ten persons forming groups for joining in prayer, while the whole procession comprised scarcely more than thirty horses.

After my fever had abated for a day or two it returned with greater violence on the 17th, and I felt at times extremely unwell and very weak, and in my feverish state was less inclined to bear with tranquillity and equanimity all the exactions and contributions levied upon me by Sidi Alawáte. We had a thunderstorm almost every day, followed now and then by a tolerable quantity of rain, the greatest fall of rain, according to the information which I was able to gather, annually occurring during the month of September, a phenomenon in entire harmony with the northerly latitude of the place. This humidity, together with the character of the open hall in which I used to pass the night as well as the day, increased my indisposition not a little; but the regard for my security did not allow me to seek shelter in the store-room wherein I had placed my luggage, and which, being at the back of the

hall, was well protected against cold, and, as it seemed at least, even against wet. For, not to speak of the oppressive atmosphere and almost total darkness which prevailed in that close place, in taking up my residence there I should have exposed myself to the danger of a sudden attack, while from the hall where I was staying I was enabled to observe everything which was going on in my house, and through the screen which protected the opening, close by the side of my couch, I could observe everybody that entered my yard long before they saw me. For this reason I preferred this place even to the room on the terrace, although the latter had the advantage of better air. I may observe that these upper rooms in general form the private residence of most of the people in the town who have the luxury of such an upper story



1 First segifa, or, as it is called in Songhay, "sifa," or ante-room — 2 Second segifa, with a staircase, or "tintim" (3), leading to the terrace, "garbene," and the front room on the terrace, where three of my people well armed were constantly keeping watch — 4 Inner court-yard — 5 Hall, with two open entrances, wherein I had my residence by night and day, on the reed-bed on the right — 6 Store-room, capable of being locked up — 7 Covered passage, or corridor — 8, Second court-yard, originally intended for the female department, but where I kept my horse, the surrounding rooms as well as the back wall of the house being in a state of decay.

Monday, Sept 26.—About three o'clock in the morning, while I was lying restlessly on my couch, endeavouring in vain to snatch a moment's sleep, the Sheikh Sidi Ahmed el Bakay arrived. The music, which was immediately struck up in front of his house by the women, was ill adapted to procure me rest; while the arrival of my protector, on whose disposition and power the success of my whole undertaking and my own personal safety fully depended, excited my imagination in the highest degree, and thus contributed greatly to increase my feverish state.

The following day I was so ill as to be quite unable to pay my respects to my protector, who sent me a message begging me to quiet myself, as I might rest assured that nothing but my succumbing to illness could prevent me from safely returning to my native home. Meanwhile, as a proof of his hospitable disposition, he sent me a handsome present, consisting of two oxen, two sheep, two large vessels of butter, one camel load, or "suniye," of rice, and another of negro-corn, cautioning me, at the same time, against eating any food which did not come from his own house. In order to cheer my spirits, he at once begged me to choose between the three roads by which I wanted to return home—either through the country of the Fulae, or in a boat on the river, or, by land, through the district of the Tuarek.

As from the first I had been fully aware that neither the disposition

of the natives, and especially that of the present rulers of the country, the Fúlbe, nor the state of my means, would allow me to proceed westward, and as I felt persuaded that laying down the course of the Niger from Timbúktu to Sáy would far outweigh in importance a journey through the upper country towards the Senegal, I was firm in desiring from the beginning to be allowed to visit Gógó. For not deeming it prudent, in order to avoid creating unnecessary suspicion, to lay too great stress upon navigating the river, I preferred putting forward the name of the capital of the Songhay empire, as in visiting that place I was sure that I should see at least the greater part of the river, while at the same time I should come into contact with the Tuarek, who are the ruling tribe throughout its whole course.

But the generous offer of my friend was rather premature, and if at that time I had known that I was still to linger in this quarter for eight months longer, in my then feeble condition, I should scarcely have been able to support such an idea, but fortunately Providence does not reveal to man what awaits him, and he toils on without rest in the dark.

Tuesday, Sept. 27 — This was the anniversary of the death of Mr Overweg, my last and only European companion, whom I had now outlived a whole year, and whom, considering the feeble state of my health at this time, while my mind was oppressed with the greatest anxiety, I was too likely soon to follow to the grave. Nevertheless, feeling a little better when rising from my simple couch in the morning, and confiding in the protection tendered me by a man whose straightforward character was the theme of general admiration, and which plainly appeared in the few lines which I had received from him, I fondly cherished the hope that this day next year it might be my good fortune to have fairly embarked upon my home journey from Negroland, and perhaps not to be far from home itself. I therefore, with cheerful spirit, made myself ready for my first audience, and leaving my other presents behind, and taking only a small six-barrelled pistol with me, which I was to present to the Sheikh, I proceeded to his house, which was almost opposite my own, there intervening between them only a narrow lane and a small square, where the Sheikh had established his "msid," or daily place of prayer. Ahmed el Bakáy, son of Sidi Mohammed, and grandson of Sidi Mukhtár, of the tribe of the Kunta, was at that time a man of about fifty years of age, rather above the middle height, full proportioned, with a cheerful, intelligent, and almost European countenance, of a rather blackish complexion, with whiskers of tolerable length, intermingled with some grey hair, and with dark eyelashes. His dress consisted at the time of nothing but a black robe, a fringed shawl thrown loosely over the head, and trousers, both of the same colour.

I found my host in the small upper room on the terrace, in company with his young nephew, Mohammed Ben Khottár, and two confidential pupils, and, at the very first glance which I obtained of him, I was agreeably surprised at finding a man whose countenance itself bore testimony to a straightforward and manly character, both which qualities I had

found so sadly wanting in his younger brother, Sidi Álawáte. Cheered by the expression of good-nature in his countenance as he rose from his seat to receive me, and relieved from all anxiety, I paid him my compliments with entire confidence, and entered into a conversation, which was devoid of any affected and empty ceremonious phrases, but from the first moment was an unrestrained exchange of thoughts, between two persons who, with great national diversity of manners and ideas, met for the first time.

The pistol, however, with which I presented him, soon directed our conversation to the subject of the superiority of Europeans in manufacturing skill, and in the whole scale of human existence; and one of the first questions which my host put to me was, whether it was true, as the Ráís (Major Laing) had informed his father, Sidi Mohammed, during his stay in Azawád, that the capital of the British empire contained twenty times 100,000 people.

I then learned to my great satisfaction what I afterwards found confirmed by the facts stated in Major Laing's correspondence,* that this most enterprising but unfortunate traveller, having been plundered and almost killed by the Tuarek,† in the valley Ahénnet, on his way from Tawát, was conducted by his guides to, and made a long stay at, the camp or station of the Sheikh's father, Sidi Mohammed, in the hillet Sidi el Mukhtar, the place generally called by Major Laing Beled Sidi Mohammed, but sometimes Beled Sidi Mooktar, the Major being evidently puzzled as to these names, and apt to confound the then head of the family, Sidi Mohammed, with the ancestor Sidi Mukhtar, after whom that holy place has been called. It is situated half a day's journey from the frequented well Bel Melán, on the great northerly road, but is at present deserted.

We thus came to speak of Major Laing, here known under the name of E' Ráís (the Major), the only Christian that my host, and most of the people hereabouts, had ever seen; the French traveller, René Caillé, who traversed this tract in 1828, having, in his poor disguise, entirely escaped their observation, not to speak of the sailors Adams and Scott, who are said to have visited this place, although their narrative does not reveal a single trait which can be identified with its features.

Major Laing, during the whole time of our intercourse, formed one of the chief topics of conversation, and my noble friend never failed to express his admiration, not only of the Major's bodily strength, but of his

* See Major Laing's letters in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxxvii., 1828, p. 101 *et seq.*, and vol. xxxix.

† There cannot be the least doubt, that, in addition to the love of plunder, it was also a certain feeling of revenge for the mischief inflicted upon their countrymen by the heroic Mungo Park which prompted this ferocious act of the Tuarek; and it is very curious to observe the presentiment that Major Laing had, on setting out from Tawát, of what awaited him, as most distinctly embodied in some of his letters, dated Tawát, Jan. 1826, especially in a letter addressed to James Bandinel, Esq, which General Edward Sabine, the great friend of the distinguished traveller, kindly allowed me to inspect.

noble and chivalrous character * I made immediate inquiries with regard to Major Laing's papers, but unfortunately, not being provided with a copy of the blue book containing all the papers relating to that case, I had not the means of establishing all the points disputed. I only learned that at the time none of those papers were in existence, although the Sheikh himself told me that the Major, while staying in Ázawád, had drawn up a map of the whole northerly part of the desert from Tavát as far south as the hillet or the place of residence of his father

Meanwhile, while we were conversing about the fate of my precursor in the exploration of these regions, my host assured me repeatedly of my own perfect safety in the place, and promised that he would send the most faithful of his followers, Mohammed el 'Afish, with me to the Tuarek, from whence I might continue my journey in the company of my former companion. Such, I think, was really his intention at the time, but circumstances, which I am soon to detail, were to change all these premature plans

Having returned to my quarters, I sent my host his present, which consisted of three bernúses, viz one heláli, or white silk and cotton mixed, and two of the finest cloth, one of green and the other of red colour, two cloth kaftáns, one black and the other yellow; a carpet from Constantinople, four tobes, viz, one very rich, of the kind called "harír," and bought for 30,000 shells, or twelve dollars, one of the kind called filfil, and two best black tobes; twenty Spanish dollars in silver; three black shawls, and several smaller articles, the whole amounting to the value of about 30*l*. He then sent a message to me, expressing his thanks for the liberality of the Government in whose service I was visiting him, and stating that he did not want anything more from me; but he begged that, after my safe return home, I would not forget him, but would request Her Majesty's Government to send him some good firearms and some Arabic books, and I considered myself authorised in assuring him, that I had no doubt the English Government would not fail to acknowledge his services, if he acted in a straightforward manner throughout.

Pleasant and cheering as was this whole interview, nevertheless, in consequence of the considerable excitement which it caused me in my weak state, I felt my head greatly affected; and I was seized with a shivering fit about noon the following day, just as I was going to pay another visit to my friend. On the last day of September, I entered into a rather warm dispute with Álawáte, whom I met at his brother's house, and whose ungenerous conduct I could not forget. My protector not possessing sufficient energy, and, in his position, not feeling independent enough to rebuke his brother for the trouble which he had caused me, begged me repeatedly to bear patiently his importunities, though he was aware of my reasons for disliking him. On another

* It is highly interesting and satisfactory to observe how Major Laing himself, in the letters published in the *Edinburgh Review*, speaks of the kind reception given to him, when severely wounded, by the Sheikh and maraboot (Merabet) Mooktar, or rather Sídí Mohammed. See, especially, p. 105.

occasion, he made me fire off the six-barrelled pistol in front of his house, before a numerous assemblage of people. This caused extraordinary excitement and astonishment among the people, and exercised a great influence upon my future safety, as it made them believe that I had arms all over my person, and could fire as many times as I liked.

Thus the month of September concluded satisfactorily and most auspiciously, as it seemed. For I had not only succeeded in reaching in safety this city, but I was also well received on the whole; and the only question seemed to be how I was to return home by the earliest opportunity and the safest route. But all my prospects changed with the first of the ensuing month, when the difficulties of my situation increased, and all hopes of a speedy departure appeared to be at an end. For in the afternoon of October 1st, a considerable troop of armed men, mustering about twenty muskets, arrived from Hamda-Alláhi, the residence of the sheikho Ahmedu ben Áhmedu, to whose nominal sway the town of Timbúktu and the whole province has been subjected since the conquest of the town in the beginning of the year 1826. These people brought with them an order from the capital to drive me out of the town; and Hammádi, the nephew and rival of the Sheikh el Bakáy, feeling himself strengthened by the arrival of such a force, availed himself of so excellent an opportunity of enhancing his influence, and, in consequence, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the town, commanding them, in stringent terms, to attend to the orders of the emir, and in the event of my offering resistance, not even to spare my life.

There can scarcely be any doubt that my protector, as far as a man of a rather weak character was capable of any firm resolution, had intended to send me off by the very first opportunity that should offer; but the order issued by the emir of Hamda-Alláhi (to whose authority he was vehemently opposed), that I should be forthwith driven out of the town or slain, roused his spirit of opposition. He felt, too, that the difficulties of my leaving this place in safety were thus greatly augmented. All thoughts of my immediate departure were therefore set aside; partly, no doubt, from regard to my security, but much more from an anxious desire to show the Fullán, or Fálbe, that he was able to keep me here, notwithstanding their hostile disposition and their endeavours to the contrary. There were, besides, the intrigues of the Waláti, my guide on the journey from Yágha, who, finding that the Sheikh did not approve of his dishonest conduct towards me, endeavoured to get me out of his hands, in order that he might deal with me as he liked. My broker, too, 'Alí el Ágeren, seeing the difficulties of my situation, gave me entirely up, making his own safety the only object of his thoughts.

The Sheikh, when he had fully understood what I had told him with regard to the power and the political principles of the Sovereign of Great Britain, had determined to write a letter with his own hand, expressing his satisfaction that I had come to pay him my compliments, and in order to endeavour to counteract the discouraging effects produced by the account of Major Laing's death, and, if possible, to obtain for him-

self a few presents. This letter, it was understood in the beginning, I myself should take with me, but, in the evening of October 3rd, I suddenly, to my great amazement, received the intelligence that I was to send my man, 'Alí el Ágeren, to Ghadámes or Tripoli with this letter, accompanying it with a note from my own hand, while I myself remained behind, as a kind of hostage, in Timbúktu, until the articles which the Sheikh el Bakáy had written for were received. But I was not to be treated in this way by intrigues of my own people, and the following morning I sent a simple protest to the Sheikh, stating that, as for himself, he might do just as he liked, and if he chose to keep me as a prisoner or hostage, he might do so as long as he thought fit, but that he must not expect to receive so much as a needle from the Government that had sent me until I myself should have returned in safety. My host, too, had just before intimated to me that it would be best to deliver my horse and my gun into his hands; but I sent him an answer, that neither the one nor the other should leave my house until my head had left my shoulders. It was rather remarkable that a person of so mean a character as the Waláti should for a moment gain the upper hand of a man of such an excellent disposition as the Sheikh; but it was quite natural that this clever rogue should continually incite Sidi Alawáte to make new demands upon my small store of valuable articles.

Meanwhile, while I was thus kept in a constant state of excitement, I was not free from anxiety in other respects. A thunderstorm, accompanied by the most plentiful rain which I experienced during my stay in this place, had in the afternoon of October 3rd inundated my house, and, breaking through the wall of my store-room, had damaged the whole of my luggage, my books, and medicines, as well as my presents and articles of exchange. But my situation was soon to improve, as the Sheikh became aware of the faithless and despicable character of my former companion and guide, and while he ordered the latter to fetch my camels from Ánbinda, which it was now but too apparent he had sold on his own account instead of having them taken care of for me, he informed me of what had come to his knowledge of the Waláti's previous character and disreputable habits.

The Emír of Hamda-Alláhi's sending a force to Timbúktu in order to dispose of me, with the assistance of the inhabitants of that town, without paying the slightest regard to the opinion of my protector, had caused a considerable reaction in the whole relation of the Sheikh to the townspeople, and he had made up his mind to pitch his camp outside the city, in order to convince the inhabitants, and the Fullán in particular, that he did not depend upon them, but had mightier friends and a more powerful spell upon which he could safely rely. He had even, while still absent in Gúndam, opened communication with Áwáb, the chief of the Tademékket, to this effect.

But all these proceedings required more energy and a more warlike character than, I am sorry to say, my friend and protector actually possessed; and our adversaries were so busy, that, in the night of the 9th, owing to the arrival of a party of Tuarek, who were well known

not to be friendly disposed towards him, he was so intimidated, that at two o'clock in the morning he himself came to my house, rousing us from our sleep and requesting us most urgently to keep watch, as he was afraid that something was going on against me. We therefore kept a constant look out the whole night on our terrace, and seeing that the rear of our house was in a partial state of decay, facilitating an attack in that quarter, we set to work early in the morning repairing the wall and barricading it with thorny bushes. The artisans of the town were so afraid of the party hostile to me, who were the nominal rulers, that no one would undertake the task of repairing my house. However, the more intelligent natives of the place did all in their power to prevent my learned friend from leaving the town, as they felt sure that such a proceeding would be the commencement of troubles. The consequence was, that we did not get off on the 10th, although the Sheikh had sent his wife and part of his effects away the preceding night, and it was not till a little before noon the following day that we actually left the town.

CHAPTER XXIII.

FIRST RESIDENCE IN THE DESERT.—POLITICAL COMBINATIONS —GREAT MOSQUE —GROUND-PLAN OF THE TOWN.

Tuesday, Oct. 11.—THIS was an important moment for myself, as, with the exception of an occasional visit to the Sheikh, who lived only a few yards across the street, and an almost daily promenade on my terrace, I had not moved about since my arrival. With a deep consciousness of the critical position in which I was placed, I followed my protector, who, mounted on his favourite white mare, led the way through the streets of the town, along which the assembled natives were thronging in order to get a glance at me. Leaving the high mounds of rubbish which constitute the groundwork of the northern part of the town on our left, and pursuing a north-north-easterly direction over a sandy tract covered with stunted bushes, and making only a short halt near a well five miles from the town, for the purpose of watering our horses, after a march of two miles more we reached the camp, which could easily be recognised at a great distance by two large white cotton tents, whose size and situation made them conspicuous above some smaller leathern dwellings. It was just about sunset, and the open country with its rich mimosas, and with the camp on the rising ground, the white sandy soil of which was illumined by the last rays of the setting sun, presented an interesting spectacle. The younger inhabitants of the camp, including Bábá Ahmed and 'Abidin, two favourite boys of the Sheikh, one five, the other four years of age, came out to meet us; and I soon afterwards found myself lodged in an indigenous tent of camels' hair, which was pitched at the foot of the hill, belonging to Mohammed el Khalil, a relative of the Sheikh, who had come from his native home

in Tiris, on the shores of the Atlantic, in order to share his uncle's blessing

In this encampment we passed several days in the most quiet and retired manner, when my friend revealed to me his course of action. It was his intention, he said, to bring the old chief Galayo, from the place of his exile in Champagóre, back to this part of Negroland, which he had formerly ruled, and to reinstate him, by the aid of the Tuarek, in the government of Másina with the residence Hamda-Alláhi, of which he was to deprive the family of Lebbo. But even if it was true, as he said, that the Fúlbe themselves, as well as those settled between Fermágha and Gúndam, as those inhabiting the provinces of Dalla, Dwenza and Gilgójí, were opposed to the government of Lebbo, such a project appeared to me to require a greater share of perseverance and determination than, from all that I had seen, I could believe my noble friend possessed. However, he entertained no doubt at that time that Alkút-tabu, the great chief of the Tuarek himself, would come to his aid without delay, and conduct me, under his powerful protection, safely along the banks of the Niger.

However exaggerated the projects of my protector were, considering his mild disposition, and although by exasperating the Fúlbe more and more he no doubt increased the difficulties of my situation, the moving of his encampment outside the town afforded me a great deal of relief, both in consequence of the change of air which it procured me, and of the varied scenery. I could also get here a little exercise, although the more open the country was, the greater care I had to take of my safety. In the morning, particularly, the camp presented a very animated sight. The two large white tents of cotton cloth, with their top-covering, or "saramme," of chequered design, and their woollen curtains of various colours, were half opened to allow the morning air to pervade them. The other smaller ones were grouped picturesquely around on the slope, which was enlivened by camels, cattle, and goats, that were just being driven out. All nature was awake and full of bustle, and the trees were swarming with white pigeons. In the evening, again, there were the cattle returning from their pasturage, the slaves bringing water on the backs of the asses, and the people grouped together in the simple place of devotion, laid out with thorny bushes, in order to say their prayers, guided by the melodious voice of their teacher, who never failed to join them. At this time a chapter of the Kurán was chanted by the best instructed of the pupils, and continued often till a late hour at night, the sound of these beautiful verses, in their melodious fall, reverberating from the downs around; at other times animated conversation ensued, and numerous groups gathered on the open ground by the side of the fire.

We returned into the town on the 13th. The first day had passed off rather quietly, save that a party of twelve Imóshagh, of the tribe of the Igwádaren, partly mounted on camels, partly on horses, trespassed on the hospitality of the Sheikh. I had an opportunity of inspecting their swords, and was not a little surprised at finding that they were all manufactured in the German town of Solingen, as indeed were almost all the swords of these Tuarek, or Imóshagh.

The interests of the different members of the family now began to clash. The Sheikh himself was firm in his opposition against the Fúlbe, and requested me in future, when I visited him, to come to his house fully armed, in order to show our adversaries that I was ready to repulse any violence; and it was in vain that I protested that, as I came with peaceable intentions, nothing could be farther from my wish than to cause any disturbance in the town. Meanwhile his brother, Sidi Alawate, suborned one of the Sheikh's pupils to make another attempt to convert me to Islamism. This man, who was one of the most learned followers of the Sheikh, having resided for nearly thirty years in the family, first with the Sheikh Sidi Mohammed, then with his eldest son El Mukhtár, who succeeded him in the dignity of a Sheikh during Major Laing's residence in Azawad, and finally with the Sheikh el Bakáy himself, originally belonged to the Arab tribe of the Welad Ráshid, whose settlements in Wadáy I have mentioned on a former occasion. Partly on this account, partly on account of his great religious knowledge and his volubility of speech, he possessed great influence with all the people, although his prudence and forbearance were not conspicuous. But finding that his usual arguments in favour of his creed did not avail with me, he soon desisted. This was the last time these people attempted to make me a proselyte to their religion, with the exception of some occasional serious advice from my friends under the temporary pressure of political difficulties.

The emir of the place, of the name of Kaúri, who was a good-natured man, and whose colleague, Belle, was absent at the time, having advised my protector to take me again out of the town for a few days, till the kádhi Ahmed Welad Faamme, who was going to Hamda-Allah, and who was especially hostilely disposed towards me, should have left, we again set out, on the morning of October 17th, but, having stayed in the encampment that night and the following morning, we returned to the town the same afternoon, but again left on the morning of the 20th, when the kafa of the Tawátiye was ready to set out on their journey to the north, and stayed with them during the heat of the day. They were encamped in about twenty-four small leathern tents, round the well where we had a few days previously watered our horses, and mustered more than fifty muskets, each of them being armed, moreover, with a spear and sword, but notwithstanding their numbers, and the circumstance that a rather respectable man, of the name of Háj Ahmed, the wealthiest person of Insála or 'Ain-Sála, was among them, and was to accompany them as far as Mámún, I felt no inclination to go with this caravan, and thus to deprive myself of the opportunity of surveying the river, nor did my protector himself seem to find in this northerly road any sufficient guarantee for my safe return home. I therefore only made use of this opportunity in order to send to Europe, by way of Ghadámes, a short report of my arrival in Timbúktu, and a general outline of the political circumstances connected with my stay in the city.

The caravan having started the following morning, we stayed two days longer in the camp, and then once more returned into the town,

without any further difficulty, in the company of Sidi Álawáte, who had come out to join us with a body of armed followers, and who behaved now, on the whole, much more amiably towards us. He even gave me some interesting particulars with respect to Ségo, which place he had visited some time before, levying upon Dembo, then king of Bámbara, a heavy contribution of gold. This king who was sprung from a Púllo mother, had succeeded his father Tarma, the son of the king mentioned by Mungo Park under the name of Mansong, two years previously.*

The Fúlbe, however, did not give up their point, and, as they did not find themselves strong enough to proceed to open violence, made an indirect attack upon me by putting in irons on the 27th some Arabs or Moors, on the pretext of having neglected their prayers, thereby protesting strongly enough against a person of an entirely different creed staying in the town. The emír Kaúri himself, who, on the whole, seemed to be a man of good sense, was in a most awkward position; and when the kádhí informed him, that, if he was not able to execute the order which he had received from his liege lord, he should solicit the assistance of the people of Timbúktu, he refused to have recourse to violence till he had received stricter orders to that effect and more effectual aid, for, in the event of his having driven me out, and anything having befallen me, the whole blame would be thrown upon him, as had been the case with Sidi Bú-Bakr the governor, who, obeying the orders of Mohammed Lebbo, had obliged the Ráis (Major Laing) to leave the town, and thus, in some measure was the cause of his death, that distinguished traveller having thrown himself in despair into the arms of Hámed Weled 'Abéda, the chief of the Berabísh, who murdered him in the desert.

But, on the other hand, the emír endeavoured to dissuade my protector, who was about to send a messenger to Alkúttabu, the great chief of the Awclimmiden, to summon him to his assistance, from carrying out his intention, fearing lest the result of this proceeding might be a serious conflict between the Taurek and the Fúlbe. However, from all that I saw, I became aware that the chance of my departure was more remote than ever, and that, at least this year, there was very little prospect of my leaving this place, for the messenger whom the Sheikh was to send to the Tárkí chief, and of whose departure there had been much talk for so long a time, had not yet left, and the chief's residence was several hundred miles off. I therefore again protested to my friend that it was my earnest desire to set out on my home journey as soon as possible, and that I felt not a little annoyed at the continual procrastination.

Several circumstances concurred at this time to make me feel the delay the more deeply, so that notwithstanding my sincere esteem for my protector, I thought it better, when he again left the town in the evening of the 27th, to remain where I was; for after my return from our last excursion, in consequence of the severe cold during the night, I

* My information as to the succession of the kings of Bámbara does not agree with that received by M. Faidherbe, the present governor of Senegal, published in the *Revue Coloniale*, 1857, p. 279.

had been visited by a serious attack of rheumatism, which had rendered me quite lame for a day or two.

With regard to the means of my departure, the Waláti, whom I had sent out at a great expense to bring my horses and camels from the other side of the river, had brought back my horses in the most emaciated condition. As for the camels, he had intended to appropriate them to his own use; but I defeated his scheme by making a present of them to the Sheikh. This brought all the Waláti's other intrigues to light, especially the circumstance of his having presented a small pistol (which I had given to himself) to Hammádi, the Sheikh's rival, intimating that it came from me, and thus endangering my whole position, by making the Sheikh believe that I was giving presents to his rivals and his enemies. But my protector acted nobly on this occasion; for he not only warned me against the intrigues of the Waláti, and would not lend an ear to his numerous calumnies against me, but he even preferred me, the Christian, to my Mohammedan companion, the Méjebri, 'Alí el Ágeren, who was sometimes led, through fear, to take the part of the Waláti; and the Méjebri, who thought himself almost a sheriff, and was murmuring his prayers the whole evening long, felt not a little hurt and excited when he found that the Sheikh placed infinitely more reliance upon me than upon himself.

In order to convince the Sheikh how sensible I was of the confidence which he placed in me, I made a present of a blue cloth kaftan to Mohammed Boy, the son of the chief Galajo, who had studied with him for a year or two, and was now about to return home by way of Hamda-Alláhi. But, unluckily, I had not many such presents to offer, and a nobleman of the name of Muláy 'Abd e' Salám, who had sent me a hospitable present of wheat and rice, was greatly offended at not receiving from me a bernús in return.

Meanwhile the Fúlbe, or Fullan, sent orders to Dár e' Salám, the capital of the district of Zánkara, that their countrymen inhabiting that province should enter Timbúktu as soon as the Sheikh should leave it. The latter, in order to show these people the influence he possessed, decided upon taking me with him on an excursion to Kábara, which is the harbour on the river, where the Fúlbe were generally acknowledged to possess greater power than in Timbúktu, on account of the distance of the latter from the water. I followed him gladly, that I might have an opportunity of observing the different aspect of the country two months after the date when I had first traversed it. In fact the landscape had now a very different appearance, being entirely changed in consequence of the abundant rains which had fallen in September and October. The whole sandy level, which before looked so dull and dreary, was now covered with herbage; while that part of the road nearer the town had been a little cleared of wood, apparently in order to prevent the Tuarek from lurking near the road and surprising travellers. Further on, when we approached the village of Kábara, all the fields were overgrown with water-melons, which form a considerable branch of the industry of the inhabitants.

We dismounted, at length, close to Kábara, in the shade of a talha

tree, clearing the ground and making ourselves as comfortable as possible. A great number of people collected round us, not only from the village of Kábara, but also from the town, even the governor, or emír, Kaúri, came out to see what we were doing here. By way of making some sort of popular display, and showing his enemies the extent of his authority, my protector here distributed the presents which he had destined for Boy and his companions, who, before returning to their home in the province of Galaïjo, were first going to pay their compliments to the sheikho Áhmedu in Hamda-Alláhi. He also sent the very bernús which I had intended for 'Abd e' Salám to 'Abd Alláhi, the uncle of the young sheikho Áhmedu of Hamda-Alláhi. While the emír walked up and down, at some distance from the spot where we had taken up our position, in order to have a look at me, we were treated hospitably by the inspector of the harbour (a cheerful old man of the name of 'Abd el Kásim, and of supposed *sherif* origin), with several dishes of excellent kuskus, one of which fell to my share and I was delighted to see that, notwithstanding the decline of everything in this distracted region, the old office of an inspector of the harbour still retained a certain degree of importance. But I lamented that I was not allowed to survey at my leisure the general features of the locality, which had entirely changed since my first visit to this place. The river had inundated the whole of the lowlands, so that the water, which had before only formed a narrow ditch-like channel, now presented a wide open sheet, affording easy access to the native craft of all sizes.

Having then mounted in the afternoon, after a pleasant ride we reached the town, but instead of directly entering the dilapidated walls, we turned off a little to the west, towards a small plantation of date trees (marked ⁹ in the plan of the town), of the existence of which I had had no previous idea, for small and insignificant as it was, it claimed considerable interest in this arid tract, there being at present only four or five middle-sized trees, rather poor specimens of the *hájlif*, or *balanites*, inside the town; although we know that before the time of the conquest of Songhay by the Moroccans, the city was not so poor in vegetation; but the inspector of the harbour having fled on that occasion with the whole fleet, the bashá Mahmúd cut down all the trees in and around the town for the purpose of ship-building.

The little oasis consisted of three nearly full-grown date-trees, but of small size, only one of them bearing fruit, while around there were about ten very young bushes, which, if not well taken care of, scarcely seemed to promise ever to become of any value. The plantation, poor as it was, owed its existence to the neighbourhood of a deep well, of immense size, being about thirty yards in diameter and five fathoms deep, wherein the water collects.

Having loitered here a few moments, and visited a small and poor plantation in the neighbourhood belonging to the Tawáti, Mohammed el 'Aish, we turned off towards the Jingeré-bér, or "great mosque," which by its stately appearance made a deep impression upon my mind, as I had not yet had an opportunity of inspecting it closely. It was here especially that I convinced myself, not only of the trustworthy

character of Caillié's report in general, of which I had already had an opportunity of judging, but also of the accuracy with which, under the very unfavourable circumstances in which he was placed, he has described the various objects which fell under his observation. I was only permitted to survey the outside of the mosque; as to the interior, I was obliged to rely upon the information which I received from the more intelligent of the natives.

The mosque is a large building, but a considerable portion of it is occupied by an open courtyard, wherein the larger tower is enclosed, while the principal part of the building includes nine naves, of different dimensions and structure, the westernmost portion, which consists of three naves, belonging evidently to the old mosque, which, together with the palace, was built by Mansa Músa, the king of Melle, as is even attested by an inscription over the principal gate, although it has become somewhat illegible. The chief error which Caillié has committed in describing this mosque relates to the smaller tower, the position of which he has mistaken, and the number of gateways on the eastern side, there being seven instead of five. Caillié also states the greatest length of the building to be 104 paces, while my intelligent friend Mohammed ben 'Aish assured me that, after measuring it with the greatest accuracy, he found it to be 262 French feet in length, by 194 in width. If this building, which stands just at the western extremity, and forms the south-western corner of the town, were situated in the centre, it would be infinitely more imposing; but it is evident that in former times the mosque was surrounded by buildings on the western side. The city formerly was twice as large.

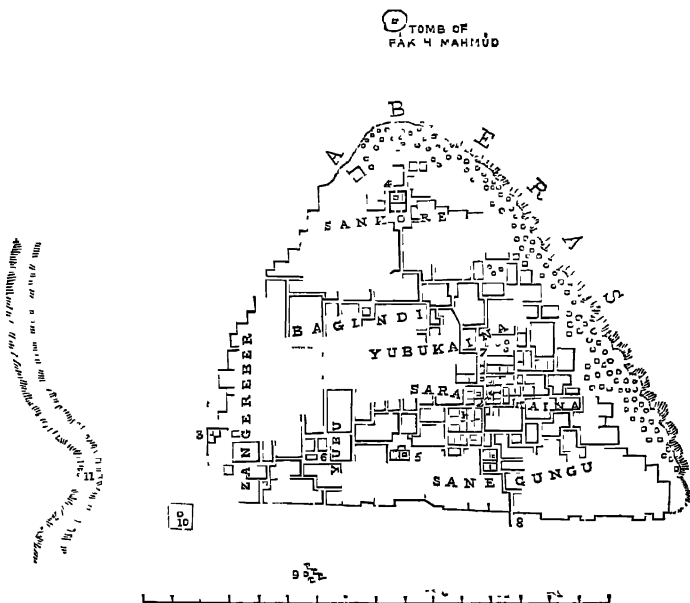
While we were surveying this noble pile, numbers of people collected round us,—this being the quarter inhabited principally by the Fúlbe, or Fullán,—and when we turned our steps homewards, they followed us along the streets through the market, which was now empty, but without making the least hostile manifestation. On the contrary, many of them gave me their hands.

Soon after my arrival in the place, I had sent home a small plan of the town. This I now found to be inaccurate in some respects, and I here therefore subjoin a more correct plan of the town, although on a rather small scale,—the circumstances under which I resided there not having allowed me to survey the greater part of it accurately enough for a more minute delineation. The city of Timbúktu, according to Dr. Petermann's laying down of it from my materials, lies in $17^{\circ} 37' N.$ and $3^{\circ} 5' W.$ of Greenwich. Situated only a few feet above the average level of the river, and at a distance of about six miles from the principal branch, it at present forms a sort of triangle, the base of which points towards the river, whilst the projecting angle is directed towards the north, having for its centre the mosque of Sánkore. But, during the zenith of its power, the town extended a thousand yards further north, and included the tomb of the fáki Mahmúd, which, according to some of my informants, was then situated in the midst of the town.

The circumference of the city at the present time I reckon at a little more than two miles and a half; but it may approach closely to three

miles, taking into account some of the projecting angles. Although of only small size, Timbúktu may well be called a city—*medina*—in comparison with the frail dwelling-places all over Negroland. At present it is not walled. Its former wall, which seems never to have been of

PLAN OF TIMBUKTU.



x. House of the Sheikh Ahmed el Bakáy, with another house belonging to the same close by, and having in front of it a small square, where he has established a "msid," or place of prayer for his pupils, several of whom pass the night here.—2. House belonging likewise to the Sheikh, where I myself was lodged, the ground plan of which I have given above.—3. Great mosque, "Gingere (Jingere, or Zangere) ber, Jam'a el kebira," begun by Mansa Musa, king of Melle, A D 1327, and forming, for many centuries, the centre of the Mohammedan quarter.—4. Mosque Sankore, in the quarter Sankore, which is generally regarded as the oldest quarter of the town. The mosque has five naves, and is 120 feet long by 80 feet wide.—5. Mosque Sidi Yáhia, much smaller than the two other large mosques.—6. Great market-place, or Yúbu.—7. Butchers' market, where in former times the palace, or "Má-duk," or Má-dugu, is said to have been situated.—8. Gate leading to Kabara.—9. Well, surrounded by a small plantation of date trees.—10. Another well, with a small garden, belonging to Mohammed el 'Aish.—11. Spot in a shallow valley, up to which point small boats ascended from the Niger, in the winter 1853-4.

great magnitude, and was rather more of the nature of a rampart, was destroyed by the Fúlbe on their first entering the place in the beginning of the year 1826. The town is laid out partly in rectangular, partly in winding streets, or, as they are called here, "tjjerátén," which are not

paved, but for the greater part consist of hard sand and gravel, and some of them have a sort of gutter in the middle. Besides the large and the small market there are few open areas, except a small square in front of the mosque of Yáhia, called Tumbutu-bóttema.

Small as it is, the city is tolerably well inhabited, and almost all the houses are in good repair. There are about nine hundred and eighty clay houses, and a couple of hundred conical huts of matting, the latter, with a few exceptions, constituting the outskirts of the town on the north and north-east sides, where a great deal of rubbish, which has been accumulating in the course of several centuries, is formed into conspicuous mounds. The clay houses are all of them built on the same principle as my own residence, which I have described, with the exception that the houses of the poorer people have only one courtyard, and have no upper room on the terrace.

The only remarkable public buildings in the town are the three large mosques the Jíngeré-bér, built by Mansa Músa, the mosque of Sankoré, built, at an early period, at the expense of a wealthy woman; and the mosque Sidi Yáhia, built at the expense of a kádhi of the town. There were three other mosques that of Sidi Háj Mohammed, Msid Belál, and that of Sidi el Bámi. These mosques, and perhaps some little msid, or place of prayer, Caillié must have included when he speaks of seven mosques. Besides these mosques, there are at present no distinguished public buildings in the town, and of the royal palace, or Má-dugu, wherein the kings of Songhay used to reside occasionally, as well as the Kasbah, which was built in later times, in the south-eastern quarter, or the Sane-gungu,* which already at that time was inhabited by the merchants from Ghadámes, not a trace is to be seen. Besides this quarter, which is the wealthiest, and contains the best houses, there are six other quarters, viz. Yúbu, the quarter comprising the great market-place (yúbu) and the mosque of Sidi Yáhia, to the west of Sane-gungu; and west of the former, forming the south-western angle of the town, and called from the great mosque, Jíngeré-bér or Zángéré-bér. This latter quarter, from the most ancient times, seems to have been inhabited especially by Mohammedans, and not unlikely may have formed a distinct quarter, separated from the rest of the town by a wall of its own. Towards the north, the quarter Sane-gungu is bordered by the one called Sara-káina, meaning literally the "little town," and containing the residence of the Sheikh and the house where I myself was lodged. Attached to Sara-káina, towards the north, is Yúbu-káina, the quarter containing the "little market," which is especially used as a butchers' market. Bordering both on Jíngeré-bér and Yúbu-káina, is the quarter Bagíndi, occupying the lowest situation in the town, and stated by the inhabitants to have been flooded entirely in the great inundation which took place in 1640. From this depression in the ground, the quarter of Sankoré, which forms the northernmost angle of the city, rises to a considerable elevation, in such a manner, that the mosque of Sankoré, which seems to occupy its ancient site and level, is at present

* Sane-gungu means, properly, the island, or the quarter of the whites, "kirsh el bedhán."

situated in a deep hollow—an appearance which seems to prove that this elevation of the ground is caused by the accumulation of rubbish, in consequence of the repeated ruin which seems to have befallen this quarter pre-eminently, as being the chief stronghold of the native Songhay. The slope which this quarter forms towards the north-eastern end, in some spots exceeds eighty feet

The whole number of the settled inhabitants of the town amounts to about thirteen thousand; while the floating population, during the months of the greatest traffic and intercourse, especially from November to January, may amount, on an average, to 5,000, and under favourable circumstances to as many as 10,000. Of the different elements composing this population, and of their distinguishing features, I shall say a few words in another place. I now revert to the diary of my own proceedings

In the evening of the next day I again went with the Sheikh out of the town to the tents, where we were to stay two days, but where we in fact spent six, my friend finding himself very happy in the company of his wife, to whom he was sincerely attached. Not only my companions, but even I myself, began to find it rather tedious in the dull encampment, as I had scarcely any books with me to pass away my time, and my situation not allowing me to enter too closely into the discussions of my companions, as in that case they would have redoubled their endeavours to convert me to their creed, and would scarcely have allowed me to depart at all.

Almost the whole of the time which I spent here the Sheikh left me quite to myself, sometimes not quitting his tent for a whole day, but at other times we had some pleasant and instructive conversation. Among other subjects a rather animated discussion arose one day. An Arab, of the name of 'Abd e' Rahmán, a near relation of my host, and of a rather presumptuous character, who had come on a visit from Azawád, was extremely anxious to know the motives which induced me to visit this country, and scarcely doubted that it could be anything else than the desire of conquest. In order to show them of what little value the possession of the country would be to the Europeans, I jestingly told them, that our government, being informed that the natives of these tracts fed on sand and clay, had sent me out to discover how this was done, in order to provide, in a similar way, for the poor in our own country. The Arab was naturally greatly surprised at my statement. But the Sheikh himself laughed very heartily, and inquired, with an expression of doubt, whether there were poor people among the Christians.

Another evening, when the Sheikh was cheerfully sitting with us round the fire, we had an interesting conversation concerning the worship of idols. In order to overcome the prejudice of his pupils with regard to the greater nobility and superiority of the Arab race, and to show them that their forefathers had not been much better than many of the idolatrous nations at the present day, he gave them an account of the superstitions of the ancient Arabs, and in the course of his conversation exhibited unmistakable proofs of an enlightened and

elevated mind, of which the letter, which I shall communicate in another place, will give further proof.

Occasionally we received here also some interesting visits from Arabs or other people, the most conspicuous person among them being a man of the name of Fifi, the inspector of the harbour of Yówaru, a man of cheerful temperament, and a great friend of the Shekh's. He had a perfect knowledge of the course of the river between Timbúktu and Jafarábe, the groups of islands forming the boundary between the Mohammedan kingdom of Másiina and the pagan kingdom of Bámbara, and very important for the trade along the river, as the boats coming from Timbúktu must here discharge their merchandise, which has to be conveyed hence to Sansándi, on the backs of asses, but unfortunately my informant spoke nothing but Songhay. The state of retirement in which I was obliged to live deprived me of the opportunity of cultivating the language of the natives, which was moreover extremely repulsive to me on account of its deficiency in forms and words, so that I found it next to impossible to express in it any general idea, without having recourse to some other foreign language. The Songhay of this region, having been deprived of all their former independent character more than two centuries and a half ago, and having become degraded and subject to foreigners, have lost also the national spirit of their idiom, which, instead of developing itself, has become gradually poorer and more limited; but I have no doubt that the dialect spoken by those still independent people in Dargol and Kulman is far richer, and anybody who wishes to study the Songhay language must study it there. The Arab visitors* to the town at this period were especially numerous, this being the most favourable season for the salt trade. A few months later scarcely a single Arab from abroad frequents the town.

The private life of the people in these encampments runs on very tranquilly, when there is no predatory incursion, which however is often enough the case. Most of these mixed Arabs have only one wife at a time, and they seem to lead a quiet domestic life, very like that of the Sheikh himself. I scarcely imagine that there is in Europe a person more sincerely attached to his wife and children than my host was. In fact, it might be said that he was a little too dependent on the will of his wife. The difference which I found between the position of the wife among these Moorish tribes, and that which she enjoys among the Taurek, is extraordinary, although even the Tuarek have generally but one wife, but while the latter is allowed to move about at her pleasure quite unveiled, the wife even of the poorest Arab or Moor is never seen unveiled, being generally clad in a black under and upper gown, and the wives of the richer and nobler people never leave their tents. The camp life of course would give to coquettish women a fair opportunity of intrigue; but in general I think their morals are pretty chaste, and the chastisement which awaits any transgression is severe, a married

* I must here testify to the accuracy with which Mr Raffanel, in the plates illustrating his two journeys in Negroland, has represented the character of these Western Arabs or Moors,

wife convicted of adultery being sure to be stoned. An incident happened during my present stay at the tents which gave proof of love affairs not being quite unusual here,—a Tárki, or rather Amghi, having been murdered from motives of jealousy, and brought into our camp. But I must confess that I can scarcely speak of the mode of life in an Arab or Moorish encampment, for the camp of the Sheikh, as a chief of religion, is of course quite an exception, and moreover the neighbourhood of the Fúlbe or Fullán, who, in their austere religious creed, view all amusements with a suspicious eye, has entirely changed the character of these Moorish camps around the town, and it may be in consequence of this influence that there was no dancing or singing here.

Notwithstanding trifling incidents like these, which tended occasionally to alleviate the tediousness of our stay, I was deeply afflicted by the immense delay and loss of time, and did not allow an opportunity to pass by of urging my protector to hasten our departure; and he promised me that, as I was not looking for property, he should not keep me long. But, nevertheless, his slow and deliberate character could not be overcome, and it was not until the arrival of another messenger from Hamda-Allahi, with a fresh order to the Sheikh to deliver me into his hands, that he was induced to return into the town.

My situation in this turbulent place now approached a serious crisis; but, through the care which my friends took of me, I was not allowed to become fully aware of the danger I was in. The Sheikh himself was greatly excited, but came to no decision with regard to the measures to be taken; and at times he did not see any safety for me except by my taking refuge with the Tuarek, and placing myself entirely under their protection. But as for myself I remained quiet, although my spirits were far from being buoyant; especially as, during this time, I suffered severely from rheumatism; and I had become so tired of this stay outside in the tents, where I was not able to write, that, when the Sheikh went out again in the evening of the 16th, I begged him to let me remain where I was. Being anxious about my safety, he returned the following evening. However, on the 22nd, I was obliged to accompany him on another visit to the tents, which had now been pitched in a different place, on a bleak sandy eminence, about five miles east from the town, but this time he kept his promise of not staying more than twenty-four hours. It was at this encampment that I saw again the last four of my camels, which at length, after innumerable delays, and with immense expense, had been brought from beyond the river, but they were in a miserable condition, and furnished another excuse to my friends for putting off my departure, the animals being scarcely fit to undertake a journey.

CHAPTER XXIV.

POLITICAL STATE OF THE COUNTRY—DANGEROUS CRISIS.

IN the meantime, while I was thus warding off a decisive blow from my enemies, the political horizon of these extensive regions became rather more turbulent than usual, and war and feud raged in every quarter. Towards the north the communication with Morocco was quite interrupted, the tribe of the Tájakánt, who almost exclusively keep up that communication, being engaged in civil war, which had arisen in this way. A "Jakáni" * called 'Abd Allah Weled Mulúd, and belonging to that section of their tribe which is called Dráwa, had slain a chief of the Ergebát who had come to sue for peace, and had been killed in his turn by the chief of his own tribe, a respectable and straightforward man of the name of Mohammed El Mukhtár Merábet. Thus, two factions having arisen, one consisting of the Újarát and the Áhel e' Sherk, and the other being formed by the Dráwa and their allies, a sanguinary war was carried on. But notwithstanding the unfavourable state of this quarter, which is so important for the wellbeing of the town, on account of its intercourse with the north, the Sheikh, who was always anxious to establish peaceable intercourse, repeatedly told me that although he regarded the road along the river, under the protection of the Tuarek, as the safest for myself, he should endeavour to open the northern road for future travellers from Merákesh, or Morocco, by way of Tafilélet, and that he should make an arrangement to this effect with the Ááríb and Tájakánt, though there is no doubt that it was the Ááríb who killed Mr. Davidson, a few days after he had set out from Wádi Nún in the company of the Tájakánt. There was just at the time a man of authority, of the name of Háméd Weled e' Síd, belonging to this tribe, present in the town. On one occasion he came to pay me a visit, girt with his long bowie knife. I had however not much confidence in these northern Moors, and seeing him advance through my court-yard in company with another man, I started up from my couch and met him halfway; and although he behaved with some discretion, and even wanted to clear his countrymen from the imputation of having murdered the above-mentioned traveller, I thought it more prudent to beg him to keep at a respectful distance.

Just at this time a large foray was undertaken by a troop of four hundred Awelimmiden against the Hogár, but it returned almost empty-handed, and with the loss of one of their principal men. Towards the south, the enterprising chief El Khadir, whom I have mentioned on a former occasion, was pushing strenuously forward against his inveterate enemies the Fúlbe, or Fullán, although the report which we heard at this time, of his having taken the town of Hómbori, was not subsequently confirmed. But, on the whole, the fact of this Berber tribe pushing always on into the heart of Negroland is very remarkable; and there is no doubt that if a great check had not been given them by the Fúlbe,

* That is the singular form of the name Tájakánt.

they would have overpowered ere this the greater part of the region north of 13° N latitude. Great merit, no doubt, is due to the Fúlbe, for thus rescuing these regions from the grasp of the Berber tribes of the desert, although as a set-off it must be admitted that they do not understand how to organise a firm and benevolent government, which would give full security to the intercourse of people of different nationalities, instead of destroying the little commerce still existing in these unfortunate regions, by forcing upon the natives their own religious prejudices.

The danger of my situation increased when, on November 17th, some more messengers from the prince of Hamda-Alláhi arrived in order to raise the zeká, and at the same time we received authentic information that the Fúlbe had made an attempt to instigate Áwáb, the chief of the Tademékket, upon whom I chiefly relied for my security, to betray me into their hands. News also arrived that the Welád Slímán, that section of the Berabísh to which belongs especially the chief Háméd Weled 'Abéda, who killed Major Laing, had bound themselves by an oath to put me to death. But my situation became still more critical towards the close of the month, when, having once more left the town for the tents, we received information that a fresh party had arrived from the capital with the strictest orders to take me dead or alive. Being therefore afraid that my people, whom I had left in the town, frightened by the danger, might be induced to send my luggage out of the house where I was lodged, I sent in the course of the night the servant whom I had with me at the time, with strict orders not to move anything, but, before he reached the town, my other people had sent away my two large boxes to Táleb el Wáfi, the storekeeper of the Sheikh. But fortunately I did not sustain any loss from this proceeding, nothing being missing from these boxes, notwithstanding they had been left quite open.

Thursday, Dec 1.—Having passed a rather anxious night, with my pistols in my girdle, and ready for any emergency, I was glad when, in the morning, I saw my boy return accompanied by Mohammed el 'Aísh. But I learned that the people of the town were in a state of great excitement, and that there was no doubt but an attack would be made upon my house the next morning. Thus much I made out myself, but, having no idea of the imminence of the danger, in the course of the day I sent away my only servant with my two horses, for the purpose of being watered. But my Tawáti friend seemed to be better informed, and taking his post on the rising ground of the sandy downs, on the slope of which we were encamped, kept an anxious look out towards the town. About dhohor, or two o'clock in the afternoon, he gave notice of the approach of horsemen in the distance, and while I went into my tent to look after my effects, Mohammed el Khalil rushed in suddenly, crying out to me to arm myself. Upon this I seized all the arms I had, consisting of a double-barrelled gun, three pistols, and a sword, and I had scarcely come out when I met the Sheikh himself with the small six-barrelled pistol which I had given him in his hand. Handing one of my large pistols to Mohammed ben Mukhtár, a young

man of considerable energy, and one of the chief followers of the Sheikh, I knelt down and pointed my gun at the foremost of the horsemen who, to the number of thirteen, were approaching. Having been brought to a stand by our threatening to fire if they came nearer, their officer stepped forward crying out that he had a letter to deliver to the Sheikh, but the latter forbade him to come near, saying that he would only receive the letter in the town, and not in the desert. The horsemen, finding that I was ready to shoot down the first two or three who should approach me, consulted with each other and then slowly fell back, relieving us from our anxious situation. But, though reassured of my own safety, I had my fears as to my servant and my two horses, and was greatly delighted when I saw them safely return from the water. However, our position soon became more secure in consequence of the arrival of Sidi Alawáte, accompanied by a troop of armed men, amongst whom there were some musketeers. It now remained to be decided what course we should pursue, and there was great indecision, Alawáte wanting to remain himself with me at the tents, while the Sheikh returned to the town.

But besides my dislike to stay any longer at the encampment, I had too little confidence in the younger brother of the Sheikh to trust my life in his hands, and I was therefore extremely delighted to find that El Bakáy himself, and Mohammed el 'Aish, thought it best for me to return into the town. At the moment when we mounted our horses, a troop of Kél-hekikan, although not always desirable companions, mounted on mehára, became visible in the distance, so that in their company we re-entered Timbúktu, not only with full security, but with great *éclat*, and without a single person daring to oppose our entrance; though Hammádi, the Sheikh's rival, was just about to collect his followers in order to come himself and fight us at the tents. Frustrated in this plan, he came to my protector in his "msid," or place of prayer in front of his house, and had a serious conversation with him, while the followers of the latter armed themselves in order to anticipate any treachery or evil design, of which they were greatly afraid. But the interview passed off quietly, and, keeping strict watch on the terrace of our house, we passed the ensuing night without further disturbance.

This happened on December 1st; and the following morning, in conformity with the Sheikh's protest, that he would receive the emír of Hamda-Alláhi's letter only in Timbúktu, the messenger arrived, but the latter being a man of ignoble birth called Mohammed ben Sáíd, the character of the messenger irritated my host almost more even than the tenor of the letter, which ordered him to give me and my property up into the hands of his (the emír's) people. After having given vent to his anger, he sent for me, and handed me the letter, together with another which had been addressed to the emír Kaúri, and the whole community of the town, Whites as well as Blacks (el bedhán ú e' sudán), threatening them with condign punishment if they should not capture me, or watch me in such a manner that I could not escape.

The serious character which affairs had assumed, and the entire revolution which my own personal business caused in the daily life of

the community, were naturally very distressing to me, and nothing could be more against my wish than to irritate the fanatical and not powerless ruler of Hamda-Alláhi. It had been my most anxious desire from the beginning, to obtain the goodwill of this chief by sending him a present, but my friends here had frustrated my design, and even if in the beginning it had been possible, a supposition which is more than doubtful, considering the whole character of the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi, it was now too late, as Séko Áhmedu had become my inveterate enemy, and I could only cling with the greater tenacity to the only trustworthy protector whom I had here, the Sheikh el Bakáy. In acknowledgment therefore of his straightforward conduct, I sent him, as soon as I had again taken quiet possession of my quarters, some presents to distribute among the Tuarek, besides giving the head man of the latter a small extra gift, and some powder and Háusa cloth to distribute among our friends. However, my situation remained very precarious. As if a serious combat was about to ensue, all the inhabitants tried their fire-arms, and there was a great deal of firing in the whole town, while the Morocco merchants, with 'Abd e' Salám at their head, endeavoured to lessen the Sheikh's regard for me, by informing him that not even in their country (Morocco) were the Christians treated with so much regard, not only their luggage, but even their dress being there searched on entering the country. But the Sheikh was not to be talked over in this manner, and adhered to me without wavering for a moment. He then sat down and wrote a spirited and circumstantial letter to Séko Áhmedu, wherein he reproached him with attempting to take out of his hands by force a man better versed in subjects of religion than he, the emír himself, who had come from a far distant country to pay him his respects, and who was his guest.

The following day, while I was in the company of the Sheikh, the emír Kaúr and the kádhi San-shírfu, together with several other principal personages, called upon him, when I paid my compliments to them all, and found that the latter especially was a very respectable man. My friend had provided for any emergency, having sent to the Tademékket, requesting them urgently to come to his assistance; and, in the evening of December 6th, Awáb, the chief of the Tin-ger-egedesh, arrived with fifty horse, and was lodged by El Bakáy in the neighbourhood of our quarters.

The next morning the Sheikh sent for me to pay my compliments to this chief. I found him a very stately person of a proud commanding bearing, clad in a jellába robe, striped red and white, and ornamented with green silk, his head adorned with a high red cap, an article of dress which is very rarely seen here, either among the Tuarek or even the Arabs. Having saluted him, I explained to him the reason of my coming, and for what purpose I sought imána, and when he raised an objection on account of my creed, because I did not acknowledge Mohammed as a prophet, I succeeded in warding off his attack, by telling him that they themselves did not acknowledge Mohammed as the only prophet, but likewise acknowledged Músa, 'Aísa, and many others, and that, in reality, they seemed to acknowledge in a certain

degree the superiority of 'Aïsa, by supposing that he was to return at the end of the world, and that thus, while we had a different prophet, but adored and worshipped one and the same God, and, leaving out of the question a few divergencies in point of diet and morals, followed the same religious principles as they themselves did, it seemed to me that we were nearer to each other than he thought, and might well be friends, offering to each other those advantages which each of us commanded.

We then came to speak about their history. I told him that I had visited their old dwelling-places in Air, Tiggeda, and Tadmekka, but he was totally unaware of the fanciful derivation which the Arab authors have given to the latter name, viz. "likeness of Mekka," which probably never belonged to one town in particular, but has always been the name of a tribe. He felt, however, very much flattered by this piece of information, and seemed extremely delighted when I told him how old the Islâm was in his tribe. My little knowledge of these historical and religious matters was of invaluable service to me, and particularly in this instance, for obtaining the esteem of the natives and for overcoming their prejudices; for while this chief himself scarcely understood a single word of Arabic, so that I could only speak with him in very broken Temáshight or Tárkiye, his brother, El Khattáf, was well versed in that language, and spoke it fluently.

Having left the people to converse among themselves, I returned to the Sheikh in the afternoon, taking with me a present for Áwáb, consisting of a chequered tobe (such as I have described on a former occasion, and which are great favourites with these people), two *túrkedí*, and two black *tesligemíst*, or shawls, besides another shawl and a handkerchief for his messenger, or *mállem*, who is the confidential factotum of every Tárki chief. He was as thankful as these barbarians can be, but wished to see something marvellous, as characteristic of the industry of our country; but I begged him to have patience, till, on some future occasion, some other person belonging to our nation should come to pay him a visit.

While I was staying there, a Púllo chief arrived from Gúndam with two companions, and reproached the Sheikh in my presence for having shown so much regard for an unbeliever, whose effects at least ought to have been delivered up to the chief of Hamda-Alláhi: but I imposed silence upon him, by showing him how little he himself knew of religious matters in calling me an unbeliever; and telling him, that if he had really any knowledge of, and faith in, his creed, his first duty was to try to convert those of his own countrymen who were still idolaters. At the same time I told the Tárki chief Áwáb, that it seemed to me as if they were afraid of the Fúlbe, or else they would certainly not allow them to molest travellers who visited this place with friendly intentions, while they could not even protect the natives. In reply he alleged that they were by no means afraid of them, having vanquished them on a former occasion, but that they only awaited the arrival of their kinsfolk to show them that they were the real masters of the Timbúktu.

To add to the conflict of these opposing interests, a great number of strangers were at this time collected in the town, most of whom were of a far more fanatical disposition than the inhabitants themselves, who, on the whole, are very good-natured. The Berabísh alone, who had come into the town with about one thousand camels carrying their salt, mustered one hundred and twenty horse, prepared, no doubt, to fight the Fullán, if the latter should attempt to levy the "áshúr," or the tithe, but still more hostilely disposed towards the Christian stranger who had intruded upon this remote corner, one of the most respected seats of the Mohammedan faith, and against whom they had a personal reason of hostility, as they were commanded by 'Alí, the son of Háméd Weled 'Abéda, the acknowledged murderer of Major Laing, and, of course, the news of my residence in the town, and of the hostile disposition of the Fúlbe, who had now been two months attempting in vain to drive me out of it, had spread far and wide.

This great influx of strangers into the town raised the price of all sorts of provisions, particularly that of Negro corn and rice, in a remarkable degree, the latter rising from 6,000 to 7,500 shells the "suníye," while the former, which a few days before had been sold for 3,750, equal at that time to one and a half "rás" of salt, rose to the exorbitant price of 6,000 shells.

In the evening of the 7th, a slave suddenly arrived with the news that a letter had reached my address from the north. He was followed a short time afterwards by Mohammed el 'Aísh, who brought me the parcel in question, which, however, had been opened. The letter was from Mr Charles Dickson, Her Majesty's Vice-Consul in Ghadámes, dated June 18th, and enclosing, besides some recommendations to native merchants, a number of "Galignani," which informed me of the first movements of the Russians on the Danube. The Ghadámsíye people, who were the bearers of the letter, had already spread the news of a dreadful battle having been fought between the Turks and the Russians, in which 30,000 of the latter had been slain, and 40,000 made prisoners.

The following day Awáb, who himself had arrived with fifty horsemen, was joined by his cousin Fandaghúmme with fifty more. This was very fortunate, for, about dhohor, the Fúlbe held a conference, or "kéndegáy," in the Gengeré-bér, or Jámá el Kebíra, where Háméd Weled Fáamme, the malignant and hostile kádhi, made a violent speech before the assembly, exhorting the people to go immediately and carry out the order of their hege lord the Sheikho Ahmedu, even if they were to fight conjointly against El Bakáy, Awáb, and the emír Kaúrí, whom he represented as disobedient, and almost rebellious, to his liege lord. A friend of the latter, who knew the cowardly disposition of the speaker, then rose in the assembly, and exhorted the kádhi to lead the van, and proceed to the attack, when every one would follow him. But the kádhi not choosing to expose his own person to danger nothing was done, and the assembly separated, every one going quietly to his home.

Meanwhile the two Tuarek chiefs, with their principal men, were assembled in the house of the Sheikh, where I went to meet them, but

found them not quite satisfied with the part which they were acting. They entered into a warm dispute with me upon the subject of religion, but soon found themselves so perplexed, that they left it to the Sheikh to answer all my objections. A Protestant Christian may easily defend his creed against these children of the desert, as long as they have not recourse to arms.

Next morning we left the narrow lanes of Tímúkútu, and entered upon the open sandy desert, accompanied by the two Tuarek chiefs, each of whom had fifteen companions. The tents being now further removed from the town, near the border of the inundations of the river, the camping ground was pleasant, and well adorned with trees; and having taken my own tent with me, where I could stretch myself out without being infested by the vermin which swarm in the native carpets, I enjoyed the open encampment extremely. Leathern tents had been pitched for the Tuarek, who in a short time made themselves quite at home, and were in high spirits. They became very much interested in a map of Africa which I showed to them, with the adjoining shores of Arabia, and they paid a compliment to their prophet by kissing the site of Mekka.

Being thus on good terms with my barbaric veiled friends the Molathemún, I enjoyed extremely, the following morning, the half-desert scenery, enlivened as it was by horses, camels, cattle, and interesting groups of men, but about noon a serious alarm arose, a great many horses being seen in the distance, and the number being exaggerated by some people to as many as two hundred. In consequence, we saddled our horses with great speed, and I mounted with my servants, while the Tuarek also kept their animals in readiness, but the advancing host appeared rather of a peaceable character, consisting of about twenty-five of the most respectable inhabitants of the town, with Muláy 'Abd e' Salám and Fasídi, the latter a very noble old man, at their head. They came, however, on a very important errand, based on the direct order as promulgated by the emír of Hamda-Alláhi, and addressed to the whole community, being in hopes that, through their personal authority, they might obtain from my host, in a friendly manner, what he had denied to the display of force. They had two requests, both aimed against myself: first, that El Bakáy should give them a copy of the letter which I was said to have brought with me from Stambúl, and the second, which was more explicit, that I should not return into the town. Now my firmán from Stambúl was my greatest trouble, for having anxiously requested Her British Majesty's Government to send such a document after me, I always expected to receive it by some means or other, but I was not less disappointed in this respect, than in my expectation of receiving a letter of recommendation from Morocco; nevertheless, as I had some other letters from Mohammedans, the Sheikh promised to comply with the first demand of these people, while he refused to pay any attention to the second. After some unsuccessful negotiation, the messengers retraced their steps rather disheartened.

In order to attach more sincerely to my interest the Tuarek chiefs,

who were my only supporters, I gave to Fandaghúmme a present equal to the one I had given to Awáb. Next morning there arrived a troop of fugitives who were anxious to put themselves under the protection of the Sheikh. They belonged to the tribe of the Surk, who, from being the indigenous tribe on that part of the Niger which extends on both sides of the lake Debu, had been degraded, in the course of time, to the condition of serfs, and were threatened by the fanatical Sheikh Ahmedu with being sold into slavery. Of course it is the Sheikh El Bakáy's policy to extend his protection to whatever quarter is threatened by the Fúlbe; but, in this case, sympathy with the miserable fate of these poor people led him to interfere.

It was near sunset when we mounted in order to return into the town; and on the way I kept up a conversation with Awáb, till the time of the mughreb prayer arrived, when the whole of my friends went to pray on the desert ground, while I myself, remaining on horseback, went a little on one side of the track. My companions afterwards contended that it was from motives of pride and arrogance that I did not humble myself in the dust before the Almighty. I should certainly have liked to kneel down and thank Providence for the remarkable manner in which my life had hitherto been preserved; but I did not deem it politic to give way to their mode of thinking and worship in any respect; for I should have soon been taken for a Mohammedan, and once in such a false position, there would have been no getting out of it.

We then entered the town amidst the shouts of the people, who, by the appearance of the moon, had just discovered, as is very often the case in these regions, that they had been a day out in their reckoning, and that the following day was the festival of the Mulúd, or the birthday of Mohammed, and I was allowed to take quiet possession of my quarters.

The same evening I had an interesting conversation with the chief Awáb, who paid me a long visit, in company with his mállem, and gave me the first account of the proceedings of that Christian traveller Mungo Park (to use his own words), who, about fifty years ago, came down the river in a large boat; describing the manner in which he had been first attacked by the Tuarek below Kábara, where he had lost some time in endeavouring to open a communication with the natives, while the Tin-ger-égedesh forwarded the news of his arrival, without delay, to the Igwádaren, who, having collected their canoes, attacked him, first near Bamba, and then again at the narrow passage of Tósaye,* though all in vain; till at length, the boat of that intrepid traveller having stuck fast at Ensýmmo (probably identical with Ansóngó), the Tuarek of that neighbourhood made another fierce and more successful attack, causing him an immense deal of trouble, and killing, as Awáb asserted, two of his Christian companions. He also gave me a full account of the iron

* The Tuarek must have attacked Park either far above or below this narrow passage, where, as I afterwards found, the current is very strong; and, as I shall relate further on, he seems to have passed quietly by Tinshefien.

hook with which the boat was provided against hippopotami and hostile canoes, and his statement altogether proved what an immense excitement the mysterious appearance of this European traveller, in his solitary boat, had caused among all the surrounding tribes.

This chief being very anxious to obtain some silver, I thought it best, in order to convince all the people that I had no dollars left (although I had saved about twenty for my journey to Háusa), to give him my silver knife and fork, besides some large silver rings which I had by me; and he was very glad to have obtained a sufficient quantity of this much-esteemed metal for adorning his beloved wife.

These Tuarek chiefs who had thus become well disposed towards me, through the interference of the Sheikh, wrote an excellent letter of franchise for any Englishman visiting this country, thus holding out the first glimmer of hope of a peaceable intercourse. But my own experience leaves no room for doubt that these chiefs are not strong enough of themselves to defend a Christian against the attacks of the Fúlbe in the upper course of the river above Timbúktu, besides the fact that Áwáb is too nearly connected with the latter to be entirely trusted. It was on this account that my host esteemed his cousin Fandaghúmme much higher, and placed greater reliance on him, although the actual chieftainship rested with Áwáb. All this business, however, together with the writing of the letter to the chief of Hamda-Alláhi, which was rejected in several forms, and caused a great many representations from the chief men of the town, proved extremely tedious to me. My health, too, at that time was in a very indifferent condition, and I suffered repeatedly from attacks of fever. In a sanitary point of view, Timbúktu can in nowise be reckoned among the more favoured places of these regions. Both Sansándi and Ségo are considered more healthy. But, notwithstanding my sickly state, I had sufficient strength left to finish several letters, which, together with a map of the western part of the desert, I intended sending home by the first opportunity.

As the waters increased more and more, and began to cover all the lowlands, I should have liked very much to rove about along those many backwaters which are formed by the river, in order to witness the interesting period of the rice harvest, which was going on just at this time. It was collected in small canoes, only the spikes of the upper part of the stalks emerging from the water. But new rice was not brought into the town till the beginning of January, and then only in small quantities, the *sáa* being sold for one hundred shells.

Monday, Dec 19—This was an important day important to the Moham-medans as the 'Aid e' subúwa, and celebrated by them with prayers and *séddega*, or alms; and not unimportant for myself, for my relation to the townspeople had meanwhile assumed a more serious character. Sheikho (Séko) Áhmedu had threatened, that if the inhabitants of Timbúktu did not assist in driving me out of the town, he would cut off the supply of corn. This induced the emír Kaúri to undertake a journey to the capital, in order to prevent the malicious intrigues of the kádhí Weled Fáamme, who was about to embark for that place, from making matters worse.

I have stated before, that, together with the caravan of the Berabîsh (the plural of Berbûshi), which had arrived on the 12th with a considerable armed host, 'Alî, the son of the old sheikh Ahmed, or Hamed, Weled A'bêda, had come to Timbûktu; and, seeing that I was a great friend of the Sheikh El Bakây, he had not come to pay his compliments to the latter, but had pitched his camp outside the town, and his people manifested their hostility towards me on several occasions. But, by a most providential dispensation, on the 17th the chief fell suddenly sick, and in the morning of the 19th he died. His death made an extraordinary impression upon the people, as it was a well-known fact that it was his father who had killed the former Christian who had visited this place, and the more so, as it was generally believed that I was Major Laing's son.

It was the more important, as the report had been generally spread that, as I have observed before, the Welad Slîmán, the principal and most noble section of the Berabîsh, had sworn to kill me, and the people could not but think that there was some supernatural connection between the death of this man, at this place and at this period, and the murderous deed perpetrated by his father and, on the whole, I cannot but think that this event exercised a salutary influence upon my final safety. The followers of the chief of the Berabîsh were so frightened by this tragical event that they came in great procession to the Sheikh El Bakây, to beg his pardon for their neglect, and to obtain his blessing, nay, the old man himself, a short time afterwards, sent word, that he would in no way interfere with my departure, but wished nothing better than that I might reach home in safety. The excitement of the people on account of my stay here thus settled down a little, and the party of the Fûlbe seemed quietly to await the result produced by the answer which the Sheikh had forwarded to Hamda-Allâhi.

On December 21st we again went in the afternoon to the tents. For the first time since my arrival in this town, I rode my own stately charger, which, having remained so many months in the stable, feeding upon the nutritive grass of the bÿrgu, had so completely recruited his strength that in my desperately weak state I was scarcely able to manage him. The desert presented a highly interesting spectacle. A considerable stream, formed by the river, poured its waters with great force into the valleys and depressions of this sandy region, and gave an appearance of truth to the fabulous statement* of thirty-six rivers flowing through this tract. After a few hours' repose, I was able to keep up a long conversation with the Sheikh in the evening, about Paradise and the divine character of the Kurân. This time our stay at the tents afforded more opportunity than usual for interesting conversation, and bore altogether a more religious character, my protector being anxious to convince his friends and followers of the depth of the faith of the Christians, and I really lamented that circumstances did not allow me to enter so freely into the details of the creed of these

* See one of these native reports in Duncan's account of his exploration in Dahome. *Journal Geog. Soc.*, vol. xvi., p. 157.

people, and to make myself acquainted with all its characteristics, as I should have liked

Part of the day the Sheikh read and recited to his pupils chapters from the hadith of Bokhâri, while his young son repeated his lesson aloud from the Kurân, and in the evening several surât, or chapters, of the holy book were beautifully chanted by the pupils, till a late hour of the night. There was nothing more charming to me than to hear these beautiful verses chanted by sonorous voices in this open desert country, round the evening fire, with nothing to disturb the sound, which softly reverberated from the slope of the sandy downs opposite. A Christian must have been a witness to such scenes in order to treat with justice the Mohammedans and their creed. Let us not forget that, but for the worship of images and the quarrels about the most absurdly superstitious notions which distracted the Christian Church during the seventh century, there would have been no possibility of the establishment of a new creed based on the principles of Monotheism, and opposed in open hostility to Christianity.

Peace and security seemed to prevail in this little encampment. In general the whole of this region to the north of the river is entirely free from beasts of prey, with the exception of jackals, but at present, together with the rising water, which had entirely changed the character of these districts, a lion had entered this desert tract, and one day killed three goats, and the following one two asses, one of which was remarkable for its great strength.

Remaining here a couple of days, on the evening of the 25th we had again a long conversation, which was very characteristic of the different state of mind of the Christian in comparison with that of the Mohammedan. While speaking of European institutions, I informed my host of the manner in which we were accustomed to insure property by sea as well as on land, including even harvests, nay, even the lives of the people. He appeared greatly astonished, and was scarcely able to believe it; and while he could not deny that it was a good "*debbâra*," or device, for this world, he could not but think, as a pious Moslim, that such proceedings might endanger the safety of the soul in the next. However, he was delighted to see that Christians took such care for the welfare of the family which they might leave behind, and it was an easy task to prove to him that, as to making profits in any way whatever, his co-religionists, who think any kind of usury unlawful, were in no way better than the Christians, for, although the former do not openly take usury, they manage affairs so cleverly that they demand a much higher percentage than any honest Christian would accept. I had a fair opportunity of citing, as an instance, one of those merchants resident in Timbûktu, to whom I had been recommended by Mr. Dickson, and who had consented to advance me a small loan, under such conditions that he was to receive almost triple the sum which he was to lend.

Sunday, Dec. 25 — This day was also an important epoch for the inhabitants of the place, the water having entered the wells, which are situated round the southern and south-western part of the town; and this period,

which is said to occur only about every third year, obtains the same importance here as the "lélet e' nuktah" possesses with the inhabitants of Cairo, viz the day or night on which the dyke which separates the canal from the river is cut. The whole road from Kábara was now so inundated that it was no longer passable for asses, and small boats very nearly approached the town.

When my host made his appearance on the morning of the 26th, he was not as usual clad in a black tobe, but in a red kaftán, with a white cloth bernús over it. He began speaking most cheerfully about my approaching departure, and had the camels brought before me, which now looked infinitely better than when they were last conveyed from the other bank of the river; but as I had become fully aware of his dilatory character, I did not place much reliance upon the hope which he held out to me of soon entering upon my home journey. We had heard of the messenger whom he had sent to the Awelimmiden, in order to induce the chief of that tribe to come to Timbúktu and to take me under his protection, having reached the settlements of that tribe; but I was aware that the opposite party would do all in their power to prevent the chief from approaching the town, as they were fully conscious that the Sheikh wanted to employ him and his host of warlike people, in order to subdue the Fullán and the faction opposed to his own authority.

Tuesday, Dec 27.—Feeling my head much better, and having recruited my strength with a diet of meat and milk, I began to enjoy the rehála life, and, it being a beautiful morning, I took a good walk to an eminence situated at some distance north of my tent, from whence I had a distant view of the landscape. The country presented an intermediate character between the desert and a sort of less favoured pasture ground, stretching out in an undulating surface, with a sandy soil tolerably well clad with middle-sized acacias and with thorny bushes, where the goat finds sufficient material for browsing. The streams of running water which, with their silvery threads, enlivened these bare desert tracts, now extended a considerable distance farther inland than had been the case a few days before, and the whole presented a marvellous and delightful spectacle, which, no doubt, must fill travellers from the north who reach Timbúktu at such a season with astonishment. Hence, on their return home, they spread the report of those numerous streams which are said to join the river at that remarkable place, while, on the contrary, these streams issue *from* the river, and after running inland for a short time, return to join the main trunk, though of course with decreased volume, owing to absorption and evaporation.

All the people of the town who did not belong to any trade or profession, together with the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts, were still busily employed with the rice harvest, and this was a serious affair for my horses, a much smaller quantity of býrgu, that is to say, of that excellent nutritious grass of the Niger, which I have had repeatedly occasion to mention, being brought into the town. Meanwhile the price of the merchandise from the north went on increasing. A piece of klám or malti (unbleached calico), now sold for 5,700 shells (at least

on January 26th), but in the beginning of February it rose to 7,200, this fluctuation in the prices constitutes the profit of the merchants, who buy their supplies on the arrival of a caravan and store it up.

The commercial activity of the town had received some further increase, owing to the arrival of another caravan from Tawát, with black Háusa manufactures, tobacco, and dates, so that I was able to lay in a good store of this latter luxury, which is not always to be got here, but which, in the cold season, is not at all to be despised. Besides receiving a handsome present of dates from my noble Tawáti friend Mohammed el 'Aish, I bought two measures (neffek) and a half of the kind called tin-áser for 4,000 shells, for the "tin-akór," the most celebrated species of dates from Tawát, were not to be procured at this time. As for tobacco, I did not care a straw about it, and in this respect I might have been on the very best terms with my fanatical friends, the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi, who offer such a determined opposition to smoking upon religious principles. In a commercial respect, however, tobacco forms a more important article in the trade of Timbúktu than dates, although refined smokers here prefer the tobacco of Wádi-Nún to that of Tawát. But even these had an opportunity of gratifying their inclination at this season, for only two days after the arrival of the Tawáti caravan, a small troop of Tájakánt traders, with eighty camels, entered the town. The feud which raged between the different sections of this tribe, which, as I stated before, chiefly keeps up the commercial relations of Timbúktu with the north, on the one hand, and the war raging between the whole of this tribe and the Érgbát on the other, interrupted at this time almost entirely the peaceable intercourse between Timbúktu and the southern region of Morocco.

The arrival of these people enabled me to purchase half a weight of sugar, equal to six pounds and a quarter, with a corresponding quantity of tea (viz half a pound), for three dollars, for, as I have said before, there had been no sugar previously in the market. Even when there is plenty, neither tea nor sugar can be bought separately. These articles must be bought together. It is remarkable that a similar custom is still prevalent in many parts of Europe, and even in this country.

The arrival of these Tájakánt procured me also the luxury of a couple of pomegranates, which had been brought by them from the Gharb, and which gave me an opportunity of expostulating with the Sheikh on the disgraceful circumstance, that such fruits as these are now only procurable from the north, while this country itself might produce them quite as well, and had in reality done so in former times. Even limes are not at present grown hereabouts, and it was only from Jenni that I had obtained some days previously a few specimens of this delicious kind of fruit, which grows in such plenty in Kanó, and which might be raised in almost any part of this region. Thus closed the year 1853, leaving me in a most unsettled position in this desert place.

CHAPTER XXV.

BEGINNING OF THE NEW YEAR—ANOMALOUS RISING OF THE NIGER—
COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF TIMBÚKTU.

I HAD long cherished the hope that the beginning of 1854 would have found me far advanced on my homeward journey; but greatly disappointed in this expectation, I began the year with a fervent prayer for a safe return home in the course of it.

El Médani, my friend from Swéra, or Mogadore, whom I used to call my political thermometer, or rather my politico-meter, on account of his exhibiting towards me friendly feelings only at times when he saw everything quiet, sent me his compliments in the morning of January 1st, nay, even the two leaders of the hostile factions,—Hammádi, the rival of my protector, and Taleb Mohammed, the wealthiest merchant in the town, and the leader of the intriguing merchants from Morocco,—gave me to understand that they wanted to enter into friendly relations with me. My health as yet was very precarious, but I felt so much recovered in mind and body that, preparatory to my longed for departure, I began arranging the remainder of my baggage, which, with the exception of my small library, had been very much reduced. To my great astonishment and delight, while searching through my lumber, I found another thermometer in good repair. From the remainder of my broken instruments I picked up a good deal of quicksilver, which I gave to the Sheikh, who himself, as well as his other unsophisticated friends, derived a great deal of amusement from observing the qualities of this metal. Meanwhile, my protector endeavoured to make me fully acquainted with the political relation in which he stood to his brothers, Sidi Mohammed and Zén el 'Abidin, whom he expected soon to arrive, and of whose different views in politics he gave me some slight hints, and I lamented greatly that the power of this noble family, instead of being strengthened by the number of its conspicuous scions, was only rent and split by the divergency of their views.

The course of my material existence went on very uniformly, with only slight variations. My daily food, when I was in the town, consisted of some milk and bread in the morning, a little kuskus, which the Sheikh used to send, about two in the afternoon, and a dish of negro millet, containing a little meat, or seasoned with the sauce of the kobéwa, or *Cucurbita Melopepo*, after sunset. The meat of Timbúktu, at least during the cold season, agreed with me infinitely better than that of any other part of Negroland; but this was not the case with the *Melopepo*, although it is an excellent and palatable vegetable. In the beginning of my stay I had consumed a great many young pigeons, which form a favourite dainty in this city. They are sold at the almost incredibly cheap rate of ten shells each, or at the rate of three hundred for a dollar, but the poor little things were used for culinary purposes so soon after breaking the shell as to be almost tasteless. A very rare

dainty was formed by an ostrich egg, which was one day brought to me. This article is more easily to be obtained in the desert than in the towns, and such strong food, moreover, is not well adapted to the stomach of a resident. The Sheikh used also to send me a dish late at night, sometimes long after midnight; but, on account of the late hour, I never touched it, and left it to my servants.

It had been arranged that we should make another excursion to Kábara, but our visit was put off from day to day, although I was extremely anxious to witness the features of the country, in the present high level of the river, at the place where I had first landed on my arrival. Thus I was reduced, for entertainment, to my intercourse with the Sheikh, his kinsfolk, and followers, and as religious topics were always brought forward more prominently by my enemies, but especially in the learned letters which the emir of Hamda-Alláhi sent in reply to the Sheikh, my conversation with the former now began to turn more and more upon religious subjects, such as the return of the Messiah, and on the meaning of the name "Paraclete" given in the New Testament to the Holy Spirit, who was to descend upon the apostles, but which by the Mohammedans in more recent times is applied to Mohammed, whose coming, they say, is predicted in this instance by the Holy Book of the Christians.

One day when I visited the Sheikh, the two brothers were engaged in an animated discussion respecting the relation of 'Aísa (Jesus Christ) to Mohammed, and a warm dispute arose on the sophistical question, whether it would be allowed, after the return of 'Aísa upon earth, to eat camels flesh. The Sheikh himself was anxious to prove how difficult it would be for themselves to change any part of their creed after the return of 'Aísa, owing to the difference which existed between the precepts of the two prophets, and thus intended to excuse the Christians for not embracing the creed of Mohammed, after having once adopted that of 'Aísa. The two learned men, in the heat of their dispute, had overlooked the fact that the camel was a prohibited animal to the Jews, but not to the Christians, and hence that the return of 'Aísa would not interfere with their favourite repast. It was by cheerfully entering into these discussions that I obtained for myself the esteem even of those who were most anxious to extort from me as much as possible of my remaining property.

The arrival of another small caravan of the Tawáti was very near causing me a serious embarrassment. Some of the merchants from Morocco, excited by commercial jealousy, had spread the report that the calico brought by that caravan was Christian property, belonging to the English agent in Ghadámes and I had some difficulty in making the people understand, that, even if that article had originally belonged to the agent, it was now the property of the Tawáti merchants. The presence of those people, also, caused the road to the north, by way of Tawáti, to be again brought under discussion, as the route most suitable for my home-journey. My departure was now discussed almost daily, the arrival of our lively and talkative, but indiscreet messenger, Ahmed el Wádáwi, who had at length returned from his errand to the Awelím-

meden, holding out the hope that my departure was in reality not far distant, but the fact that none of the Tuarek had come with him, notwithstanding his assertion that they were soon to follow, convinced me that my prospect of departure was put off for an indefinite period.

Towards the end of January the waters of the river reached their highest level, exhibiting that marvellous anomaly, in comparison with the period of the rising of other African rivers north of the equator, which is calculated to awaken astonishment in any man acquainted with the subject. For when he knows that the rising of these rivers is due to the fall of the tropical rains, he will naturally expect that the Niger, like its eastern branch, the Tsádda or Bénouwé, or the Nile, should reach its highest level in August or September. The fact can only be partly explained with the means at our disposal, and in the present state of our knowledge of this part of Africa, although it is illustrated by similar cases, if we compare it with the anomalous rising of some South-African rivers, especially the grand discovery of Dr. Livingstone, the Liambézi, which, forming in its upper course an immense shallow sheet of water, collects here the greatest amount of water at a time (July and August) when its lower course, the Zambézi, separated from it and withdrawn from the immediate effects of the waters collected above by the marvellous narrowing of the river-bed from the Falls of Victoria * downwards, is in its lowest state, and, through the influence of the water by which it is joined in its lower course, reaches here its highest level at quite a different season, February and March. We have before us exactly the same phenomenon in the case of the Niger, the great West-African river, which, according to the most accurate information which I was able to gather on the spot, every year continues to rise till the end of December or the beginning of January, and does not begin to decrease before February; while its eastern branch, the Bénouwé, as well as the lower course of the Niger, where it is called Kwára, exactly as is the case with the Nile, reaches its highest level by the end of August and begins to decrease steadily in the course of October.

To explain the difference and anomaly of these phenomena we must attend to the different character of these rivers. For while the Bénouwé after having once assumed a westerly direction follows it up with but very little deviation, the great western branch describes three quarters of an immense circle, and having but very little fall in the greater part of its extraordinary winding course, the waters which flow towards it from the more distant quarters require a long time to reach its middle course, so that the rain which falls in the course of September and October in the country of the Wangaráwa, or the South-eastern Mandi-

* I assume here the identity of these two rivers, which, however, has not yet been fully demonstrated. Compare also the anomalous rising of the Chobe (*Journ. Royal Geol. Soc.* vol. xxii, p. 169); although an isolated phenomenon, caused by an unusual and unequal fall of rain in the basin of the various branches of a great river-system, must not be confounded with a constant and regular course.

goes, will certainly continue to swell the river at Timbúktu till the end of November or even December, for that rain falls in those quarters behind the coast of Sierra Leone and Cape Palmas till the end of September, and perhaps even in October, we may conclude with some degree of certainty from the fact that such is the case on the coast; * and this is confirmed as regards Kakóndi and Timbo by Caillie's observations † In the mountainous southern provinces of Abessinia, too, whose latitude corresponds exactly with that of the regions from whence the feeders of the Niger take their rise, the most constant fall of rain has been observed in September. Now while the whole region between Jenne and Timbúktu is of a very flat and level character, so that the river, running along at a very slow rate and with a very meandering course, not only fills a very broad stream spreading out over the neighbouring low lands, but forms also a great many backwaters and basins or lakes of which the Débo is only one although perhaps the largest in size, the river lower down beyond Bamba, and especially in the district called Tin-sherifen which we shall visit on our return journey, is shut in and reduced to the width of a few hundred yards, so that the water, having expanded over such an immense tract and not exercising therefore the same pressure which such a volume of water would do under other circumstances if it were kept together in a narrower channel, preserves its level or even still increases in extent and depth, while the surplus produced by the fall of rain in the country higher up has already diminished

This is my mode of accounting for a phenomenon which seems to contradict in so great a measure the whole of the phenomena which have come under our observation with regard to the effects of rain and the rising of the rivers north and south of the equator, and imparts to the upper course of the Niger the same character as the Gabún and

* See Isert in the *Journal Hertha*, vol. x. a 1827, p. 374; M'Gill in *Berghaus's Journal* (Zeitschrift), vol. viii. a 1848, p. 59—61, with regard to Cape Palmas, Fraussinet in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 1855, vol. ii, p. 291—293.

† See Tomaro from Caillie's Observations in *Berghaus's Annal*, 1829, p. 769, but especially Caillie's own account of his stay in Time, vol. i, p. 328 (Eng. ed.). "The rains, to be sure, were not so incessant, but we regularly had rain every day, *until October*, when it became less frequent" We know also from Caillie that the Milo, the South-eastern branch of the Niger, or Dhuliba, reaches its highest level in September. Park's observations, even, show that the rains in the districts traversed by him extend till November; while we learn from him (Park's "First Journey," 3rd ed., 4to, p. 12) that the Gambia, whose feeders partly issue from the same districts which feed the western branches of the Niger, reaches its highest level in the beginning of October; and when we learn, from the same eminent traveller, that by the beginning of November the Gambia had sunk already to its former level, we must take into account the very short course of that river in comparison with the Niger which has a course of two thousand miles. The sinking of the Niger at Sansandi by about four inches, on October 8th (Park, vol. ii, p. 274), was only a temporary fluctuation.

other rivers of the equatorial line which reach their highest level in the course of February

Of course this state of the upper river, although it does not reach always the same level, cannot fail to exercise an influence also upon the lower part, where it is called Kwára, and where it has been visited repeatedly by Englishmen. But although, on account of their being unaware of this character of the river, they have not paid much attention to its features at the beginning of the hot season, and have even rarely visited it at that period, nevertheless Mr Laird, who spent several months in the Kwára, has not failed to observe a phenomenon which exactly corresponds to the state of the river which I have just described. For he records* the surprising fact, which formerly must have been quite unintelligible, but which now receives its full illustration, namely, that the river *at Iddá began to rise on March 22nd*. This, in my opinion, he erroneously attributes to the rains up the country, as there are no rains whatever during the whole of March, and only a few drops in April, but it is evidently the effect of the waters in the upper and wide part of the river at length beginning to decrease about the middle of February, if we take the current at from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 miles, as the windings of the river extend to not much less than two thousand miles between Kátara and Iddá. The elevation of Timbúktu above the level of the sea I assume to be about nine hundred feet.

It was on January 4th, that the first boat from Kábara approached close to the walls of the town of Timbúktu, and, as the immediate result of such a greater facility of intercourse, the supply of corn became more plentiful, and, in consequence, much cheaper the *sáa* of millet being sold for forty shells, and the *suníye*, that is to say, more than two hundred pounds' weight, for 3,000, or one Spanish dollar, certainly a very low rate, while I myself, as a foreigner and a stranger, had to pay 3,750. The high state of the waters was naturally of the greatest interest to me; and, in order to satisfy my curiosity, the Sheikh took me out on the 9th. Emerging from the town at about the middle of the western wall, where formerly the *báb el gibleh* was situated, we went first to the nearest creek of the river, but found here no boats, and then crossing an extremely barren and stony level reached another branch of the creek, where eight or ten smaller boats, without a covering or cabin, were lying, the innermost corner of this creek not being more than four or five hundred yards distant from the Great Mosque, or *Jingeré-bér*. All the people asserted that the river, at Kábara, had now reached its highest level, and even affirmed that it had begun to fall here on the 7th, but, nevertheless, it became evident that the waters were still rising during the whole of the month,—almost endangering the safety of the town. On this occasion I learned that a great inundation in 1640 had flooded a considerable part of the town, and converted into a lake the central and lowest quarter, which is called *Bagindí*, a name derived,

* See Laird and Oldfield, vol. II, p. 275. "It was a source of satisfaction to find that, owing to the rains up the country, the river began to rise about Saturday, March 22nd, since which time it had increased about two inches. A few drops of rain that fell this morning was all that we had at Iddah."

as is asserted, from the tank thus formed having been enlivened by hippopotami.*

Interesting as was that day's excursion it cost me dear; for being obliged, not only to be armed myself, but also to have an armed servant with me, I greatly excited the hostile feelings of the merchants from Morocco, and especially of that proud nobleman, 'Abd e' Salâm, who went about among the great men of the town, saying, that in Morocco we, the Europeans, or rather the English, were not allowed to wear arms. But to show the absurdity of this assertion, I stated that while travelling in Morocco we received armed horsemen for an escort, while here, where there was no settled form of government, we had to protect ourselves. He then spread the rumour that an armed English vessel had ascended the river as far as Gógó; and this curious report was backed with such strong assertions that my own servant, 'Alí el Ágeren, felt convinced of its truth, and thought it strange when I attempted to prove its absurdity.

But notwithstanding this hostile feeling, 'Abd e' Salâm deemed it prudent to send, next day, his friend, Múlây el Méhedí, in order to excuse himself for the expressions which he had used a few days before with regard to me. It was this man, Múlây el Méhedí, with whom I should have liked to be able to converse on friendly terms, as he was a person of intelligence, and even possessed some little knowledge of astronomy. Indeed, I was not a little astonished when, conversing with him one day about the situation of Timbúktu, he came out with the statement that the town was situated about 18° N. lat., without my having thrown out the slightest hint in this respect.

All this time the whole of the surrounding country was in a most disturbed state, owing to several expeditions or forays, which were going on, especially by the restless tribe of the Welád 'Alúsh. They had lately taken 600 camels from the Welád Mebarek, and had now turned their predatory incursions into another direction.

On January 12th we again went to the tents, which had now been pitched in another spot, called Ingómaren, at a distance of about six miles a little S from E, but this time our stay in the encampment was very unlucky for me in several respects. On the 13th I felt tolerably well, and had a cheerful conversation with my protector about my approaching departure, when he sent me several presents, such as a large cover for the top of the tent, called "sarámmu" by the Songhay, "e' bēni erréga" by the Moors hereabout, and several leather pillows, but on the 14th, a little after noon, I was seized with such a sudden and severe attack of fever as I had never experienced before, accompanied by violent shivering fits, which made my kind host fear that I had been poisoned. I had drunk, a short time before, some sour milk brought me by a Berbúshí, that is to say, a man who, although intimately attached to the family of the Sheikh, originally belonged to

* The hippopotamus being called "banga" in the Songhay language, the name, if really derived from that cause, ought to be spelt "Bangíndi;" but the *g* may be a nasal sound.

the tribe of the Derabîsh, whose chief murdered Major Lang. Although I myself had no suspicion that the milk which I had drunk had in any way contributed to my sudden attack of illness, yet, as that man had some private animosity against me, and did not seem content with a present which I had made him in return for his small gift, I became so irritated, that I ordered him away in a very uncereceremonious manner, which caused a most unpleasant scene, for, at this conjuncture, all the people, including my own servants and even my very best friends among the Sheikh's people, without paying any regard to my feeble state, gave vent to their feelings against me as a Christian.

But the Sheikh himself did not for a moment change his kind disposition, sending me tea repeatedly, and calling frequently to see how I was getting on. Fortunately, a tranquil night's repose restored me again to health, and the following morning my friends came to me, one after the other, in order to beg my pardon for their neglect. While we were conversing on the preparations for my journey, a messenger brought the news of the arrival of a very intimate friend of the Sheikh, —Mohammed ben 'Abd-Allâhi el Fûtâwî,—who had come, with a numerous suite, in order to stay some time with the Sheikh, and, if possible, to be cured by me of some serious disease. and the prospect of soon leaving this quarter was greatly darkened by this circumstance.

Sunday, Jan 15—This was one of those rainy days which are said not to be unusual towards the end of January and the beginning of February in this quarter along the river, though, in the other parts of Negroland that I had visited, I had never beheld anything of the kind. But the quantity of rain that fell even here was very little, for the sky, which had been cloudy in the morning, cleared up about noon, and although in the afternoon it became again overcast, with thunder in the distance followed by lightning towards evening, yet there fell only a few drops of rain in the course of the night.

On the 16th, having made a good breakfast on a goat roasted whole before the fire, we returned again into the town, where I was desired to cure a man of a disease over which I had no power. The character and position of the person would have rendered it a circumstance of the highest importance to me if I had been able to do so. The chronic disease under which Mohammed ben 'Abd-Allâhi, for this is the person of whom I speak, was labouring, cast a melancholy gloom over him. I admired his manners, and the fine expression of his features, but I was disappointed to find that, although well versed in his religious books, he did not possess any historical knowledge as to the former state of these countries, which formed an object of the highest interest to me. The arrival of this person made my protector forget all the thoughts of my immediate departure.

Besides this circumstance, nothing of interest happened for some days, all the people exhorting me to patience, and, my departure being again put off, fresh attempts were made to convert me, even by my friends, who from sheer friendship could not bear to see me adhere to a creed which they thought erroneous. But I withstood all their attacks, and at times even ventured to ridicule freely some of their

superstitious notions I was far from laughing at the chief principles of their doctrine, but, as they always recurred in their arguments to their belief in sorcery and demons, I declared one day that, as for us, we had made all the demons our "khóddemán" This is an expression with which these people are wont to denote the degraded and servile tribes; and I represented the Europeans as having obtained a victory over the spirits, by ascending in balloons into the higher regions, and from thence firing at them with rifles. The idea that

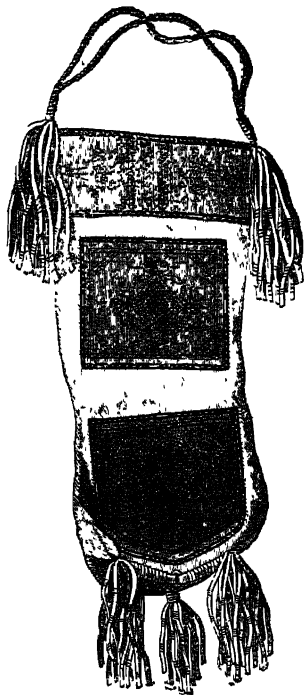
the Christians must have subjected to their will the demoniacal powers, occurs very easily to the mind of the Mohammedan, who does not understand how the former are able to manufacture all the nice things which issue from their hands.

Meanwhile I was glad to break off my relations with my former friend the Waláti, who had recently returned from a journey to Arimbinda, and who came to ask me officially whether he was to accompany me on my home journey or not, and although I told him plainly, that after all that had happened he could no longer be my companion, I treated him with more generosity than he deserved.

At the same time, I thought it also prudent to cultivate the goodwill of my servant 'Alí el Ágeren, although he had almost entirely separated himself from me, and left me to my fate, since he had become fully aware of the dangerous nature of my position. I demanded from him no sort of service, though his salary of nine dollars a month went on all the time. However, being rather short of cash, and not being able to procure a loan from the people to whom I had been recommended, I was glad to obtain from a friendly Ghadámsí merchant, of the

name of Mohammed ben 'Alí ben Taléb, about fifty thousand shells, equal to $13\frac{1}{2}$ mithkál, reckoned at 3,800 shells each, and I afterwards was obliged to add another small sum, making the whole 25 mithkáls.

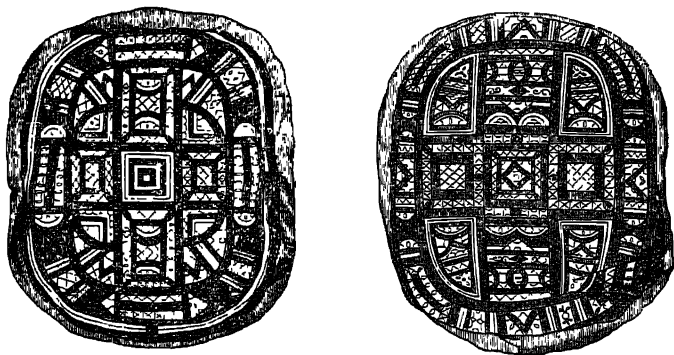
In this place I think it well to give a short sketch of the commercial relations of Tímúkútu, though it cannot make the slightest pretension to completeness, as I did not enter into such free intercourse with the natives as would have enabled me to combine a sufficient number of facts into a graphic view of the commercial life of the city. The people



with whom I had most intercourse could offer little or no information on the subject. My situation in Kanó had been very different.

The great feature which distinguishes the market of Timbúktu from that of Kanó is the fact, that Timbúktu is not at all a manufacturing town, while the emporium of Háusa fully deserves to be classed as such. Almost the whole life of the city is based upon foreign commerce, which, owing to the great northerly bend of the Niger, finds here the most favoured spot for intercourse, while at the same time that splendid river enables the inhabitants to supply all their wants from without, for native corn is not raised here in sufficient quantities to feed even a very small proportion of the population, and almost all the victuals are imported by water-carriage from Sansándi and the neighbourhood.

The only manufactures carried on in the city, as far as fell under my observation, are confined to the art of the blacksmith, and to a little leather-work. Some of these articles, such as provision or luggage bags, cushions, small leather pouches for tobacco, and gun-cloths,

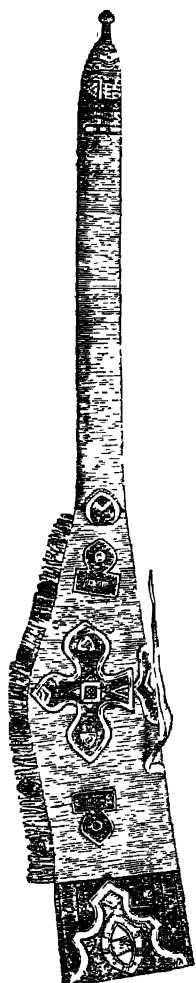
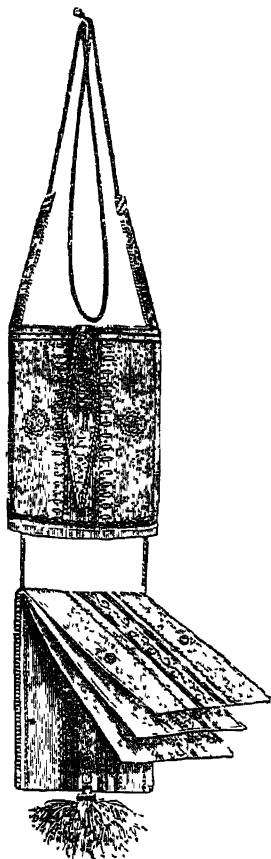


especially the leather bags, are very neat, as shown in the accompanying woodcuts, but even these are mostly manufactured by Tuarek, and especially females, so that the industry of the city is hardly of any account. It was formerly supposed that Timbúktu was distinguished on account of its weaving,* and that the export of dyed shirts from hence was considerable, but I have already had an opportunity of showing that this was entirely a mistake, almost the whole clothing of the natives themselves, especially that of the wealthier classes, being imported either from Kanó† or from Sansándi, besides the calico

* It may have been so, nevertheless, in the time of Leo, who mentions the many "*botteghe di tessitori di tele di bambagio.*" B. vii., c 5

† I will here only observe that Lord Fitzclarence, owing to the inquiries which, on his passage along the Red Sea, he made of a clever pilgrim, obtained a hint of this interesting fact. "*Journey from India Overland,*" p. 423.

imported from England. The export of the produce of Kanó, especially



by way of Arawán, extends to the very border of the Atlantic, where it comes into contact with the considerable import of Malabar cloth by

way of St Louis, or Ndér, on the Senegal, while the dyed shirts from Sansándi, which, as far as I had an opportunity of observing, seem to be made of foreign or English calico, and not of native cotton, do not appear to be exported to a greater distance. These shirts are generally distinguished by their rich ornament of coloured silk, and look very pretty; and I am sorry that I was obliged to give away, as a present, a specimen which I intended to bring home with me. The people of Timbúktu are very experienced in the art of adorning their clothing with a fine stitching of silk, but this is done on a very small scale, and even these shirts are only used at home. There is, however, a very considerable degree of industry exercised by the natives of some of the neighbouring districts, especially Fermágha, who produce very excellent woollen blankets, and carpets of various colours, which form a most extensive article of consumption with the natives.

The foreign commerce has especially three great high-roads: that along the river from the south-west (for lower down the river there is at present scarcely any commerce at all), which comprises the trade proceeding from various points, and two roads from the north, that from Morocco on the one hand, and that from Ghadámes on the other. In all this commerce, gold forms the chief staple, although the whole amount of the precious metal exported from this city appears to be exceedingly small, if compared with a European standard. It probably does not exceed an average of £20,000 sterling per year. The gold is brought either from Bambúk or from Búre, but from the former place in a larger quantity. The gold from the country of the Wángaráwa does not reach this market, but, as it seems, at present is directly exported to that part of the southern coast which on this account is called the Gold Coast. The species of gold from Bambúk is of a more yellow colour, that from Búre is rather whitish, and that from Wángara has a greenish hue. Most of this gold, I think, is brought into the town in rings. I do not remember to have seen or heard of gold dust, or "tibber," being brought to market in small leathern bags, such as Shabíni and other people describe, containing about one ounce, equal to twenty-five dollars in value. But, nevertheless, a considerable amount of this article must come into market, as most of the gold dust which comes to Ghadámes and Tripoli passes through Timbúktu, while another portion goes directly from Sansándi to Árawán.

It was evidently in consequence of the influence of the Arabs, that the scale of the mithkál was introduced in the trade in gold; but it is a very general term, which may signify very different quantities, and thus we find various kinds of mithkáls used in Negroland, especially those of Ágades, Timbúktu, and Mango, the Mandingo place between Yendí and the Niger, the former of which is the smallest, and equal, as I have stated in the proper place, to 1,000 shells of Háusa standard, although in the present decayed state of the town of Ágades, where all the gold trade has ceased, it possesses rather an imaginary value. The mithkál of Timbúktu contains the weight of 24 grains of the kharúb tree, or 96 of wheat, and is worth from 3,000 to 4,000 shells. The mithkál of Mango is equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ of that of Timbúktu. Besides rings, very

handsome ornaments are worked of gold; but, as far as I could learn, most of this workmanship comes from Waláta, which is still celebrated on this account

The next article that forms one of the chief staples in Timbúktu, and in some respects even more so than gold, is salt, which, together with gold, formed articles of exchange all along the Niger from the most ancient times. It is brought from Taudénni, a place whose situation has been tolerably well established by M. Caillié's journey, and the mines of which have been worked, as we know from Ahmed Bába, since the year 1596, when the former mines of Tegháza, situated some seventy miles further to the north, were given up. These salt mines of Tegháza appear to have been worked from very remote times, or at least before the eleventh century, and there can be little doubt that the mines of Tátentál, described by the excellent geographer El Bekrí as situated twenty days' journey from Sigilmésa, and two from the beginning of the desert, are identical with Tegháza. Even at that time both Sigilmésa and Ghánata were provided from here, while at least the eastern and original portion of Songhay was supplied at that early period from the mines of Taútek, six days from Tademékka

In Taudénni the salt, which covers a very extensive tract of ground in the district "El-Jóf," is formed in five layers, or "úje," the uppermost of which is called el-wára, the second, el-benti, the third, el-hammamiye, the fourth, el-káhela, or the black one, and the lowest, which is embedded in the water, el-kámara, or el-bédha. The upper of these layers are of little value, and the most in request is the fourth layer, or el-káhela, the colour of which is a most beautiful intermixture of black and white, like a species of marble. The ground is let out by the "káid," who resides here, and whose name at the present time is Zén, in small portions, where the diggings are made, and he levies a tribute called the khomús from each hofra, or hole, the rest being sold by the workmen

The largest pieces of salt which are dug out here measure 3 feet 5 inches in length, 13 inches in height, and 2½ inches in thickness, but they are of very unequal size, varying from 50 to 65 lb in weight, this, however, is only half of one layer, each layer being sawn into two slabs. The price of these slabs of course varies greatly at different times, but, as far as I became aware, in general does not reach such an exorbitant price as has been mentioned by Leo Africanus, Mr. Jackson, General Daumas, and others. When lowest, the price of each middle-sized slab does not exceed 3,000 shells; and the highest price which was paid during my residence in the town was 6,000, the price always rising towards spring, when the salt caravans become scarce on account of the number of blood-flies which infest the town and the neighbourhood of the river. Of course, when this great highroad is shut up for a long period, in consequence of feuds between the various tribes, the price may for a time rise much higher, but such cases must be quite exceptional.

The trade in salt on a large scale, as far as regards Timbúktu, is entirely carried on by means of the túrkedí, or the cloth for female apparel, manufactured in Kanó; the merchants of Ghadámes bartering

in the market of Arawán six türkedi, or "mélhafa," for nine slabs, or "hajra," of salt, on condition that the Arabs bring the salt ready to market; or twelve, including the carriage to Taodénni. If they themselves then carry the salt to Timbúktu, they sell there eight slabs of salt for six mithkál of gold; but if they carry it to Sansándi, each slab of salt fetches two mithkál

But the expense of this journey up the river is very great, on account of the boats being obliged to unship their merchandise at the islands of Jafarabe, whence it is taken to Sansándi on the backs of asses, and on account of the áshúr, which is levied by the Fúlbe, the expense is equal to about thirty-three per cent, so that, out of every six slabs of salt transported to Sansándi, two are required for covering the expense of transport. Thus, each türkedi bought in Kanó for about one thousand eight hundred shells fetches two mithkál of gold when sold in Sansándi, while in Timbúktu it fetches from one to one and one-sixth. This certainly, when we take into account the price of gold in Ghadámes and Tripoli, is a considerable profit but the road which this merchandise takes from Kanó to Ghát, thence to Tawát, and from that place to Timbúktu, is very circuitous and expensive, and requires the agency and co-operation of several persons, no single merchant undertaking the whole of the traffic

I have already remarked, in the proper place, that Libtáko, or rather Dóre, forms the market-place for the salt for supplying the provinces to the south-east of Timbúktu. It is transported thither by a direct road by way of Tósaye or Gógó, without touching at Timbúktu, while, with regard to the region to the south-west, Sansándi is the great entrepôt for this commerce. The trade in this article, which, in countries where it is wanting entirely, becomes so precious, and the more so the greater its bulk, is, as I said before, of very ancient date in this western part of Negroland. But the salt was brought at that period, not from Taodénni, but from the neighbouring salt mines of Tegaháza, and, in the former period, found its entrepôt in Ghánata and Waláta.

The gúro, or kóla nut, which constitutes one of the greatest luxuries of Negroland, is also a most important article of trade. Possessing this, the natives do not feel the want of coffee, which they might so easily cultivate to any extent, the coffee plant seeming to be indigenous in many parts of Negroland. The gúro which is brought to the market of Timbúktu is imported from the provinces of Tangréra, the town which was touched at by M. Caillié on his journey from Sierra Leone to Morocco, and of Teuté and Káni, to the south of Timé; while the gúro which is brought to the market of Kanó is imported from the northern province of Asanti; and the trees which furnish these different kinds of kóla nuts do not belong to the same species, being distinguished as *Sterculia acuminata*, or the red kóla nut, and *Sterculia macrocarpa*, or the white kóla nut, although the variety appears merely to apply to the seed, the fruit of the latter kind being generally of larger size, while both flower and leaf are quite identical

But there is a good deal of variety in the character of the gúro nut of each of these two species, and in Kanó four different kinds are distin-

guished, according to the size of the fruit, namely, the *guriye*, the largest fruit, which often measures an inch and a half, and sometimes even nearly two inches in diameter, and is sold at a very high price, secondly, the *marsakatu*, in the third place, the *sára-n-wága*, and fourth, the *ménu*. But this is not all. There is a further distinction of three kinds, according to the season when the fruit is gathered: first, the *já-n-karágú*, the first *gúro*, which is collected about the end of February, but spoils easily, like the *takdúf* among the dates; secondly, the *gammagári*, collected at a later season, when the greater part of the fruit is ripe, and remaining from three to four months on the tree, being regarded by the Arabs as corresponding to those kind of dates called *tasfirt*; and lastly, there is the *nata*, the rest of the *gúro*, and of small size, which does not spoil.

As for the *gúro* sold in *Timbúktu*, I had no opportunity of observing so many different varieties, but only became aware of three distinctions being made, viz the *tinóro*, or *Tino-úro*, "*úro*" being the corresponding Songhay name for *gúro*, and *Tino*, or *Tina*, the name of a district; then the kind called *sigá*, and thirdly, that called *fára-fára*.

As regards *Selga*, the district to which the *Háusa* traders go for their supply of this article, three points are considered essential to the business of the *kóla* trade. first, that the people of *Mósi* bring their asses, secondly, that the *Tonáwa*, or natives of *Asanti*, bring the nut in sufficient quantities, and thirdly, that the state of the road is such as not to prevent the *Háusa* people from arriving. If one of these conditions is wanting, the trade is not flourishing. The price of the asses rises with the cheapness of the *gúro*. The average price of an ass in the market of *Selga* is 15,000 shells, while in *Háusa* the general price does not exceed 5,000. But the *fatáki*, or native traders, take only as many asses with them from *Háusa* as are necessary for transporting their luggage, as the toll, or *fitto*, levied upon each ass by the petty chiefs on the road, is very considerable. From 5,000 to 6,000 *gúro*, or *kóla* nuts, constitute an ass-load.

Selga, the market-place for this important article, being, it appears, a most miserable town, where even water is very scarce and can only be purchased at an exorbitant price, the merchants always manage to make their stay here as short as possible, awaiting the proper season in *Yendi*, a town said to be as large as *Timbúktu*, or in *Kulféla*, the great market-place of *Mósi*; and they are especially obliged to wait in case they arrive at the beginning of the rainy season, there being no *kóla* nuts before the latter part of the *kharif*. The price of this nut in *Timbúktu* varies from ten to a hundred shells each, and always constitutes a luxury, so that, even on great festivals, alms consisting of this article are distributed by the rich people of the town.

So much for three of the most important articles of trade in *Timbúktu*,—gold, salt, and the *kóla* nut, the salt trade comprising also the dealings in the native cloth manufactured in *Kanó*, which forms the general medium of exchange for this article, and about which I have already spoken in detailing the commerce of the great entrepôt of *Háusa*. I will only add here, that, as *Kanó* is not a very old place,

this want must have been supplied before from some other quarter. It is probable that, as long as Songhay was flourishing, such an import was not needed at all, and we find from several remarks made by El Bekri, and other ancient geographers, that the art of weaving was very flourishing on the Upper Niger, but especially in the town of Silla, from very ancient times. It is highly interesting to learn from these accounts that even in the eleventh century the cotton cloth was called in this region by the same name which it still bears at the present day, namely, "shugge."

The price of the articles brought to this market from the region of the Upper Niger, especially from Sansândi, varies greatly, depending as it does upon the supply of the moment. Provisions, during my stay, were, generally speaking, very cheap, while Caillié complains of the high prices which prevailed in his time.* But it must also be taken into account that the French traveller proceeded from those very countries on the Upper Niger from which Timbúktu is supplied, and where, in consequence, provisions are infinitely cheaper, while I came from countries which, owing to the state of insecurity and warfare into which they have been plunged for a long series of years, were suffering from dearth and famine.

The chief produce brought to the market of Timbúktu consists of rice and negro corn, but I am quite unable to state the quantities imported. Besides these articles, one of the chief products is vegetable butter, or mai-kadéña, which, besides being employed for lighting the dwellings, is used most extensively in cookery as a substitute for animal butter, at least by the poorer class of the inhabitants. Smaller articles, such as pepper, ginger, which is consumed in very great quantities, and sundry other articles, are imported. A small quantity of cotton is also brought into the market, not from Sansândi, I think, but rather from Jimbállá and some of the neighbouring provinces, no cotton being cultivated in the neighbourhood of the town: but the natives do not seem to practise much weaving at home, even for their own private use.

At the time of my visit, the caravan trade with Morocco, which is by far the most important, was almost interrupted by the feuds raging among the tribes along that road, especially between the Érgbát and Tájakánt on the one side, and the various sections of the Tájakánt on the other. This is the reason why in that year there were no large caravans at all, which in general arrive about the beginning of November, and leave in December or January.

These caravans from the north are designated, by the Arabs in this region, by the curious name ákabár (in the plural, ákwabír); the origin of which I have not been able to make out, but it is evidently to be ranked among that class of hybrid words used by the people hereabouts, which belong neither to the Arabic nor to the Berber language. The same term is even used in Morocco to denote a very large caravan or an aggregate of many small caravans, but in Timbúktu the term *kafá* is quite unusual for small parties, the name in use being "iéfega."

* Caillié, "Journey to Timbúctoo," ii, p. 33.

In former times these caravans, at least those from Morocco by way of Téfílélet, and from the wadí Dará by way of the territory of the 'Aríb, seem to have been numerous, although they never amounted to the number mentioned in Mr Jackson's account of Morocco, and in various other works.

The small caravans of Táakánt which arrived during my stay in the town, the largest of which did not number more than seventy or eighty camels, are rather an exception to the rule, and can therefore furnish no data with regard to the average, although I am quite sure that they very rarely exceed one thousand camels. The consequence of this state of things was, that, especially during the first part of my residence, the merchandise from the north fetched a very high price, and sugar was scarcely to be had at all.

With regard to European manufactures, the road from Morocco is still the most important for some articles, such as red cloth, coarse coverings, sashes, looking-glasses, cutlery, tobacco, while calico especially, bleached as well as unbleached, is also imported by way of Ghadámes, and in such quantities of late, that it has greatly excited the jealousy of the Morocco merchants. The inhabitants of Ghadámes are certainly the chief agents in spreading this manufacture over the whole north-western part of Africa, and, in consequence, several of the wealthier Ghadámsi merchants employ agents here. The most respectable among the foreign merchants in Timbúktu is Taleb Mohammed, who exercises at the same time a very considerable political influence; and the wealthiest merchants from Morocco besides him, during the time of my stay, were El Méhedí, the astronomer, Múlá 'Abd e' Salám, the nobleman, and my friend the Swéri: while among the Ghadámsi merchants, Mohammed ben Táleb, Snúsi ben Kyári, Mohammed Lebbe-Lebbe, Haj 'Alí ben Sháwa, and Mohammed Weled el Kádhi, were those most worth mentioning.

But to apply even to these first-rate merchants a European standard of wealth would be quite erroneous, the actual property of none of them exceeding probably 10,000 dollars, and even that being rather an exceptional case. Scarcely any of them transact business on a large scale, the greater part of them being merely agents for other merchants residing in Ghadámes, Swéra (Mogador), Merákesh (Morocco), and Fás.

The greater part of the European merchandise comes by way of Swéra, where several European merchants reside, and from this quarter proceeds especially the common red cloth, which, together with calico, forms one of the chief articles of European trade brought into the market. All the calico which I saw bore the name of one and the same Manchester firm, printed upon it in Arabic letters. But I am quite unable, either with respect to this article or any other, to give an account of the quantity brought into market. All the cutlery in Timbúktu is of English workmanship. Tea forms a standard article of consumption with the Arabs settled in and around the town, for the natives it is rather too expensive a luxury.

A feature which greatly distinguishes the market of Timbúktu from that of Kanó, is the almost entire absence of that miserable kind of silk

or rather refuse, "twáni" and "kundra," which forms the staple article in the market of Kanó. Other articles also of the delicate Nuremberg manufacture are entirely wanting in this market: such as the small round looking-glasses, called "lemmá," which some time ago had almost a general currency in Kanó. The market of Timbúktu, therefore, though not so rich in quantity, surpasses the rival market of Kanó in the quality of the merchandise. Bernúses, or Arab cloaks, furnished with a hood, also seem to be disposed of here to a considerable extent, although they must form too costly a dress for most of the officers at the courts of the petty chiefs, in the reduced state of all the kingdoms hereabouts, and at all events they are much more rarely seen here than in the eastern part of Negroland. These bernúses of course are prepared by the Arabs and Moors in the north, but the cloth is of European manufacture. The calico imported constitutes a very important article. It is carried from here up the country as far as Sansándi, although in the latter place it comes into competition with the same article which is brought from the western and south-western coasts.

Among the Arab merchandise tobacco forms a considerable article of consumption, especially that produced in Wádí Nún, and called, *par excellence*, "el wargá," "the leaf," as it is not only smoked by the Arabs and natives in the country, as far as they are not exposed to the censure of the ruling race of the Fúlbe, but is even exported to Sansándi. I have already observed that tobacco constitutes a contraband article in all the towns where the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi exercise dominion, and in Timbúktu especially, where one can only indulge in this luxury in a clandestine manner.

Tobacco, together with dates, forms also the chief article of import from Tawát, the species from that place being called "el wargat," the leaves indicating its inferior character to the first-rate article from Wádí Nún. Dates and tobacco form articles of trade among the people of Tawát, the poor tradesmen of that country possessing very little of themselves besides. But the quantity of these articles imported has also been greatly overrated by those who have spoken of the commercial relations of these regions from a distance. At least I am sure that the whole of the time I was staying in the town only about twenty camel-loads of these two articles together were imported.

With regard to exports, they consisted, at the time of my stay in the place, of very little besides gold and a moderate quantity of gum and wax, while ivory and slaves, as far as I was able to ascertain, seemed not to be exported to any considerable amount. However, a tolerable proportion of the entire export from these regions proceeds by way of Aráwán, without touching at Timbúktu. At any rate, those gentlemen who estimate the annual export of slaves from Negroland to Morocco at about four thousand* are certainly mistaken, although in this, as well as in other respects, the exceptional and anarchical state of the

* Gräberg de Hemsö, "Specchio di Morocco." p. 146. Besides slaves, he enumerates as articles of export from Timbuktu to Morocco, ivory, rhinoceros horns, incense, gold dust, cotton strips (? verghe), jewels, ostrich feathers of the first quality, gum copal, cotton, pepper, cardamom, asafoetida, and indigo.

whole country at the time of my residence, and my own most critical situation, did not allow me to arrive at any positive results. Thus much is certain, that an immense field is here opened to European energy, to revive the trade which, under a stable government, formerly animated this quarter of the globe, and which might again flourish to a great extent. For the situation of Timbúktu is of the highest commercial importance, lying as it does at the point where the great river of Western Africa, in a serpentlike winding, approaches most closely to that outlying and most extensive oasis of "the far West,"—Mághreb el Aksa, of the Mohammedan world,—I mean Tawát, which forms the natural medium between the commercial life of this fertile and populous region and the north, and whether it be Timbúktu, Waláta, or Ghánata, there will always be in this neighbourhood a great commercial *entrepôt*, as long as mankind retain their tendency to international intercourse and exchange of produce.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DIARY CONTINUED.

BEING enabled to collect a good deal of information, as far as my situation allowed, I did not choose to accompany the Sheikh when he again went to the tents on January 24th. He promised that he would only stay a day or two, but he did not return until the 29th. On this occasion I took the liberty of reminding him that he was not over-scrupulous in keeping his word, but, in his amiable way, he evasively replied, "that if a person had only one fault, or 'áíb,' it was of no consequence." Among my informants at this time, two Kanúri travellers, who had visited all the countries of the Wángaráwa, or Eastern Mandingoes, and one of whom had penetrated even as far as the Gold Coast, were most distinguished. Besides a good deal of information, especially with regard to the topography of the country of Mósi, they gave me an account of the petty struggle between the Swedish and the Tonáwa or Asanti; and they also informed me that the Mósi people had plundered the villages of Dúna, Kúbo, and Isáy, all of them belonging to the province of Dalla, which we had passed on our road hither, and where, they said, no inhabitants were now left. The sheikho Áhmedu, after having collected an expedition against the Íregenáten, had changed his plans, in order to march against the mountain stronghold of Konna, but, as we afterwards heard, he was repulsed by the natives, the Sáro, who, relying upon their strong position, defended themselves with great valour.

Meanwhile, the salt, the staple produce of Timbúktu, gradually became dearer, the large "rás" fetching now 3,800 shells; for, as I have stated, the price constantly increases, caravans not being enabled to visit the place during the following months, till the end of April, on account of the large blood-flies infesting the river. A small caravan

containing from forty to fifty camels, which arrived on the 28th, was one of the latest that came into the town.

Thus ended the month of January, with utter disappointment at the failure of my expected departure, and with nothing but empty promises. After a sleepless night, I awoke on February 1st full of anxiety. I felt really afraid lest my host, notwithstanding his friendly disposition towards me, might keep me here the whole summer. At length I eased my mind in a slight degree by writing a letter to the Sheikh, wherein I made him a witness against himself, in having so repeatedly given me his word, that I should certainly leave this city and proceed on my home journey. But matters, indeed, now looked more serious, another Púllo officer of well-known energy, viz. Átkar, the governor of Gúndam and Díre, having arrived with a considerable troop of armed men from Hamda-Állah, and another man of still more importance, Áhmed el Férrej, was soon expected. The Fúlbe seemed fully resolved to vindicate their power and authority over the town, and, in order to show that they were masters of the place, they exacted this year a tribute of 2,000 shells on each slave with great severity.

Uncertain as were my prospects, I contrived to pass my time usefully by applying myself to the study of the idiom of the Western Tuarek, with Mohammed ben Khottár, the Sheikh's nephew, and a Tárki of the name of Músa, for my teachers. Thus endeavouring to master my impatience, I listened with composure to the several rumours which were repeatedly spread with regard to the arrival of the various brothers of the Sheikh, an event which, according to his statement, formed now the only reason for delaying my departure. But in a long private conversation which I had with him on the 4th, when I urged him more than usual, he began to appeal to my humane feelings, and, discarding all political motives, confessed that the chief reason which detained him was the pregnancy of his wife, and earnestly begged me to await the result of this event.

All this time, on account of the unusual height which the inundation had reached this year, a great deal of sickness prevailed in the town; and among the various people who fell a sacrifice to the disease was the son of Táleb Mohammed, the richest and most influential Arab merchant in the place, whose life I should have liked very much to save; but, seeing that the cure was very uncertain, I thought it more prudent (as I always did in such cases) not to give him any medicine at all.

Having stayed several days in the town, we again went out to the tents in the afternoon of the 8th, in the company of Rummán and Mushtába, two Tuarek chiefs who had come to pay the Sheikh a visit. On emerging from the Áberaz, I had with the latter a horse-race to some distance. As the Fullán seemed to have some projects against the Tuarek, and had strengthened their military power in the town of Gúndam, these Berber tribes were very much irritated against the former; they had even made an attack on a boat, and killed one of the Fullán and wounded another, while those of their tribe who were settled nearest to Gúndam thought it more prudent to change their dwelling-place, and to migrate further eastward.

According to the profession of the two chiefs who accompanied us, they did not wish to be at peace with that warlike tribe which is daily spreading in every direction, but, notwithstanding their personal valour, the Tuarek are so wanting in unity that they can never follow any line of policy with very great results, while those who have a little property of their own are easily gained over by the other party. Thus, instead of sticking closely to the Sheikh, and enabling him to make a firm stand against the Fullán, they seriously affected his interest at this time, by plundering, disarming, and slaying four Tawáti, who belonged to a small caravan that arrived on the 11th, and who, like all their countrymen, enjoyed the special protection of the Sheikh.

My friend seemed at this moment to doubt the arrival of his brothers, not less than that of Alkúttabu, the great chief of the Awelímmiden, and endeavoured to console me for the long delay of my departure by saying that it was the custom with them to keep their guests at least a year in their company. He informed me, at the same time, that he wanted to make me a present of a horse, and that I might then, if I liked, give one of my own horses to Alkúttabu. He was this day more communicative than usual, and sat a long time with me and his pupils, delivering to us a lecture on the equal rank of the prophets, who, he said, had each of them one distinguishing quality, but that none of them ought to be preferred to the other. He dwelt particularly on the distinguishing qualities of Moses, or Músa, who was a great favourite with him, although he was far from being friendly disposed towards the Jews, the spirit of Mohammed Ben 'Abd el Kerim el Maghilli, who hated that nation from the bottom of his heart, and preached the Jihád against it, having communicated itself to the Mohammedan inhabitants of this part of Negroland.

At another time my friend entered, without any prejudice, into the subject of wine and pork, and he had not much to say against the argument with which I used to defend myself from attacks in this respect; viz. that while we believed religion to concern the soul and the dealings of men towards each other, we thought all that regarded food was left by the Creator to man himself, but, of course, he would have been greatly shocked if he had beheld the scenes exhibited every evening by gun palaces in the midst of the very acme of European civilisation.

At other times again, taking out of his small library the Arabic version of Hippocrates, which he valued extremely, he was very anxious for information as to the identity of the plants mentioned by the Arab authors. This volume of Hippocrates had been a present from Captain Clapperton to Sultan Bello of Sókoto, from whom my friend had received it among other articles as an acknowledgment of his learning. I may assert, with full confidence, that those few books taken by the gallant Scotch captain into Central Africa have had a greater effect in reconciling the men of authority in Africa to the character of Europeans, than the most costly present ever made to them; and I hope, therefore, that gifts like these may not be looked upon grudgingly by people who would otherwise object to do anything which might seem to favour Mohammedanism.

We stayed at the tents till the 14th, the time, on this occasion, hanging less heavily upon my hands than formerly, in consequence of the more cheerful and communicative disposition of my host, and because I was able to gather some little information. The weather, too, was more genial. We had a really warm day on the 13th, and I employed the fine morning in taking a long walk over the several small sandy ridges which intersect this district. There were just at the time very few people about here who might cause me any danger, and I only fell in with the goatherds, who were feeding their flocks by cutting down those branches of the thorny trees which contained young offshoots and leaves. But the Sheikh, having received some private information, suspected that our enemies might make another attempt against my safety, and having requested me to send my servant, 'Abd-Alláhu, into the town, in the course of the day, to inform my people that we were about to return, he mounted with me, after the moon had risen, and we again entered our old quarters.

Thursday, Feb. 16—This morning one of my men, the Zaberma half-caste, Sambo, whom I had taken into my service at the residence of Galajo, came to request to be dismissed my service. In the afternoon I went to pay my respects to the Sheikh, and was rather astonished to hear him announce my departure more seriously and more firmly than usual, but the reason was, that he had authentic news that his elder brother, Sidi Mohammed, whose arrival he had been expecting so long, and whom he wanted to leave in his stead when obliged to escort me the first part of my journey, was close at hand. The big drum having really announced his arrival at the tents, we mounted on horseback, half an hour before midnight, and arrived at the encampment a little before two o'clock in the morning. Here everything, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, bore a festive character, and a large tent had been pitched for the noble visitor at the foot of the hilly slope, the top of which was occupied by the Sheikh's own tents.

The eldest member of this princely family was a man a little above the middle height and strongly built, with a fine commanding expression of countenance, and manners more stern and warlike than those of El Bakáy, but not wanting in affability and natural cheerfulness. In the position in which I was placed, as a stranger, not only of a foreign country and nationality, but of an opposite creed, and as the cause of so many difficulties to these people in their political affairs, I could not expect that this man would receive me, at our first interview, with remarkable kindness and cordiality. It was therefore not to be wondered at that, in the beginning, he asked me a great many questions which it was not agreeable for me to answer in the presence of strangers.

Next day, Hammádi, the son of El Mukhtár, the near relative of El Bakáy, and the latter's chief adversary, and therefore my enemy, arrived with several followers at the encampment. El Bakáy constrained himself, for his elder brother's sake, to remain in the same tent with Hammádi; but Sidi Alawáte, the younger and more reckless brother, was not to be persuaded to enter the tent as long as his hated cousin was there. He spent the day in my tent till his enemy was gone.

Sidî Mohammed did not seem to be at all unfavourably disposed towards Hammádi, and wanted even to enter the town in his company; but he was obliged to yield to the combined efforts of his two younger brothers, who refused the company of their cousin.

This was the first opportunity I had of seeing Hammádi, with whom I had wished from the beginning to be on friendly terms, but was forced by the policy of my host to avoid all intercourse with him, and thus to make him my adversary, as he was that of the Sheikh. I had received a favourable account of his learning from different quarters, but his personal appearance was certainly not very prepossessing. He was of a stout figure, with broad coarse features, strongly marked with the small-pox, and of a very dark complexion, his descent from a female slave being his chief disadvantage.

Sidî Mohammed was very anxious to get into the town, but El Bakáy, with his usual slowness, and perhaps this time longer detained by the interesting situation of his wife, made his appearance at a very late hour in the afternoon, and endeavoured to defer our departure till the next day; but his elder brother was too energetic to be thus put off, and having given sufficient vent to his dissatisfaction on account of the too great influence which Mrs Bák (that was the name of El Bakáy's wife) exercised over his brother, and asking me with an ingenious turn whether I knew who was more influential than sheikho Ahmedu ben Ahmedu and lorded it over his brother, he mounted his horse and sent his young nephew to tell his father that he was ready and was expecting him. Thus forced against his own inclination, the Sheikh at length disengaged himself from his family, and we went into the town in the company of a few horsemen who had come out to pay their respects to Sidî Mohammed, firing a few shots as we entered the place.

Of course, in a town where no strong government is established, and where every great man exercised all the influence and power of which he was capable, due homage and tribute were to be rendered to this potentate of the desert who came to honour it with a visit. A musical performance took place in front of the house of the Sheikh, where he took up his quarters; and each foreign merchant prepared a gift, according to his wealth, by which to obtain the protection of this man, or rather to forestall his intrigues. These gifts were by no means small; and I felt a great deal of compassion for my friend 'Alî ben Táleb, whose present, although by no means trifling, was sent back by Sidî Mohammed as neither adequate to the dignity of the receiver nor to that of the giver. I myself also found it necessary to make to this dignitary a respectable present. I gave him the finest bernús or Arab mantle which I had still left, besides a black tobe, and sundry smaller articles.

In other respects the town at this time became rather quieter, and trade was more dull. The small caravan of the Tájakánt, some members of which had only spent a few days in the town, left on the 20th; and the only articles which they took with them were salt and a little calico. Even directly from the north, along the most frequented route, the trade became insignificant; and a party of merchants who

arrived from Tawát on the following day was exceedingly small. Among them were two respectable Ghadámsiye merchants, but having resided three or four months in Tawát, they brought neither recent news nor letters for me. However, they came just in time, as on the 22nd a countryman of theirs, of some importance, died, and I learned on this occasion something about the property of merchants in this place. The deceased was a tolerably wealthy man, among the property which he left there being found about two thousand mithkál in gold, a considerable sum of money for this place, although it did not belong to himself, but to the Tiniyan, or the well-known Ghadámsi family of the Tini, whose agent he was. The house where he lived was worth two hundred mithkál.

Having, while in the town, much time at my disposal, and only little intercourse with the people, I had made ready another parcel containing the information which I had been able to collect for sending to Europe, and it was well that I had done so, as early on the 26th a small troop of poor Tawáti traders left for their native home. But, unfortunately, this parcel did not find Her Britannic Majesty's agent to whom it was addressed at Ghadámes, as he had left his post for the Crimea, and thus my family was thrown into the deepest grief in consequence of the rumour of my death, all my effects were buried; and when I arrived at length in Háusa, where I had reckoned to find everything that I wanted, I found even the supplies which I had left drawn away from me, as from a dead man.

Almost the whole of January and the beginning of February had been in general cold, with a thick and foggy atmosphere, well representing that season which the Tuarek call with the emphatic and expressive name "the black nights," éhaden esáttáfnén; and all this time the river was continually rising or preserving the highest level which it had reached. But on the 17th the river, after having puzzled us several times as to its actual state, had really begun to decrease, and almost immediately afterwards the weather became clearer and finer, thus testifying to the assertion of the Tuarek—who have exchanged their abodes in the desert for this border district along the river, as well as the Arabs, who give to this season the name of the forty nights—that the river never begins really to decrease before the end of this period. The greatest danger from the inundation is just at this time, when the waters recede, as the rising ground on which the hamlets along the shore are situated has been undermined and frequently gives way, and we received intelligence on the 22nd that the hamlet of Bétagungu, which is situated between Kábara and Gúndam, had been destroyed in this manner.

Although I had enjoyed a greater degree of security for some time, my situation, after a short respite, soon assumed again a serious character, and hostile elements were gathering from different quarters, for, while a very important mission was just approaching from Hamda-Alláhi, on the 25th we received the news that 'Abidín, that member of the family of Mukhtár who followed a policy entirely opposite to that of El Bakáy, was reported to be near, and he was conducted into the town by Hammádi with considerable display.

In the morning of the following day, just as the atmosphere changed from bright to gloomy, a powerful Púllo officer, and a prince of the blood, Hamedu, a son of Mohammed Lebbo, entered the town with a numerous troop on horseback and on foot, among whom were ten musketeers. They marched past my house on purpose, although the direct road from Kábara did not lead that way, in order to frighten me, while I, with the intention of showing them that they had entirely failed in their object, opened the door of my house, displaying in the hall all my firearms, and my people close at hand ready to use them.

But my little band became more and more reduced, for when the chief of my followers, the Méjebri, 'Alí el Ágeren, saw a fresh storm gathering against me, he disclaimed any further obligation towards me, notwithstanding the salary which he continued to receive. But, as I had given him up long before, this further manifestation of his faithlessness did not make a great impression upon me. On the other hand, I had attached to myself, by the present which I had bestowed upon him, the eldest brother of the family upon whose good-will, under the present circumstances, a great deal depended.

Thus approached February 27th, when the real character of the mission from Hamda-Alláhi, of which Hamedu had only been the fore-runner, was disclosed. Having been in a lazy and rather melancholy mood the whole day, I was reclining on my simple couch in the evening, when I was surprised by the Sheikh's nephew entering abruptly, and, although betraying by his sad and serious countenance that something very grave oppressed his mind, yet squatting silently down without being able or feeling inclined to say a word. Scarcely had he left me, when my Tawáti friend, Mohammed el 'Aish, who continued to show me a great deal of kindness and sympathy, called me into the Sheikh's presence. I was ushered in with great precaution through the hall and up the narrow winding staircase, and found the three brothers in the terrace-room engaged in serious consultation.

After I had taken my seat, they informed me that the Fullán were making a last attempt against my safety, and that, together with Kaúri, the former emír, a distinguished nobleman of the name of Mohammed el Férrej, had arrived in Kábara accompanied by a troop of about one hundred men, and that the latter messenger had addressed to my host two letters of very different character and tenour, one being full of manifestations of friendship, and the other couched in most threatening terms, to the effect that something serious would happen if he did not send me off before he (Férrej) entered the town. But, no active course of proceedings was resolved upon, although Mohammed, who was the most energetic of the three, proposed that we should mount on horseback and pass the night on the road to Kábara, partly in order to prevent the inhabitants of the town from joining the Fullán in that place, in conformity with the order which they had received, partly in order to intercept anything that might come from the hostile camp. While proposing this energetic measure, the chief of Ázawád was playing with his four-barreled musket, which, even under these momentous circumstances, excited my curiosity almost more than anything else, as I had never

seen anything like it in Europe. It was of excellent workmanship, but I could not say of what peculiar character, as it did not bear any distinct mark of nationality. Of course I suspected, when I first beheld it, that it had belonged to the late unfortunate Major Laing, but I was distinctly assured by all the people, though I could scarcely believe it, that this was not the case, and that it had been purchased from American traders at Portendik. At present it was rather short, the uppermost part having been taken off in consequence of an accident; but it was nevertheless a very useful weapon and not at all heavy. It was made for flints, there being only two cocks, and a cannon to each barrel.

Having discussed various proposals with regard to my safety, with characteristic slowness, and coupling serious observations with various amusing stories, Sidi Mohammed sat down and wrote a formal protest in my favour, and sent it to the emir Kaúri. However, I doubt whether, on a serious inquiry, this paper would have been regarded by Christians as very flattering to their position in the world, the principal argument brought forward by my noble friend and protector for not dealing with me in so cruel a manner being, that I was not "ákáfir" than the "ráis," meaning that I was not a greater "káfir," or unbeliever, than Major Laing, for, besides not being very complimentary, it left it open to our adversaries to reply, that they did not intend to treat me worse than the Major had been treated, who, as is well known, having been forced to leave the town, was barbarously murdered in the desert.

A messenger from the emir having arrived, the Sheikh himself made a long speech, telling him under what circumstances I had reached this place, and that now I had once placed myself under his protection, there was nothing but honourable peace, both for himself and his guest, or war. Upon this the messenger observed in an ironical manner, that, El Férréj (who had been sent to compromise with the Sheikh) being a learned man like himself, everything would end well, meaning, that they would know, if not able to succeed by force, how to vanquish him with arguments taken from their creed. Another protest having been sent to Táleb Mohammed, who, as I stated before, although nothing but a merchant, exercised a great political influence in this anarchical place, I went home to refresh myself with a cup of tea, and then made preparations for the eventual defence of my house, and for hiding the more valuable of my effects after which I returned to the residence of El Bakáy, about midnight, and found the holy man himself, armed with a double-barreled gun, about to enter the great segifa, or parlour, which he had allotted to his faithful and discreet storekeeper, Táleb el Wáfi. Here we sat down, and soon about forty men gathered round us, armed partly with spears and partly with muskets, when, after a great deal of useless talk as to what was to be done, it was agreed upon to send one messenger to the Tuarek chiefs, Rummán and Mushtába, whose acquaintance I had made on a former occasion, and who at present were encamped in Mushérrek, a locality rich in pasture-grounds and well protected by three branches of the river, to the south-west of the town, —and another messenger to our friend the Kel-úllh, in order to summon these people to our assistance.

Meanwhile the Sheikh, seated on the raised platform of clay which occupied the left corner of the parlour, entertained the sleepy assembly with stories of the prophets, especially Músa and Mohammed, and the victories achieved by the latter, in the beginning of his career, over his numerous adversaries. The quiet of the listless assembly was only disturbed for a time by a shriek issuing from the northern part of the town, and everybody snatched his gun and ran out, but it was soon found that the alarm was caused by our own messengers, who, on leaving the place, had disturbed the repose of the inhabitants of the suburb, or "Áberaz," the latter supposing them to belong to a foray of the predatory and enterprising Welád 'Alúsh, who were then infesting Azawád.

Having thus sat up the whole night, full of curious reflections on these tragi-comic scenes, I returned to my quarters about five o'clock in the morning, and endeavoured to raise my exhausted spirits by means of some coffee. However, our precautions, insufficient as they might seem to a European, had had their full effect, and the Púllo messenger did not dare to enter the town before noon, and even then, although joined by about sixty horsemen from the townspeople, was afraid to traverse our warlike quarter.

Meanwhile Sidi Mohammed and Álawáte had left the town with a troop of armed men, under the pretext of observing the movements of the enemy, but perhaps in order to show them that they themselves did not coincide with all the views of the Sheikh. Going then to the residence, I found nearly two hundred people assembled there, most of them armed, and including among their number even the Púllo, Mohammed ben 'Abd-Alláhi, who did not conceal the greater friendship he felt for the Sheikh than for his own countrymen, the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi. While I was there, Mohammed Saíd, the officer who had been sent to capture me on a previous occasion, was despatched as a messenger by Ferrej, the new officer, and, under the present circumstances, disguising all hostile intentions, he was desirous to know what was the reason of this show of arms, such not being in accordance with the Sheikh's former character, and it being rather his duty to bestow hospitable treatment upon his old friend, El Férrej.

Although this was rather a curious distortion of facts, I was still more astonished at the answer of the Sheikh, who replied, that he had only followed the example of his two brothers. But the business was not settled in this manner. Late in the evening there was another serious consultation in the terrace-room of the Sheikh, and Sidi Álawáte was despatched to Férrej to elicit from him an indication of his real intentions. Sidi Mohammed, meanwhile, in order to pass away the time, opened a cheerful and jocose conversation, by questioning me respecting the social position and the various relations of the other sex in my own country,—a subject which always possesses a great deal of attraction, even amongst the most serious of the Mohammedans.

Having then been obliged to withdraw, as Álawáte had pretended that he could only communicate his message from the officer sent from Hamda-Alláhi to El Bakáy himself, I returned home; but, long after

midnight, I received a visit from the latter, who came to inform me that Férreji had brought nothing but favourable letters from Hamda-Alláhi, having written, as he said, the threatening letter from Kábara merely at the instigation of the Saheliye, or merchants from Morocco, and that he himself, on his part, had assured Férreji that, if Sheikho Ahmedu left me alone, I should be forwarded on my home journey after a short delay, but adding, that the Fúlbe ought to assist them from the public revenue, in order to hasten my departure.

The same day I witnessed an interesting episode in the private life of these people. The Sheikh's mother-in-law having died, he went to pray for her soul at the "ródha," or sepulchre, of Sidi Mukhtár, a sacred locality a few hundred yards on the east side of the town, which in my career in this place was to become of greater importance to me. Such is the reverence which these Arabs have for the female portion of their tribe. There are, moreover, several women famed for the holiness of their life, and even authoresses of well-digested religious tracts, among the tribe of the Kunta.

Political circumstances were not quite so favourable as my host wanted to represent them to me, as, like many other people, he was not very particular, when endeavouring to obtain a good object, about saying things that were not quite true. and the following day, when Ferreji paid a visit to the Sheikh, he designated me as a war-chief and a "mehárebí," or freebooter, who ought not to be allowed to remain any longer in the town. Altogether it was fortunate that El Bakáy had provided for the worst by sending for the Kél-úlli, who arrived in the course of the afternoon, about sixty strong, with great military demonstrations and beating of shields. It was on this occasion that I first made the acquaintance of this warlike tribe, who, notwithstanding their degraded position as Imghád, have made themselves conspicuous by totally annihilating the formerly powerful tribe of the Igelad and Imédidderen, who in former times ruled over Timbúktu and were hostile to the Kunta. The Kél-úlli are distinguished among all the tribes of the neighbourhood by three qualities which, to the European, would scarcely seem possible to be united in the same person, but which are not unfrequently found combined in the Arab tribes, viz. "réjela," or valour; "sirge," or thievishness; and "dhiyáfa," or generous hospitality.

CHAPTER XXVII.

GREAT CRISIS.—OBLIGED TO LEAVE THE TOWN —MILITARY DEMONSTRATION.

THERE was now a fair opportunity offered me of leaving the town in an honourable way, under the protection of the friendly Kél-úlli, who for this very purpose had brought with them from the encampment my four camels, but the Sheikh missed this favourable occasion, by relying too

much upon the promised arrival of the great Tuarek chief Alkúttab. As for our friends the Tademékket, to whom Áhmed Wádáwi, the learned follower of the Sheikh, had been sent as a messenger, they did not come along with him, but sent word that they would follow him as soon as their presence was required, their chief Áwáb having gone to raise tribute from the degraded tribe of the Idélebó.

Uncertain as my situation was under these circumstances, I felt cheered by the not very improbable chance of my departure, for at length the last cause which had delayed me so long seemed to be removed, by El Bakáy's wife giving birth to a child on March 4th. All political as well as domestic circumstances therefore seemed to conspire in rendering it possible for him to accompany me for the distance of some days, and he had really assured me the night before, when I was engaged in a consultation with him till near morning, that I should leave on the following Tuesday, but, having had too much insight into his dilatory character, I told him very plainly that I did not believe a word of it, as he had disappointed me so often. And I had reason to be satisfied with my scepticism, as the phantom of the "tábu," or the great army of the Tuarek, with whose assistance he hoped to triumph over his enemies, did not allow him to adhere to any fixed plan. Now the "tábu" was really approaching, and it was merely some unforeseen circumstance, probably owing in part to the machinations of the party publicly or secretly opposed to the authority of the Sheikh, which prevented the great chief of all those westerly Tuarek from reaching Timbúktu, and crowning all the hopes and wishes of my protector.

It was in the afternoon of the 5th that we received undoubted news of the approach of the tábu, the shepherds seeking to secure their flocks by flight, and all those who had reason to fear the wrath or anger of their mighty liege lord endeavouring to reach the islands and creeks of the river as a place of safety. A messenger who arrived from Bamba, stated that the tábu had really reached the town of Égedesh, a few miles beyond Bamba, nay, even the state of the atmosphere seemed to confirm the news of the approach of a numerous host, as it was entirely enveloped in thick clouds of dust. But the Sheikh was a little too rash in sending, on the 6th, a message to El Férrej, giving him official information of the arrival of Alkúttabu. That officer answered, in a manly way, that he must not think of frightening him, and that he himself, if necessary, was fully able to summon an army from Fermágha and from Dár e' Salám, the capital of the province of Jimbálla on the other side of the river, that he had come to drive me out of the town, and that he would at any cost achieve his purpose; and although the Sheikh's rival, Hammádi, seemed to be frightened, and came to sue for peace, yet Sidi Mohammed was wearied with his brother's continual procrastination, and from that day forward did all in his power to make me leave the town under any condition, and banish me to the tents.

There is no doubt that, in the event of the "tábu" not arriving, the Sheikh's situation became more dangerous in consequence of the arrival of his brother 'Abidín, who entered the town amidst a demonstration o

firing and music on the afternoon of the 7th. All the three brothers went out on horseback to meet him, but this man, who was bent upon following a policy entirely opposed to that of El Bakáy, took up his quarters with Hammádi, the adversary of the latter. Even the eldest brother was so little satisfied with the Sheikh's present policy, that, when I called upon him about midnight of that same day, a very serious conversation arose between the two brothers, Sidi Mohammed asking El Bakáy whether they were to fight the Fullán on account of a single individual, and one too of a foreign religion, and reproaching him at the same time with the fact, that his preparations did not advance, while on his part he did not think any preparations were necessary at all, as he was sure that not even the tribe of the Igwadaren, who are settled near Bamba, would do me any harm. But the Sheikh endeavoured to gain time, by telling his brother that he would send the following day for the horses from Kábara, and that he would write a letter to some chiefs on the road through whose territory I had to pass.

Having been a quiet spectator of this dispute I returned to my quarters, and in order to provide against any accident I packed up the remainder of my luggage, and made everything ready for starting. Meanwhile, Sidi Mohammed and Álawáte, in order to further their plans, had the same afternoon an appointment with 'Abidín and Hammádi, where they probably determined as to the course to be pursued with regard to me. And El Bakáy, who went the same evening to pay a visit to 'Abidín, seemed to have given a kind of half promise that I should leave in the afternoon of the 10th. But having obtained a short respite, in the course of the following day, he delayed my departure from day to day, expecting all the time the arrival of Alkúttabu.

Meanwhile, Sidi Mohammed had made a serious attack upon my religion, and called me always a káfir. But I told him that I was a real Moslim, the pure Islám, the true worship of the one God, dating from the time of Adam, and not from the time of Mohammed, and that thus, while adhering to the principle of the unity, and the most spiritual and sublime nature, of the Divine Being, I was a Moslim, professing the real Islám, although not adopting the worldly statutes of Mohammed, who, in everything that contained a general truth, only followed the principles established long before his time. I likewise added, that even they themselves regarded Plato and Aristotle as Moslemín, and that thus I myself was to be regarded as a Moslim, in a much stricter sense than these two pagan philosophers. I concluded by stating that the greater part of those who called themselves Moslemín did not deserve that name at all, but ought rather to be called Mohammedán, such as we named them, because they had raised their prophet above the Deity itself.

Being rather irritated and exasperated by the frequent attacks of Sidi Mohammed and Álawáte, I delivered my speech with great fervour and animation, and when I had concluded, Sidi Mohammed, who could not deny that the Kurán itself states that Islám dates from the creation of mankind, was not able to say a word in his defence. As for El Bakáy, he was greatly delighted at this clear exposition of my religious

principles, but his younger brother, who certainly possessed a considerable degree of knowledge in religious matters, stated, in opposition to my argument, that the Caliphs, El Harún and Mámun, who had the books of Plato and Aristotle translated into Arabic, were Metázila, that is to say, heretics, and not true Moslemín; but this assertion of course I did not admit, although much might be said in favour of my opponent. At all events, I had obtained some respite from the attacks of my friends; and having thus the support of them all, in the afternoon of the following day, March 10th, we went quietly to the tents in order to celebrate the "Sebúwa" (corresponding to the baptism of the Christians) of the newborn child. On this occasion I noticed that the water in the outlying creeks which we passed had only fallen about three feet since February 17th, which is less than two inches per day, but it is probable that the water of the principal branch decreases more rapidly than that of these winding backwaters.

The camp was full of animation, the Gwanín el Kohol, a section of the Bérabish, having taken refuge in the encampment of the Sheikh from fear of the Kél-hekikan, with whom they were on hostile terms. It was highly interesting for me to be thus brought into close contact with these people, who owe allegiance to the chief that had murdered Major Laing, and well aware that I could not fail to entertain a strong prejudice against them, they all thronged round me on my arrival, and hastened to assure me of their friendly disposition. They were armed with double-barreled guns, a weapon which, owing to the trade with the French, is now common through the whole of this part of the desert, the long single-barreled gun, the only favourite weapon with the Arabs to the north, being here regarded with contempt, as befitting only the slave. In general, the people were of middle stature, although some of them were fine tall men and of a warlike and energetic appearance, having their shirts, mostly of a light blue colour, tied up over their shoulder and girt round the waist with a belt, the powderhorn hanging over the shoulder, quite in the same style as is the custom of their brethren nearer the shores of the Atlantic. Their head was uncovered, with the exception of their own rich black hair, or guffa, which, I am sorry to add, was full of vermin.

The same evening, although it was late, my host, who was certainly not wanting in hospitality, slaughtered five oxen and in consequence we partook of supper about an hour after midnight. But that was not at all unusual here; and nothing during my stay in Timbúktu was more annoying to me, and more injurious to my health, than this unnatural mode of living, which surpasses in absurdity the late hours of London and Paris.

Early the next morning two more head of cattle were slaughtered, and enormous quantities of rice and meat were cooked for the great numbers of guests, who had flocked here together from the town and from all parts of the neighbouring district. Amidst such feasting the name of Mohammed was given to the new-born infant. The way in which the guests dealt with the enormous dishes, some of which were from four to five feet in diameter, and could only be carried by six

persons, bore testimony to the voracity of their appetites ; one of these immense dishes was upset, and the whole of the contents spilt in the sand.

But the people were not long left to enjoy their festivity, for just while they were glutting themselves a troop of Kél-hekikan, the tribe who waged the bloody feud with the Gwanín, passed by, throwing the whole encampment into the utmost confusion. When at length it had again settled down, the festivities proceeded, and Mohammed el 'Aísh, with some of his countrymen from Tawát, rode a race up the slope of the downs towards the tents, firing their guns at the same time, but altogether the exhibition was rather shabby, and some of the men were very poor riders, having probably never been on horseback before, as they were natives of the desert where the camel prevails. The inhabitants of Tímúktu, who possess horses, are continually pestered with the request to lend them to strangers ; and, with regard to these animals, a sort of communism prevails in the town, but they are of a very poor description, only the Sheikh himself possessing some good horses, brought from the Gibleh, or western quarter of the desert.

The Kél-hekikan formed also a subject of anxiety to us in the evening, and, after a long and tedious consultation, it was decided to send some people to watch the movements of those freebooters. Having been met with, they declared they should feel satisfied if the Sheikh would consent to deliver up to them the person who had first slain one of their companions, for this had been the beginning of the feud with the Gwanín, although the murderer belonged to the Túrmus, and not to that other tribe which had taken up the quarrel. In consequence of these feudal relations I had an interesting conversation with the Sheikh, and Fandaghúmme, one of the chiefs of the Tademékket who had likewise come to join this festival, about the "fedá," or the price of blood, many of the Tuarek tribes refusing to accept any fedá, but peremptorily requiring bloodshed. I have already mentioned these freebooters, the Kél-hekikan, on a former occasion, and it is remarkable, that this very tribe, which at present is most distinguished by its lawless and sanguinary habits, and which in consequence of the almost uninterrupted state of warfare in which it is engaged, was at the time reduced to about forty full-grown men, exhibits the finest specimens of manly vigour and stately appearance which are to be found in this whole region.

Notwithstanding the importance which the day possessed for my protector, the stay in the camp, deprived as I was of books or any other source of amusement, and of even the smallest European comfort, became more and more tedious to me. My material privations also were not few, especially as I had not even taken coffee with me this time, so that I had nothing to refresh myself with in the early part of the morning. However, I tried to pass my time as cheerfully as possible, and took some interest in the appearance of a man who had likewise come out to enjoy the hospitality of the Sheikh. This was the sherif Múláy Isay, who, on account of his white skin, was almost suspected by the natives to be of European origin. In the course of the day the Sheikh showed me some rich gold trinkets belonging to his

wife, manufactured in Waláta, and this was almost the only time that I had an opportunity of inspecting these gold ornaments. They formed a sort of diadem and I understood my host to say that he wanted to have a similar one made for Queen Victoria, which, however poor in itself, I assured him would be valued by the English as a specimen of their native industry.

The stay in this place became the more disagreeable, as a high wind raised thick clouds of dust, and the leathern tent, in which Fandaghúmme was staying, was blown down, and I was therefore rather glad when, in the evening of the 13th, we returned into the town. Here, again, the news of the arrival of the "tábu" was a second time reported, and everybody again thrown into a state of excitement, the Ergágeda, a tribe of Arabs or Moors, moving to and fro, while all the poor degraded tribes in the neighbourhood, together with their herds of cattle and their flocks of sheep, fled again for refuge to the encampment of the Sheikh, such as the Kél e' Sheriá, the Kél-antsár, the Ídenán, and the Kél-úlli. My protector himself was again to return to the tents on the morning of the 15th, when a serious business arose, the Fullán insisting with great pertinacity that I should leave the town this day, or else they would certainly kill me, for they would rather, they said, that the "tábu" should annihilate them all, than that I should remain a day longer in the town.

Next morning the Fullán and the merchants from the north assembled in the house of Mohammed el Férrej, and discussed with great energy what means they should adopt to drive me out, binding themselves by an oath that I should not see the sun set over the town. The officer Hámedu, the son of Mohammed Lebbo, even went so far as to rise in the assembly and swear that he himself would certainly slay me if I should stay any longer. The alarm which this affair caused in the town was very great, although matters of this kind in Negroland are never so serious as in Europe. Alawáte, therefore, being informed of what was going on, entered the assembly and made a formal protest that I should see both sunset and sunrise in the town, but he pledged his word that I should leave it before the sun reached that height called dáhhar (about nine o'clock in the morning) by the Arabs, and if I remained after that time they might do what they pleased with me.

Friday, March 17.—I had lain down rather late, and was still asleep, when Sidi Mohammed, before sunrise, sent word to me to mount in order to follow him out of the town; and he behaved very impolitely when objections were raised to the effect that it would be better to wait for El Bakáy. Soon after he came up himself on horseback before my door, sending one of his brother's principal and confidential pupils, whom I could scarcely expect to do anything contrary to the wishes of his master, to bid me mount without further delay, and to follow him to the "ródha," or the sepulchre of Sidi Mukhtár, where El Bakáy would join us. Seeing that I had nothing to say, while as a stranger I could neither expect nor desire these people to fight on my account, I mounted, fully armed, and with two servants on horseback followed Sidi Mohammed on his white mare.

All the people, in the streets through which we passed, cautiously opened their doors to have a peep at me. The ruling tribe also were not inactive, and they had mounted several horsemen, who followed close upon our heels, and would probably have made a demonstration if we had halted at the "ródha." But my conductor, instead of staying there, as I had been made to believe, led on straight to the tents. Numbers of Tuarek families, carrying their little property on half-starved asses, met us on the road, flying westward, and confirming the fact that the approach of the tábu was not merely an idle rumour. The encampment also, which had been chosen at another spot, presented a very animated scene, a large hamlet, consisting of matting dwellings, or *seniha*, inhabited by the Kél-úlli and the Ígelád, *protégés* of the Sheikh, being closely attached to it. The consequence was, that although the whole locality, formed by a sandy ridge with a slight depression full of trees, presented a more cheerful aspect than the former encampment, by degrees it became rather narrow and confined. Having received the compliments of my new friends, I endeavoured to make myself as comfortable as possible, but not much repose was granted me, for, about three o'clock in the afternoon, Mohammed ben Khotlár, the Sheikh's nephew, arrived with a verbal and peremptory message from the former to his elder brother, Sidi Mohammed, to the effect that the Fullán were about to storm my house in the town, in order to seize my luggage which I had left there, and desiring him instantly, and without the slightest delay, to bring me back, as all these proceedings were the consequence of his (Sidi Mohammed's) indiscretion.

Roused by this angry message, the noble son of the desert repented what he had done to the detriment of his brother's interest, and calling together by strokes of the tobl, or great drum, which hung ready on the top of the sandy slope, all the people capable of carrying arms, he mounted his mare, with his four-barreled gun before him, while I, with my two servants, followed behind.

Thus it appeared as if I was destined once more to enter Timbúktu, and this time under very warlike circumstances. We went at the beginning at such a rate, that it seemed as if we were about to storm the place directly, but on reaching the first creek of the river we made a short halt, while my Mohammedan friends said their prayers, and at last came to a stand on an eminence, whence we sent a messenger in advance. Sidi Álawáte came out of the town to meet us. Meanwhile darkness set in, and we again halted on another eminence in sight of the town, and sent a second messenger to the Sheikh. We were joined after a while by the people from Tawát, who informed us that El Bakáy had left the town with a numerous host of followers, but that they themselves did not know whither he was gone. Messengers were therefore despatched to endeavour to find him.

In the meanwhile the Tuarek whom we had with us, beat their shields in their usual furious manner, and raised the war-cry, the night was very dark, and I at length fired a shot, which informed our friends of our whereabouts. We found the Sheikh close to the town south of the "ródha," with a large host of people, Tuarek as well as Arabs, Songhay,

and even Fullán. The Fútáwi, Ismáíl, who from his knowledge of colonial life in St Louis or Ndér, afforded me a constant source of entertainment as well as vexation, welcomed us with a song, and all the people gathered around us in motley confusion. The spectacle formed by this multifarious host, thronging among the sand-hills in the pale moonlight, was highly interesting, and would have been more so to me, if I could have been a tranquil observer of the scene, but, as I was the chief cause of this disturbance, several of my friends, especially the Imám, Háj el Mukhtár, whom I had known in Bórnu, made their way to me, and begged me to beware of treachery. The Sheikh himself despatched his most trustworthy servant to inform me that I had better keep in the midst of the Tuarek, whom he himself thought much more trustworthy than the Arabs. The Kel-úlli forthwith formed a square round me, but at the same time made a joke of it, trying an experiment as to the warlike disposition of my horse, by pushing against me with one side of the square, while beating their shields, till, being thrown back upon the other side, I spurred my horse and drove them to their former position. Excited by this animated scene, my noble charger, to the great amusement of this turbulent host, began to neigh from sheer delight.

Meanwhile the brothers had dismounted, together with their crusty councillors, and were wasting the time in useless consultation, while some Fullán horsemen were roving about and kept me on my guard; but one of them was dismounted against his inclination. His horse received a wound either from the stump of a tree or from a spear, and thus he remained the sole victim of this glorious and memorable night's campaign.

At length, having moved to and fro for some time, we approached the outskirts of the Áberaz, and there took up our position. But the Fullán and Songhay, who had likewise assembled at the beating of the alarm drum, being arranged in front of us, notwithstanding their cowardly disposition, it did not seem likely that we should be allowed to get inside the town without bloodshed, and I protested repeatedly to the Sheikh, that nothing was more repugnant to my feelings, than that blood should be shed on my account, and perhaps his own life be endangered.

Meanwhile numerous messengers were sent backwards and forwards, till my protector and host, whose feelings had been deeply wounded, declared that he would allow me to remain outside the town, if the Fullán would withdraw their force so as to put everything in his own hands, and would promise to leave my house untouched. And he strictly kept his word; for, while he himself entered the place with Alawáte, he allowed me to return to the tents in the company of his elder brother. We did not arrive at the encampment before three o'clock in the morning, for we lost our road in the pale moonlight, and became entangled among the numerous creeks of Bosebángo, while we suffered at the same time greatly from hunger, and the coolness of the night. Such was the sole result of this night's campaign.

The following day we received the news from an Urághen, who arrived from the east, of the tábu having returned eastward, in conse-

quence of a serious quarrel having broken out between the tribes of the Tarabanása and the Tin-ger-égedesh, who composed part of the army, and in consequence of the obstinacy of Ákhbi, the chief of the Igwádarín, who had refused to acknowledge the authority of his liege lord, and to come forth from his place of retreat, the island of Kúrkozáy, in order to do homage to Alkúttabu. The ruling tribe of the Awelím-meden gave vent to their anger by plundering the poor inhabitants of Bamba, or Kasbah, a place situated about half-way between here and Gógó. That dreaded host having retraced its steps, and thus disappointed the hopes of my protector, all the poor people who had put themselves under the protection of the Sheikh felt reassured, and again brought out their little property, which they had secreted in the various tents of the encampment. The Igelád lagged a little longer behind, and in the evening assembled in considerable numbers before my tent in order to have a talk with me. On the whole they behaved very decently.

Seeing that I was now restricted to a stay in the encampment, I had sent my servant, the Gatróni, into the town in order to bring out my luggage. He returned in the evening without having accomplished his errand, but in the company of the Sheikh himself, who informed me that he did not wish the luggage to be brought out of the town before he was ready to accompany me himself on my journey, as he was afraid that his two brothers still wanted to get something more out of me than they had done. But as he had sworn in the first paroxysm of anger that he would at all hazards bring me back into the town, I told him, in order to console him, that I would once more re-enter the place in the dark, quite by myself, stay a short time in my house, and then return to the camp, in order that his oath might be fulfilled. But he would not allow me to expose myself to any danger on his account, as the rules of his creed made it easy for him to get rid of the obligation thus contracted against his conscience, by subjecting himself to the penance of a three days' fast. He informed me now that the Fullán officer, Férreji, had accompanied him on leaving the town as far as the "ródha," giving him every assurance of his friendship, and that thus everything would end well, and he hoped to obtain for me favourable conditions from the Fullán for any future European or Englishman visiting this place. Together with the Sheikh, Sidi Álawáte also had come out, and he behaved in a rather friendly manner to me, offering his services towards hastening my departure, which I gladly accepted, without however putting any confidence in him, for I was well aware that he liked my property better than myself.

Seeing that I was obliged to resign myself in patience, and had still to wait here some time, I sent one servant and two of my horses into the town. Since the waters had retired, the flies had become such a terrible plague, that they threatened the life of man and beast, and it was chiefly this nuisance that rendered my stay here so uncomfortable. It was likewise almost the ruin of the horse, which I was obliged to keep with me in case of any emergency. It is on account of this pest that none of the people of the desert, whose chief property consists in camels, are enabled to visit the town at this period of the year.

Not only flies but other species of insects also, became now exceedingly abundant in this desert tract, after it had been inundated and fertilised by the waters of the river, and a countless number of caterpillars especially became very troublesome, creeping about the ground, and getting upon the carpets and mats and every other article. While thus the inconvenience of the open camp was manifold, my amusements were rather limited, and even my food was poorer than it had been before. The famous "rejire" had been supplanted, from want of cheese, by the less tasteful "dakno," seasoned, in the absence of honey, with the fruit of the baobab or monkey-bread tree. In the morning, however, it afforded me some amusement to observe the daughters of the Igelád driving out to the pasture grounds their parents' asses, and to witness the various incidents in the daily life of these people. But they were soon to leave, as well as the Kél-úlli, both tribes returning to their quarters further eastward.

All my friends, with whom I had had only so short an acquaintance, thus taking leave of me, I was extremely glad when a brother of Mohanmed ben 'Abd-Alláhi came out of the town and paid me a visit. It was from this man, whose name was Dáúd, that I obtained a great deal of important information with respect to the quarter north of the river, between Hamda-Alláhi and Bághena. I also met here another person, who gave me a curious piece of information with regard to the Rás el Má, the great north-westerly creek of the river, which I have already mentioned repeatedly. In reference to that basin, he said, that, when the waters had decreased very considerably, a bubbling was observed at the bottom of the basin; but whether this referred to sources of living water, or to some other phenomenon, I could not make out distinctly, although I imagine the former to be the case.

Tuesday, March 21.—This was a very important day in various respects. First, it was highly remarkable for its atmospheric character, as beginning the "nisán," that is to say, the short rainy season of spring. This peculiar season I had not observed in the other more southerly parts of Negroland which I had visited, but it is also observed in other tropical regions, especially in Bengal, although that country is certainly placed under different conditions, and reaches farther northward. We had two regular falls of rain this day, although of no great abundance, this phenomenon being repeated for about seven days, though not in succession. Meanwhile the flies became quite insupportable, and almost drove me to despair.

But the day was also important in another respect, as the sons of Sidi Mohammed, El Bakáy, and his brothers, attempted to bring about a friendly understanding among themselves, and I was not a little surprised in the morning of this day, on being informed by Sidi Mohammed, who acted as my guard here, that I was to accompany him back to the "iódha," the venerated cemetery a few hundred yards east of the town, where Sidi Mukhtár lies buried, for it thus seemed as if there was still some prospect of my again coming into collision with the townspeople. Galloping on the road with Dáúd, the brother of 'Abd-Alláhi, who accompanied us, and beating him easily on my fine "Blast of the

Desert," as I styled my horse, which was still in tolerable condition, I followed my companion, and we took our post at the southern side of the tomb of the ancestor of the holy family. Although I had passed it repeatedly on former occasions, I never until now inspected it closely. I found it a spacious clay apartment, surrounded by several smaller tombs of people who were desirous of placing themselves under the protection of the spirit of this holy man, even in the other world.

Gradually we were joined by the relations and friends of the Sheikh, Alaváte appearing first and saluting me in his usual smiling manner, then the sickly Mohammed ben 'Abd-Alláhi, who was regarded almost as a member of the family, next followed Hammádi, who greeted me and received my compliments in return; then the Sheikh el Bakáy, and, lastly, 'Abidin, whom I had not seen before. He looked rather older than the Sheikh, with expressive sharply cut and manly features, besides a rather fair complexion, fairer than my host. He was clad in a *bernús* of violet colour, and it appeared remarkable to me that, although I had placed myself exclusively under the protection of his brother, to whom he as well as Hammádi was vehemently opposed, yet he behaved very friendly towards me.

All the parties having assembled, we were regaled with a luncheon, at which I was the first to be helped. The people then having said their prayers of "*áser*," while I retired behind the sepulchre, in order not to give any offence, we went to a greater distance from the town, in an easterly direction, in order to get out of the way of the people who had come from the town on this occasion, when the various members of the family of Mukhtár sat down upon the ground in a circle, and began a serious private consultation, in order to settle their political affairs, but, although it lasted for more than an hour, it did not seem to lead to the desired end, and broke up abruptly. The Sheikh had endeavoured to persuade me to pass this night in the Áberaz, or the suburb of the town, but this I had refused to do, being afraid of causing another disturbance, and, as he promised that he would come out of the town with my luggage on the Friday following, I returned with Sidi Mohammed to the tents.

Honourably as I was treated on these different occasions in consequence of the great exertions of my protector, yet the Fullán had obtained, throughout the whole affair, a slight advantage in political superiority, and they followed it up without hesitation and delay, by levying a tax of 2,000 shells upon each full-grown person, under the pretext that they did not say their Friday prayers in the great mosque as they were ordered to do. This is one of the means by which the conquering tribe was endeavouring to subdue the national spirit of the native population, by making them celebrate the great weekly prayer in the mosque which had originally been built by the Mandingo conqueror Mansa Músa, and which they themselves had made the centre of their establishment in the town. Even in previous times it had always been the centre of the Mohammedan quarter. They were supported in this endeavour by the precepts of Islám, according to which a Moslim, even if he says his ordinary prayers at home, is obliged, when staying in the

town and not prevented by disease, to say his Friday prayers in the Jámá.

When the Fullán conquered the place, they purposely increased the ruin of the old native mosque of Sán-koré, which is situated in the northern quarter, and afterwards prevented its being repaired, till by the exertions of the Sheikh El Bakáy, especially on his visit to Hamda-Alláhi some years previously, the inhabitants of the town had been allowed to repair that mosque at their own expense. This had been accomplished at the cost of 600 blocks or rús of salt, equal to about £200.

Besides levying this tax upon the inhabitants in general, they also devised means to subject to a particular punishment the Arab part of the population who had especially countenanced the Sheikh in his opposition against their order to drive me out, by making a domiciliary search through their huts, and taking away some sixty or eighty bales or sunniye of tobacco, an article which, as I have stated on a former occasion, forms a religious and political contraband under the severe and austere rule of the Fúlbe in this quarter.

Friday, March 24.—This was the day on which the Sheikh had promised to bring out my luggage, but, to my great disappointment, he came empty-handed, and again he had much to say about the expected arrival of Alkúttabu, the chief Somkú, it was stated, having been called from Áribínda to meet his hege lord at Ghérge (pronounced Rérgo) with fifteen boats. But, as the sequel showed, this was a mere stratagem of that crafty chief, who intended to make an unexpected foray upon his foes the Kél-hekikan, in which enterprise he was perfectly successful, killing about a dozen of that already greatly reduced tribe. While the Sheikh boasted of the innumerable host which his friend the Táрки chief carried with him, I was greatly amused at learning from an Urághen, who had come to pay us a visit, that Alkúttabu had only three hundred fighting men with him at the time. I also observed with a certain degree of satisfaction that my kindly host became aware of what I was subjected to day by day; for, while on a visit to my tent, one of the flies that tormented me stung him so severely as to draw blood, and I then showed him my poor horse which was suffering dreadfully, although at times we lighted a small fire in order to afford him some relief.

During my stay here, I had become better acquainted with Sídi Mohammed, and I had convinced myself that he was a straightforward man, although certainly not very friendly disposed towards Christians in general. Next morning, therefore, when he and the Sheikh were consulting together, I complained bitterly of their breaking their word so repeatedly, and putting off my departure so continually. They then endeavoured to soothe my disappointment, and, as they were going into the town, wanted me to go along with them, but I declined. In consequence of this remonstrance, they sent me from the town the Sheikh's nephew, who had been ill for several days, to bear me company and to take care of me, and this was a great treat in my solitary situation, as I had nobody to speak to. However, new difficulties appeared to arise

with regard to my departure, and, during the next few days, I received several curious messages, the real purport of which I was quite at a loss to understand. But El Bakáy at length promised that I should only have to wait two days longer, when he would go with me himself; but it was not till the very last day in March that he returned from the town to the camp, and, although he at length brought my luggage with him, my real departure was even then still far remote.

During this time I had especially to contend against the intrigues of my head man 'Alí el Ágeren, who seemed to find the stay in Timbúktu at my expense (where he himself was quite safe and well off, and could do what he liked), quite pleasant and comfortable. He was therefore in no hurry to leave, but rather tried every means in his power to counteract my endeavours for a speedy departure. An extraordinary degree of patience was therefore necessary on my part, and I was obliged to seek relief from the tediousness of my stay here in every little circumstance that broke the uniform tenour of my monotonous life.

A great source of entertainment to me were the young sons of my protector, Bába Áhmed and Zén el 'Abidín, who were continually wrangling about all sorts of articles, whether they belonged to the one or the other, my tent and my horse forming the chief objects of their childish dispute. And I was greatly amused, at times, at the younger boy placing himself at the entrance of my tent, and protesting that it was Zén el 'Abidín's tent, and preventing his elder brother from approaching it.

Our camp also afforded me at times some other amusement; for although the Tuarek had returned to their usual seats, the Gwanín were still kept back here by their fear of the Kél-hekikan, and they occasionally got up a national play, which caused a little diversion. But I did not like these people nearly so well as the wild Ímóshagh, for, having become degraded by being subjected to the caprices of stronger tribes, they have almost entirely lost that independent spirit which is so prepossessing in the son of the desert, even though he be the greatest ruffian.

One afternoon they collected round my tent and began boasting of what they had done for me. They told me that the Fullán had written to their Sheikh, Weled 'Abéda, accusing the Gwanín that, in the night when El Bakáy was bringing me back to Timbúktu, they had been fighting against them, and, among other mischief, had killed a horse belonging to them, and that their chief had answered, that his people had done well in defending me, and that nobody should hurt me after I had once succeeded in placing myself under the Sheikh's protection. And this, be it remembered, was the self-same chief who had murdered Major Laing; and one or the other of these very Gwanín, with whom I had dealings every day, were perhaps implicated in that very murder. I was thus led to inquire of these people whether there were no papers remaining of that unfortunate traveller, and was told that they were all scattered or made away with, but, I learned, to my great surprise, that there were letters for myself in Ázawád, which had arrived from the east, and although these people were not able, or did not feel inclined,

to give me full information about this matter, which was of so much interest to myself, the fact proved afterwards to be quite true ; but it was a long time before I got possession of those letters.

Nature now looked more cheerful, and, after the little rain that had fallen, spring seemed to have set in a second time, and the trees were putting forth young leaves. The river having now laid bare a considerable tract of grassy ground, the cattle again found their wonted pasture of rich nourishing "býrgu" on its banks, and were thus able to furnish their masters with a richer supply of milk. This was a great point towards hastening my departure, as the *télamid* (or pupils of the Sheikh) had reason to expect that they would not be starved on the road. The fact that the tribes which we had to pass on our road eastward were entirely without milk, which forms their chief support, had exercised some influence upon them.

Meanwhile the turbulent state of the country grew worse and worse, since the *Avelimmiden* had shown such signs of weakness, and the *Tin-ger-égedesh* were said to have fallen upon the tribe of the *Takétakayen* settled in *Ánbínda*, and to have killed six of their number. The chief, *Somki*, also made at the same time a sanguinary attack upon the *Kél-hekikan*, and the state of feud and hostility among the *Igwádaren* had reached an extraordinary height, for besides the common animosity which this tribe had displayed against their former liege lord, *Alkúttabu*, two different factions were opposed to each other in the most bloody feud, one of them being led by *Akhbi* and *Wóghdugu*, and the other by *Téni*, to whom were attached the greater part of the *Tarabanása* and the *Kél-hekikan*.

This chief, *Téni*, rendered himself particularly odious to the Sheikh's party by keeping back a considerable amount of property belonging to the *Gwanín*, among which were a dozen slaves, more than fifty asses, and three hundred and sixty sheep. A very noisy assembly was held, in the evening of April 1st, inside my "zeríba," or fence of thorny bushes with which I had fortified my little encampment, in front of my tent. All the *Gwanín* assembled round my fire, and proposed various measures for arranging their affairs and for subduing the obstinate old *Tení*. One speaker was particularly distinguished by the cleverness of his address and his droll expressions, although I thought the latter rather too funny for a serious consultation. However, this man was not a *Berbúshi*, but an *Ido 'Alí*, and therefore could not present a fair specimen of the capabilities of this tribe.

This same chief, *Téni*, was also the cause of some anxiety to myself, as it was he who, as I have stated on a former occasion, when a young man, was wounded in the leg by *Mungo Park*; and I was therefore rather afraid that he might take an opportunity of revenging himself upon me. There is no doubt that, in the murderous assault upon *Major Laing* in *Wádi Ahénnet*, the *Tuarek* were partly instigated by a feeling of revenge for the heavy loss inflicted upon them by *Mungo Park* in his voyage down the *Niger*. At this very moment the dreaded chief, with part of his people, was here in the neighbourhood, and caused great anxiety to *Mimi*, a younger brother of *Wóghdugu*, one of the chiefs of the *Tara-*

banása, who had come on a visit to the Sheikh. Our frightened friend, in consequence, was rambling about the whole day on the fine black horse which my host had made me a present of, in order to spy out the movements of his enemy. He even wanted me to exchange my horse for two camels, in order that he might make his escape.

This man, who was an amiable and intelligent sort of person, gave me a fair specimen of what trouble I should have in making my way through those numerous tribes of Tuarek along the river, for, when he begged a present from me, I thought a common blue shirt, or "rishába," of which kind I had prepared about a dozen, quite sufficient for him, as I had had no dealings whatever with him, and was under no obligation to him; but he returned it to me with the greatest contempt, as unworthy of his dignity.

My supplies at this time were greatly reduced, and in order to obtain a small amount of shells I was obliged to sell a broken musket belonging to me.

Under all these circumstances I was extremely glad when, in the evening of April 3rd, the provision bags of the Sheikh, of which I was assured the half was destined for my own use, were brought out of the town. But, nevertheless, the final arrangements for my departure were by no means settled, and the following day everything seemed again more uncertain than ever, the kádhi, Weled Fáámme, having arrived with another body of sixty armed men, and with fresh orders to levy contributions of money upon the inhabitants, in order to make them feel the superiority of the ruler of Hamda-Alláhi. At the same time the people from Tuarek set all sorts of intrigues afoot, in order to prevent the Sheikh from leaving the town, being afraid that in his absence they should be exposed to continual vexation on the part of the ruling tribe, for although the Sheikh Áhmedu, in sending presents to Timbúktu, had not neglected El Bakáy, yet he had shown his preference for Hammádi, the rival of the latter, in so decided a manner, that my friend could not expect that in leaving the town his interests would be respected,* and I had to employ the whole of my influence with the Sheikh in order to prevent him from changing his plan.

But, gradually, everything that my host was to take with him on such a journey, consisting of books and provisions, was brought from the town, so that it really looked as if El Bakáy was to go himself. His horses had been brought from Kábára on the 9th, and several people, who were to accompany us on our journey eastward, having joined us the following day, the Sheikh himself arrived on the 11th, and our encampment became full of bustle. My own little camping-ground also was now enlivened with all my people, who had come to join me, and my small store of books, which had been brought from the town, enabled me to give more variety to my entertainment.

A rather disagreeable incident now occurred. The Zoghorán officer, the companion of Férreji, had come out on some errand, while I was

* The present sent by the Sheikh Ahmedu consisted of 800 measures of corn to El Bakáy, and as much to Hammádi, besides ten slaves to the latter.

staying with the three brothers in the large tent, which had been erected for Sidi Mohammed. I wanted to leave, but Bakáy begged me to stay. I therefore remained a short time, but became so disgusted with the insulting language of the Zoghorán, that I soon left abruptly, although his remarks had more direct reference to the French, or, rather, the French and half-caste traders on the Senegal, than to the English or any other European nation. He spoke of the Christians in the most contemptuous manner, describing them as sitting like women in the bottom of their steamboats, and doing nothing but eating raw eggs: concluding with the paradoxical statement, which is not very flattering to Europeans, that the idolatrous Bambara were far better people, and much farther advanced in civilisation than the Christians. It is singular how the idea that the Europeans are fond of raw eggs (a most disgusting article to a Mahomedan), as already proved by the experience of Mungo Park, has spread over the whole of Negroland, and it can only be partially explained by the great predilection which the French have for boiled eggs.

Altogether my situation required an extraordinary amount of forbearance, for Alawáte also troubled me again with his begging propensities. But when he came himself to take leave of me, I told him that the time for presents was now past. whereupon he said, that he was aware that if I wanted to give I gave, meaning that it was only the want of goodwill that made me not comply with his wish. I assured him that I had given him a great many presents against my own inclination. He owned that he had driven a rather hard bargain with me, but, when he wanted me to acknowledge at least that he had done me no personal harm, I told him that the reason was rather his want of power than his want of inclination, and that, although I had nothing to object to him in other respects, I should not like to trust myself in his hands alone in the wilderness.

The difficulties which a place like Timbúktu presents to a free commercial intercourse with Europeans are very great. For while the remarkable situation of the town, at the edge of the desert and on the border of various races, in the present degenerated condition of the native kingdoms makes a strong government very difficult, nay almost impossible, its distance from either the west coast or the mouth of the Niger is very considerable. But, on the other hand, the great importance of its situation at the northern curve or elbow of that majestic river, which, in an immense sweep encompasses the whole southern half of North-Central Africa, including countries densely populated and of the greatest productive capabilities, renders it most desirable to open it to European commerce, while the river itself affords immense facilities for such a purpose. For, although the town is nearer to the French settlements in Algeria on the one side, and those on the Senegal on the other, yet it is separated from the former by a tract of frightful desert, while between it and the Senegal lies an elevated tract of country, nay, along the nearest road, a mountain chain extends of tolerable height. Further, we have here a family which, long before the French commenced their conquest of Algeria, exhibited their friendly feelings toward the English

in an unquestionable manner, and at the present moment the most distinguished member of this family is most anxious to open free intercourse with the English. Even in the event of the greatest success of the French policy in Africa, they will never effect the conquest of this region. On the other hand, if a liberal government were secured to Timbúktu, by establishing a ruler independent of the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláh, who are strongly opposed to all intercourse with Europeans, whether French or English, an immense field might be opened to European commerce, and thus the whole of this part of the world might again be subjected to a wholesome organisation. The sequel of my narrative will show how, under the protection of the Sheikh El Bakáy, I endeavoured to open the track along the Niger.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ABORTIVE ATTEMPT AT DEPARTURE FROM TIMBÚKTŪ.

I HAD been obliged to leave the town on March 17th, in consequence of the brothers of the Sheikh having deemed such a step essential for the security of the town, and advantageous to their own personal interest. Since that time my departure had been earnestly discussed almost daily, but nevertheless, amidst infinite delays and procrastinations, April 19th had arrived before we at length set out from our encampment, situated at the head of the remarkable and highly indented creek of Bóse-bángo.

Notwithstanding the importance of the day, my excellent friend the Sheikh El Bakáy could not even then overcome his habitual custom of taking matters easy. He slept till a late hour in the morning, while his pupils were disputing with the owners of the camels which had been hired for the journey, and who would not stir. At length my friend got up, and our sluggish caravan left the encampment. There were, besides our own camels, a good many asses belonging to the Gwanín, and laden with cotton strips. It was past eleven o'clock, and the sun had already become very troublesome, when we left the camp. The chief was so extremely fond of his wife and children, that it was an affair of some importance to take leave of them. I myself had become sincerely attached to his little boys, especially the youngest one, Zén el 'Abidin, who, I am led to hope, will remember his friend 'Abd el Kerim. But, notwithstanding my discontent at my protector's want of energy, I could not be angry with him; and when he asked me whether he had now deceived me, or kept his word, I could not but praise his conduct, although I told him that I must first see the end of it. He smiled, and turning to his companion the old Haiballah (Habib Allah), who had come from Azawád to spend some time in his company, asked him whether I was not too mistrustful; but the event unluckily proved that I was not.

The vegetation in the neighbourhood of Búselángo is extremely rich, but as we advanced gradually the trees ceased, with the exception of the kálgo, the bush so often mentioned by me in Háusa, and which here begins to be very common. I was greatly disappointed in my expectation of making a good day's march, for, after proceeding a little more than three miles, I saw my tent, which had gone in advance, pitched in the neighbourhood of an encampment of Arabs belonging to the tribe of the Ergágeda. Here we stayed the remainder of the day, enjoying the hospitality of these people, who had to pay dearly for the honour of such a visit, for the pupils of my friend, who had capital appetites, required a great deal of substantial nourishment to satisfy their cravings, and besides a dozen dishes of rice, and a great quantity of milk, two oxen had to be slaughtered by our hosts. These Arabs, who formed here an encampment of about twenty-five spacious tents, made of sheep-skins or fárrwel, have no camels, and possess only a few cows, their principal herds being sheep and goats, besides a large number of asses. They have been settled in this district, near the river, since the time when Sidi Mukhtár, the elder brother of El Bakáy, established himself in Tímúkútu, that is to say, in the year 1832.

Although I should have liked much better to have made at once a fair start on our journey, I was glad that we had at least set out at all, and, lying down in the shade of a small kálgo tree, I indulged in the hope that in a period of from forty to fifty days I might reach Sókoto; but I had no idea of the unfavourable circumstances which were gathering to frustrate my hopes.

The whole of this district is richly clothed with *suwák*, or 'irák (*Capparis sodata*), and is greatly infested with lions, for which reason we were obliged to surround our camping-ground with a thick fence, or zeriba, and the encampment of the Sheikh, for whom an immense leathern tent had been pitched, with his companions, horses, and camels, together with the large fires, presented a very imposing appearance. I was told that the lion hereabouts has no mane, or at least a very small one, like the lion of Asben.

Thursday, April 20—The first part of this day's march led through a flat country, which some time before had been entirely inundated. Even at present, not only on the south side of the path, towards the river, were extensive inundations to be seen, but on the left, or north side, a large open sheet spread out. Having passed numbers of Tuarek, who were shifting their tents, as well as two miserable-looking encampments of the Shémman-Ámmas, whose movements afforded some proofs of the disturbed state of the country, we ascended the higher sandy bank, where I first observed the poisonous *euphorbia*, called here "abári e' sebúwa," or "táboru," which generally grows in the shade of the trees, especially in that of acacias, and is said frequently to cause the death of the lion, from which circumstance its name is derived. Pursuing our easterly course, and keeping along the sandy bank, with a deep marshy ground on our right, we then reached a group of two encampments, one belonging to the Ídenan, and the other to the

Shémman-Ámmas, and here halted during the hot hours of the day. Both the above-mentioned tribes are of a degraded character; and the women were anything but decent and respectable in their behaviour.

Having here decided that it was better to go ourselves and fetch the rest of our party whom we had sent in advance from Bóse-bángo, instead of despatching a messenger for them, although the place lay entirely out of our route, we started late in the afternoon, leaving our camels and baggage behind. Returning for the first mile and a half, almost along the same road we had come, then passing the site of a former encampment of the two chiefs named Mushtába and Rummán, whom I have mentioned before, we entered the swampy ground to the south along a narrow neck of land thickly overgrown with düm-palms and brushwood, and thus affording a secure retreat to the lion. In the clear light of the evening, encompassed as the scenery was on either side, by high sandy downs towards the south on the side of the river, and by a green grassy ground with a channel-like sheet of water on the other it exhibited a very interesting spectacle highly characteristic of this peculiar watery region.

Having kept along this neck of land, which is called Temáharót, for about two miles, and reached its terminating point, we had to cross a part of the swamp itself which separates this rising ground from the downs on the bank of the river, and which less than a month previously had been impassable, while at present the sheet of water was interrupted, and was only from three to three and a half feet in depth at the deepest part. We then reached the downs, and here again turned westward, having the low swampy ground on our right, and an open branch of the river on our left.

This whole tract of country is of a very peculiar character, and presents a very different spectacle at various seasons of the year. During the highest state of the inundation, only the loftiest downs rise above the surface of the water like separate islands, and are only accessible by boats during the summer, while the low swampy grounds, laid bare and fertilised by the retiring waters, afford excellent pastures to innumerable herds of cattle. Even at present, while the sun was setting, the whole tract through which we were proceeding along the downs was enveloped in dense clouds of dust, raised by the numerous herds of the Kél-n-Nokúnder, who were returning to their encampment. Here we were most joyfully received by the followers of the Sheikh, who had been waiting already several days for us, and I received especially a most cordial welcome from my young friend Mohammed ben Khottár, the Sheikh's nephew, whom I esteemed greatly on account of his intelligent and chivalrous character. He informed me how anxious they had been on my account, owing to our continued delay. Having brought no tent with me, a large leathern one was pitched, and I was hospitably treated with milk and rice.

The Kél-n-Nokúnder are a division of the numerous tribe of the Ídenán, and although in a political respect they do not enjoy the privileges of full liberty and nobility, yet, protected by the Kunta, and the Sheikh El Bakáy in particular, they have succeeded in retaining

possession of a considerable number of cattle. All of them are *tolba*, that is to say, students, and they are all able to read. Some of them can even write, although the *Ídenán* cannot now boast of men distinguished for great learning as they could in former times.

All these people who come under the category of *tolba*, are distinguished by their fair complexion, and do not possess the muscular frame common among the free *Ímóshagh*. Their fair complexion is the more conspicuous, as the men, with scarcely an exception, wear white shirts and white turbans. All of them took a great interest in me, and looked with extreme curiosity upon the few European articles which I had with me at the time. After some little delay the next morning we left the place, and at that time I little fancied that I was soon to visit this spot again. It is called *Ernése*, or *Núkkaba el kebíra*, the great (sandy) down.

Having this time excellent guides with us who knew the difficult ground thoroughly, after leaving the sandy downs, we struck right across the swampy meadow grounds, so that we reached our encampment on the other side of *Amaléle* in a much shorter time than on our out journey, while by continual windings we almost entirely avoided the swamps; but, without a good guide, no one can enter these low lands, which constitute a very remarkable feature in the character of the river. One of the *Kél-n-Nokúnder*, of the name of *Ayóba*, whom I had occasionally seen in the town, and who was not less distinguished by his loquacity than by his activity, here received a small present from me, as well as some of the *Ídenán*, who, during my absence, had treated my people hospitably.

Starting in the afternoon, after a march of about eight miles, at first through a low swampy country, afterwards through a sandy wilderness with an undulating surface and with high sandy downs towards the river, we reached an encampment of *Kél-úlli*, the same people who had repeatedly protected me during my stay in the town, and, on firing a few shots, we were received by our friends with the warlike demonstration of a loud beating of their shields. The hospitable treatment which they exhibited towards us in the course of the evening really filled me with pity on their account, for, having no rice or milk, they slaughtered not less than three oxen and twenty goats, in order to feast our numerous and hungry party, and make a holiday for themselves. Thus, having arrived after sunset, great part of the night was spent in revelling, and the encampment with the many fires, the numbers of people, horses, and beasts of burden, in the midst of the trees, formed a highly interesting scene.

In the course of the evening I received a visit from my protector. I had promised him another handsome present as soon as he should have fairly entered with me upon my home journey, and he now wanted to know what it was. I informed him that it consisted of a pair of richly ornamented pistols, which I had kept expressly for the occasion: but instead of at once taking possession of them, he requested me to keep them for him till another time; for he himself was no doubt fully aware that our journey was not yet fairly begun; and its abortive character

became fully apparent the following day, when, after a march of less than seven miles, we encamped near the tents of Téní, or E' Téní, the first chief of the Tarabanása.

The locality, which is called Téns-aróri, was of so swampy a character that we looked for some time in vain for a tolerably dry spot to pitch our tents, and it had a most unfavourable effect upon my health. Here we remained this and the two following days and it became evident that as this chief persisted in his disobedience to his liege lord Alkút-tabu, the other more powerful chief, Ákhbí, whose mutinous behaviour had been the chief reason of the former not coming to Timbúktu, would certainly follow his example. The fact was, that, irritated against their superior chief, or more probably treating him with contempt on account of his youth and want of energy, after the death of his predecessor, E' Nábegha, they had fallen upon his mercenaries, especially the Shémman-Ammas, and deprived them of their whole stock of cattle.

This was the first time that I saw these more easterly Tuarek in their own territory, and I was greatly astonished at their superior bearing in comparison with the Tademékket and .regenáten, both in their countenance and in their dress. They were also richly ornamented with small metal boxes, made very neatly, and consisting of tin and copper: but it was in vain that I endeavoured to obtain some of them as a curiosity. They wore also a rich profusion of white rings, which were made of the bones of that very remarkable animal the "ayú," or *Manatus*, which seems to be not less frequent in the western than in the eastern branch of the Niger. As a token of their nobility and liberty, all of them carried iron spears and swords, the degraded tribes not being allowed to make use of these manly weapons.

The encampment consisted of about thirty leathern tents, of great size, and, besides the Tarabanása, a party of the Kél-hekíkan of Zillikay were encamped. This was a less favourable circumstance; for, while as yet I had been always on the best footing with these Tuarek, the latter proved rather troublesome and I got involved in a religious dispute with one of their chiefs named Ayúb, or Sinnefel, against my inclination, which might have done me some harm. On his asking me why we did not pray in the same manner as themselves, I replied that our God did not live in the east, but was everywhere, and that therefore we had no occasion to offer up our prayers in that direction. This answer appeared to satisfy him but he affected to be horrified when he heard that we did not practise circumcision, and endeavoured to excite the fanatical zeal of the whole camp against me. I, however, succeeded in partly effacing the bad impression thus caused, by making use of a Biblical expression, and observing that we circumcised our hearts, and not any other part of our body, having expressly abolished that rite as it appeared to us to be an emblem of the Jewish creed.

I also told them that if they thought that circumcision was a privilege and an emblem of Islám, they were greatly mistaken, as many of the pagan tribes around them, whom they treated with so much contempt, practised this rite. This latter observation especially made a great impression upon them, and they did not fail to remark that I always knew

how to parry any attack made against my creed. But, in other respects, I was very cautious in avoiding any dispute, and I was extremely lucky in not having anything to do with an arrogant relative of the Sheikh, of the name of 'Abd e' Rahmán Weled Síd, who had lately come from Ázawád to stay some time with his uncle, and obtain from him some present.

With the small presents which I made to each of the Tarabanása, I got on very well with them, but as for their women, who, as was always the case at these encampments, came in the evening to have a look at me, and, if possible, to obtain a small present, I left them without the least acknowledgment. Among the whole tribe I did not observe one distinguished in any manner by her beauty or becoming manners.

The chief behaved so inhospitably that my companions were almost starved to death, and I had to treat several of them, but, in acknowledgment, I received some useful information.

Tuesday, April 25.—At length we left this uncomfortable and unhealthy camping-ground, and had some difficulty in turning round the swamp which is here formed, and further on in traversing a dense forest which almost precluded any progress. Having then passed along a rising sandy ground, we had again to cross a most difficult swampy tract, overgrown with dense forest, which at times obliged us to ascend the high sandy downs that bordered the great river on our right, and afforded a splendid view over the surrounding scenery.

Gradually we emerged from the dense forest upon the green border of a backwater which stretched out behind the sandy downs, which were enlivened by cattle. Marching along this low verdant ground, we reached a place called Taútilt at eleven o'clock. Here Wóghda, the father-in-law of Wóghdugu, had just pitched his tents, and part of his luggage was, at the moment of our arrival, being carried over from the island of Kóra, where the chief Sául had encamped, and the shores of which were enlivened by numerous herds of horned cattle.

Such is the remarkable mode of life adopted by these southern sections of the mysterious veiled rovers of the desert. Totally metamorphosed as they are by the character of the new region of which they have taken possession, they wander about and remove their encampments from one island to the other, and from one shore to the other, swimming their cattle across the river. They have almost renounced the use of the camel, that hardy animal, which afforded their only means of existence in those desert regions which had formerly been their home.

It was a highly interesting camping-ground. This branch of the river, which was about two hundred yards broad, and at present from six to eight feet deep, was enlivened by several boats, together with a good number of cattle, apparently rather averse to entering the water, which in summer usually dries up; the Tuarek busily arranging their little property and pitching their tents, or erecting their little booth-like huts of matting; then behind us the dense forest, closely enveloped by climbing plants. The principal branch of the river is from two to three miles distant.

We had scarcely arrived, when the cheerful little Wóghda started from his tent with a sudden bound, worthy of a public exhibition, in order to receive his friend the Sherkh El Bakáy. We encamped in the shade of the large trees, close to the border of the water, where we were soon visited by several Songhay people, who inhabit a small hamlet on the island of Kóra, where they cultivate tobacco. This article constituted in former times the chief branch of cultivation all along the river, but at present, since the conquest of the country by the Fúlbe, it has become a contraband article, so that the people from Timbúktu come stealthily hither, in order to buy from these people their produce with cotton strips or *tári*.

This chief, Wóghda, had been present, when quite a boy, at the attack which the Igwádaren at Egedesh made upon Mungo Park, whom all the old men along the river knew very well, from his large strange-looking boat, with its white sail, his long coat, his straw hat, and large gloves. He had stopped at Bámbo in order to buy fowls, of which he appears to have endeavoured to obtain a supply at every large place along the river. Wóghda further asserted that it was on this occasion that the Tuarek killed two of the Christians in the boat, but this seems to be a mistake, as it appears evident that two of the four valiant men, who, solitary and abandoned, in their boat, like a little fortress, navigated this river for so many hundred miles in the midst of these hostile tribes, were killed much lower down.

The people have plenty of asses, and a sword-blade of the commonest German or Solingen manufacture fetches everywhere two of these animals, which are sold for at least 6,000 shells each in the town. But the more conscientious Arabs do not trade with the Tuarek, whose property they well know, for the greatest part, to be "*harám*," or forbidden, because taken by violent means.

It had been announced that we were to start in the afternoon, but there was no reason for hurrying our departure, and we quietly encamped here for the night, when we were visited by a great number of the Welád Molúk, whose encampment was at no great distance from ours. They were short, thick-set men, with fair complexions, and expressive prepossessing features, but some of them were suffering dreadfully from a disgusting disease, which they attributed to the bad quality of the water. One or two of them, at least, had their nose and part of their face entirely eaten away by cancers, and formed altogether a horrible spectacle.

Much more agreeable was a visit which I received from the Tuarek chief, Sául, the leader of the Kél-Tamulát, a very stately personage, who remained the greater part of the night with us, engaged in animated conversation with the Sheikh. The following morning, while we were arranging our luggage, he, and another chief of the name of Khasíb, came to pay me their compliments, and sat for a long time near me, in order to observe my habits.

At length we were again on our march, following the windings of the river, which at times spread out to a fine sheet of water, but at others became hid behind sandy downs. On our left we had

a well-wooded country, now and then changing into a low swampy ground, and enlivened by guinea-fowls. In this place we met a fine tall Tarki, mounted upon one of the highest "mehára" I had ever seen. It was Wóghdugu, the most valiant of all the southern Tuarek, Awelimmiden, Igwádaren, and Tademékket taken together, and a sincere and faithful friend of the Sheikh El Bakáy. He was a fine, tall, broad-shouldered man, of six feet four or five inches, and evidently possessing immense muscular strength, although he was by no means fat at the time, and even pretended not to be in the enjoyment of good health.

Numerous deeds of valour are related of this man, which remind one of the best age of European or Arab chivalry. He is said, at the time when the Tuarek conquered the town of Gündam from the Fúlbe, to have jumped from his horse upon the wall of that place, and catching upon his shield the spears of all the enemy who were posted there, to have opened a way for his comrades. A few days before, he had been surprised, when quite alone, by a party of from ten to twelve of his private enemies, the followers of E' Téní, but he succeeded in defending himself against them, and catching upon his shield all their iron spears, he reached the river, and made good his retreat in a boat.

Led on by this interesting man, and by a brother of his of the name of Mohammed, we soon reached a place named Izéberen, so called from two sandy downs rising from a flat shore, and at times entirely insulated. Inland, a large swampy backwater leaves only a narrow neck of land dry

CHAPTER XXIX.

RETROGRADE MOVEMENT TOWARDS TIMBÚKTU.

THE locality of Izéberen, where we had encamped, was not at all inviting, as it was but scantily provided with trees. Here we gave up our journey eastward, and again commenced our retrograde movement towards Timbúktu. I was now filled with the saddest forebodings; for after three or four days spent in vain dispute between the Sheikh and Akhbi, the chief of the Igwádaren, who was encamped here, the latter persisted in his rebellious conduct against his liege lord Alkúttabu; and, instead of restoring what he had taken from the tribes placed under the protection of the latter, he made up his mind to follow the instigations of the Sheikh's enemy and rival, Hammádi, and to throw himself into the arms of the Fúlbe and of the chief of Hamda-Alláhi. He thus caused an immense disturbance in this whole region, and in fact a bloody war broke out soon after my safe departure.

The encampment at Izéberen, to which this sad remembrance

attaches, was tolerably enlivened with some interesting people, including as well some kinsmen of Ákhbí, as more especially the sons of Ég el Henne, Wóghdugu, and his brethren, Mohammed, Aníti, and Míni, all of whom are of a very cheerful disposition, and (as far as it is possible for a Tárki to be so) even amiable men. Among the former there was a boy named Kúngu, whose arrogance at first was a little troublesome, but eventually he became one of my best friends, and even now occupies a foremost place in my remembrance. He was a nephew of Ákhbí's, and his father had been distinguished for his valour and warlike enterprise, but had been killed in battle at an early age, like most of the kinsfolk of this chief, so that the boy was brought up and educated by his mother, Tatináta, who was a daughter of Awáb, the chief of the Tademékket whom I have repeatedly mentioned on former occasions.

Ákhbí himself was a man of about forty years of age, good-looking, but of an overbearing character. His father, Sálem, who had died a few months before at a very advanced age, had been distinguished by his intelligence, while Ákhbí, as soon as he acceded to power, had broken his allegiance to his liege lord, and entered into open hostilities with him. He had allowed his own small tribe, which scarcely numbered more than two hundred fighting men, to be divided into two hostile encampments, and in consequence of that feud had sustained a very heavy loss amongst his own followers. His quarrel with Alkúttabu was evidently a consequence of the intrigues of the Fúlbe and Hammádi, who, seeing that the political power of the Sheikh El Bakáy was based upon his friendship with the chief of the Awelímiden, used all his endeavours to raise up an adversary to the latter; and the progress of this struggle, of which I did not see the end, may have been productive of great changes in the political relations of Timbúktu.

The endeavour to preserve the unity of the whole tribe of the Awelímiden, which my protector had sincerely at heart, and thus to keep up the friendly relation of this tribe with that of the Igwádaren, induced him to postpone my interests, and to return once more westward, in order to exert his utmost to settle this serious affair. For the very tribe of the Igwádaren, from the first, when they were settled in Azawád, had been the protectors of the Kunta, the tribe to which the family of Mukhtár belonged, and had especially defended them against the hostilities of the Ígelád, by whose subjection the former had founded their power. El Bakáy could not but see with the most heartfelt sorrow his former supporters likely to become the auxiliaries of his enemies, and his brother, Sídí Mohammed, whom he had left to fill his place in Timbúktu during his absence, had sent an express messenger from the town, requesting him to come, in order that he might consult with him upon the state of affairs.

As for myself, being anxious about my own interest, and fearing even for my life, which I was convinced was seriously threatened by another return towards Timbúktu, I employed every means in my power to persuade my friend to allow me to pursue my journey eastward, in the company of those pupils and followers of his whom he had promised

to send along with me. But he would not consent to this, and I felt extremely dejected at the time, and could not but regard this retrograde journey to Timbúktu as a most unfortunate event.

Just at this time the news was brought, by way of Ghadámes, of the French having completely vanquished the Shaamba, and made an expedition to Wárgelá and Metlíli. In consequence of this report, the fear of the progress of these foreign and hated intruders into the interior of these regions became very general, and caused suspicion to attach to me, as these people could not but think that my journey to their country had some connection with the expedition of the French. But, taking all the circumstances into account, I found afterwards that my friend was altogether right in postponing for the time my journey eastward.

Sunday, April 30—This was the sad day when, with the most gloomy forebodings, I began my return journey towards the west. There had been the most evident signs of the approach of the rainy season, which in the zone further to the south had already set in, when, after so many reiterated delays, I was obliged once more to return towards that very place which I had felt so happy in having at length left behind me.

My protector was well aware of the state of my feelings, and while the people were loading the camels he came to me, and once more excused himself on account of this retrograde movement. There were, besides myself, some Arabs of the tribe of Gwanín, who wanted to go on to Ghérge, in order to buy tobacco, and who now likewise were obliged to return once more to the westward, as they had no guarantee for their security in making the journey alone.

The splendid river along the banks of which lay our road, and which here was about half a mile across, afforded the only consolation in my cheerless mood. The junction of the two branches, as seen from this spot, presented a very fine spectacle. The gerredh trees also, which were in full blossom, attracted my attention.

Keeping a little nearer to the sandy downs, we soon reached the place of our former encampment in Taútilt. Having then passed along the small backwater of Barkángo, the volume of which had greatly decreased in these few days, we encamped about four miles beyond, in the open swampy ground which we had had such difficulty in crossing on our outward journey. It is called Erásar. In this low ground, between two swamps and about eight hundred yards from the bank of the river, without the shade of the smallest tree, the Igwádaren had encamped. It was owing to these swampy sites that I was afflicted with those severe rheumatic pains, from which I afterwards suffered so much in Bórnu, and which I occasionally feel even now.

The place was the more disagreeable, as we remained here the three following days, El Bakáy endeavouring all the time to persuade the chief Ákhbí to restore the property which he had taken from the subjects of his liege lord. I was in the meantime, anxious to keep up a friendly intercourse with the people with whom I was thus brought into contact, although most of the Igwádaren had already gone on in advance to their new retreat, and at that time were collected at Ernésse; while the

straightforward and fearless chief Wóghdugu, and his friend Shamuwél, were still behind. I took a great interest in the name of the latter, for I thought that the names of Shamuwél, Sául, and Daniél—all being of frequent occurrence among this tribe, while, as far as I am aware, none of them is found among the Arabs,—tend to confirm the closer relation which these Berbers keep up with the Canaanitic tribes than with the Arabs. There was, in particular, a man of the name of Sáma, who was very friendly with me. On reading with him some writing in "Tefinaghen," or the native Berber character, I became aware that this word signifies nothing more than tokens or alphabet. For as soon as the people beheld my books, and observed that they all consisted of letters, they exclaimed repeatedly, "Tefinaghen—ay, Tefinaghen!" and my little friend Kúngu, who had just learned the Arabic alphabet, was very anxious to know something about the value of the letters. I here also had proof of the great dislike which the Tuarek have to the name of their father being mentioned, for when the little Haibálla, the companion of the son of the Sheikh, mentioned the death of Kúngu's father, the little fellow flew into a great rage, and was ready to kill him on the spot.

I received, besides, a great deal of information from a young man who had lately come from the north, in order to study under the Sheikh. He belonged to the Welád Yoáza, a section of the tribe of the Méshe dúf, which originally appears to have been of pure Berber extraction, being identical with the celebrated tribe of the Masúfa, but who, at present, have become Arabised. He was evidently a man of a good family; but being now rather scantily supplied with food, he took refuge with me, in order to enjoy my hospitality. On this occasion I learned from him a great deal with regard to some districts of the desert, with which I had been unacquainted.

In the same encampment, we received full confirmation of the news with regard to the progress of the French towards the south, and of their having taken possession of Wárgelá. The excitement produced in consequence was very great, and made my situation extremely difficult and dangerous. The Sheikh El Bakáy came twice in the same afternoon to me, expressing his intention of uniting the strength of the Tawátiye and the Awelimmiden in a common attack upon the French. But I endeavoured to show him the absurdity of such a proceeding, telling him that they themselves would gain nothing by such inconsiderate conduct, and would only furnish a fresh pretext to the French for penetrating farther into the interior. Moreover, I gave it as my opinion, that the latter, unless instigated, would not undertake such a thing as a military expedition to these distant regions, but would endeavour to open commercial intercourse with them in a peaceful manner. There the matter stopped for the moment.

Thursday, May 4.—All the exertions of the Sheikh to persuade Ákhbi to return the property which he had taken by force from the tribes placed under the protection of the Awelimmiden being in vain, the latter broke up his encampment, in order to pursue his journey westward in search of new protectors and allies. To prevent the

mischievous which might result from this course, my friend followed, and I was obliged reluctantly to accompany him. The river had fallen considerably since I had last visited this district, and the scanty foliage of the lower part of the trees in the swampy tract which we traversed in the beginning of our march, bore evident testimony to the higher state of the water some time before.

Leaving then our former camping-ground in Tensarón on one side, we encamped after a march of a little more than six miles, on ground which was still so extremely damp that almost all my luggage was spoiled, while it likewise exercised a most unfavourable effect upon my health. We had previously had evident signs of the approach of the rainy season; but, to-day, we had the first regular shower accompanied by a thunderstorm, and rain fell round about us in a much more considerable quantity. The Tuarek were well aware that this was the real beginning of the rainy season, giving vent to their feelings in the words "ákase yúse"—"the rainy season has set in;" but my Arab companions, who repeatedly assured me that long before the setting in of the rainy season I should certainly reach Sókoto, would not acknowledge this as a regular rain, but qualified it as quite an exceptional phenomenon connected with the setting of the "Pleiads," and calling it in consequence, "mághreb el ttrayá."

There was a great dread of lions in our encampment. I especially was warned to be on my guard, as my camping-ground, which I had surrounded with a fence, closely approached a jungle of rank grass, but we passed the night unmolested.

Friday, May 5.—Although I had been promised that we should certainly not pass this place on our return westward, nevertheless, in the morning the order was suddenly given to decamp; and on we went, Ákhbi in the van and we in the rear, passing many small temporary encampments of the Igwádaren, who were exiling themselves from their own country. Having thus made a short march of about four miles, through a country now rising in sandy downs, covered with *sivák* and *dúm-bush*, at other times spreading out in low swampy meadow-grounds, and leaving *Índikuway* on our left, we encamped again in the midst of a swamp, at a short distance from the bank of the river. Fortunately, there was some rising ground, opening a fine view over the river, which here formed an arm of about six hundred yards in breadth, while the opposite shore of *Áribinda* exhibited a very pleasant background. Cautiously I pitched my tent as high as possible, with the door looking towards the river, in order to console myself with the aspect of the stream. A beautiful *jéja* or caoutchouc tree, here called *énderen*, which I scarcely remember to have seen anywhere else in the whole of this district, gave life and animation to the encampment. A few miles towards the west, the high sandy downs of *Úle Tehárgé* formed also an object of great interest.

It was extremely fortunate that the ground of this encampment did not present such a uniform level as in our last day's *ámazágh*, for in the afternoon we were visited by a violent tempest, which threw back the fence that we had erected around our camping-ground, upon our-

selves and our horses, and threatened to tear the tent to pieces then, having made the round of the whole horizon, it returned once more from the north and discharged itself in a terrific shower, which lasted more than two hours, and changed the whole of the lower part of the plain into a large lake.

This thunderstorm afforded evident proofs of the full power of the rainy season, and as I had not yet even begun my long journey eastward, through districts so full of large rivers and of swampy valleys, my feelings may be more easily imagined than described. I felt very dissatisfied with the Sheikh El Bakáy, and he, on his part, was well aware of it. His own trustworthy and amiable character inspired me with the confidence that I should at length get safely out of all my trouble; but an immense amount of Job-like patience was required, for we stayed in this encampment the five following days.

But we had a little intercourse with some remarkable persons which



gave me some occupation. The most interesting of the passers by were three noble ladies of the tribe of the Kél-hekikan, well mounted on camels in an open cage, or jakhfa, of rather simple structure, with the exception of the rich ornament on the head of the animal, as is represented in the accompanying woodcut. But the ladies themselves afforded an interesting sight, being well formed, of rather full proportions, though very plainly dressed. Then the whole of the Igwádaren, male and female, passed by close to my tent. There were, besides, the Kél-teráart and the Kél-tamuláit, or, as the Arabs call them, Áhel e' Sául; and I had a long conversation with a troop of eight horsemen of the latter, who, in the evening, came to my tent in order to pay their respects to me. I reciprocated fully their protestations of friendship, and requested one of the two kinsmen of the chief Sául, who were among this troop, to accompany me on my journey eastward, promising to see him safe to Mekka. But although he greatly valued my offer, he was afraid of the Aréwan or Kél-gerés. and of the inhabitants of Air,

There was a great congregation of different chiefs with the Sheikh El Bakáy, and he flattered himself that he had made peace between inveterate enemies, such as E' Téní and Wóghdugu; but the sequel showed that he was greatly mistaken, for these petty tribes cannot remain quiet for a moment. Great numbers of the Shémman-Ámmas were hovering round us, all of them begging for food. But my spirits were too much embittered to exercise great hospitality from the small stock of my provisions, which were fast dwindling away. Indeed, the stores which I had laid in, in the hope that they would last me until I reached Say, were almost consumed, and I was very glad to obtain a small supply of milk, which I usually bought with looking-glasses, or rather rewarded the gifts of the people by the acknowledgment of such a present. But these people were really very miserably off, and almost in a starving condition, all their property having been taken from them. They informed me that the Igwádaren had plundered twelve villages along the Eghirreu, among others, those of Bámba, Égedesh, Asliman, and Zómgoý.

The river was enlivened the whole day long with boats going up and down, and some of the people asserted that these boats belonged to the Fúlbe, who were looking out for an opportunity of striking a blow. The whole world seemed to be in a state of revolution. The news from the north of the advance of the French, the particulars of which, of course, could not but become greatly exaggerated, as the report was carried from tribe to tribe, excited my friend greatly, and the several letters, written by the people of Tawát, who were resident in Timbúktu, having reference to the same event, with which the messenger whom he had sent to that place returned, did not fail to increase his anxiety.

All these people seemed to be inspired with the same fear, that the French might without any further delay march from el Goléa, which they were said to have occupied, upon Timbúktu, or at least upon Tawát. On the whole it was very fortunate indeed that I was not in the town at this conjuncture, as in the first excitement these very people from Tawát, who previously had taken me under their especial protection, and defended me repeatedly, would have contributed to my ruin, as, from their general prejudice against a Christian, they lost all distinction between English and French, and represented me as a spy whose proceedings were connected with that expedition from the north.

They now urgently requested the Sheikh to write a letter to the whole community of Tawát, and to stimulate them to make an attack upon Wárgelá conjointly with the Hogár and Ázgar, but I did all in my power to prevent him from acceding to such a proposal, although he thought that I was greatly underrating the military strength of the people of Tawát. However, although I succeeded in preventing such a bold stroke of policy, I could not prevent his writing a letter to the French, in which he interdicted them from penetrating further into the interior, or entering the desert, under any pretext whatever, except as single travellers. He also wanted me to write immediately to Tripoli, to request that an Englishman should go as consul to Tawát; but I told

him that this was not so easily done, and that he must first be able to offer full guarantee that the agent should be respected.

In my opinion it would be better if the French would leave the inhabitants of Tawát to themselves, merely obliging them to respect Europeans, and keep open the road to the interior, but although at that time I was not fully aware of the intimate alliance which had been entered into between the French and the English, I was persuaded that the latter neither could nor would protect the people of Tawát against any aggressive policy of the French, except by peaceable means, as Tawát is pre-eminently situated within the range of their own commerce. If both the English and French could agree on a certain line of policy with regard to the tribes of the interior, those extensive regions might, I think, be easily opened to peaceful intercourse. Be this as it may, under the pressure of circumstances, I found myself obliged to affix my name to the letter written by the Sheikh, as having been present at the time, and candour imposed upon me the duty of not signing a wrong name.

All this excitement, which was disagreeable enough, had, however, one great advantage for me, as I was now informed that letters had reached my address, and that I should have them; but I was astonished to hear that these letters had arrived in Ázawád some months previously. I expostulated very strongly with my friend upon this circumstance, telling him that if they wanted friendship and "imána," or security of intercourse with us, they ought to be far more strict in observing the conditions consequent upon such a relation. I then received the promise that I should have the letters in a few days.

Wednesday, May 10—Our hosts the Kél-gógi removed their encampment, and we followed them, although my protector had repeatedly assured me that in our retrograde movement we should certainly not have to pass the fine caoutchouc-tree that adorned our encampment. Leaving the high sandy downs of Úle-Tehárgé, on the banks of the river, we kept around the extensive swampy meadow-ground which spreads out behind them, several small encampments of the wandering Tuarek enlivening the green border of the swamp. Crossing, then, some rising ground beyond the reach of the wide expanse of shallow backwaters connected with the river, we came to the well-known creek of Amaléle, and followed its northerly shore till we reached its source or head, where our friend Ákhbi had taken up his encampment in the midst of a swampy meadow-ground, which afforded rich pasture to his numerous herds of cattle, for, as I have had occasion repeatedly to state, the Tuarek think nothing of encamping in the midst of a swamp.

As for ourselves, we were obliged to look out for some better-protected and drier spot, and therefore ascended the sandy downs, which rise to a considerable elevation, and are well adorned with talha-trees and siwák, or *Capparis sodata*. Having pitched my tent in the midst of an old fence, or zeríba, I stretched myself out in the cool shade, and forgetting for a moment the unpleasant character of my situation, enjoyed the interesting scenery of the landscape, which was highly characteristic of the labyrinth of backwaters and creeks which are connected with this large river of Western Central Africa.

At the foot of the downs was the encampment of our friends the Tuarek, with its larger and smaller leathern tents, some of them open and presenting the interior of these simple movable dwellings, beyond, the swampy creek, enlivened by a numerous herd of cattle half-immersed in the water; then a dense border of vegetation, and beyond in the distance, the white sandy downs of Ernésse, with a small strip of the river. I made a sketch of this pleasant and animated locality. The scenery was particularly beautiful in the moonlight when I ascended the ridge of the downs, which rise to about one hundred and fifty feet in height. In the evening I received a little milk from the wife of one of the chiefs of the Kél-gógi of the name of Lámmegge, who was a good-looking woman, and to whom I made a present of a looking-glass and a few needles in return. The Tuarek, while they are fond of their wives, and almost entirely abstain from polygamy, are not at all jealous, and the degree of liberty which the women enjoy is astonishing, but, according to all that I have heard, instances of faithlessness are very rare among the nobler tribes. Among the degraded sections, however, and especially among the Kél e' Súk, female chastity appears to be less highly esteemed, as we find to be the case also among many Berber tribes at the time when El Bekrí wrote his interesting account of Africa.

Meanwhile my good and benevolent protector was in a most unpleasant dilemma, between his regard for his own interest and his respect for myself. He severely rebuked the Tárki chief for having disturbed the friendly relation which had formerly existed between himself and me; for since our retrograde movement, in order to incite my friend to a greater degree of energy, I never went to his tent, although he repeatedly paid me a visit. At length, after mature consideration, the Sheikh had decided that I, together with the greater part of his followers, should go to Ernésse, there to await his return, while he himself intended to approach still nearer to Timbúktu, although he affirmed that he would not enter the town under any condition.

Thus we separated the next morning, and I took leave of the friends whom I had made among the tribe of the Igwádaren. These people were leaving their former homes and their former allies, in order to seek new dwelling-places and new friends. There was especially, the little Kúngu, who, early in the morning, came on his white horse to bid me farewell. We had become very good friends, and he used to call daily to talk with me about distant countries, and the different varieties of nations as far as he had any idea of such things. He was an intelligent and chivalrous lad, and with his long black hair, his large expressive eyes, and his melancholy turn of mind, I liked him much. When I told him that he would yet become one of the great chiefs of the Tuarek, and a celebrated warrior, he expressed his fear that it would be his destiny to die young like his brothers, who had all fallen in battle at an early age, but I consoled him, and promised that if any friend of mine should visit these regions after me, I would not fail to send him a present for himself. He regretted having left the neighbourhood of Bámba, which he extolled very highly on account of its

fine trees and rich pasture-grounds, but he spoke enthusiastically of the Rafar-n-áman, or, as the Arabs call it, the Rás el má, with the rich grassy backwaters and creeks which surround it, especially the valley called Tisórmaten, the reminiscences of which filled his boyish mind with the highest delight.

Thus I took leave of this young Tárki lad, after having given him such little presents as I could spare. Swinging himself upon his horse by means of his iron spear, he rode off with a martial air, probably never to hear of me again. I took the opposite direction, along the shore of the creek Amalélle, accompanied by a guide whom Ahmed el Wadáwi had brought from Ernésse, and followed by Mohammed ben Khottár the Sheikh's nephew, Sidi-Mohammed the Sheikh's son, and almost the whole of his followers. However, the company of all these people did not inspire me with so much confidence that my friend and protector would not tarry long behind, as the fact of the presence of his favourite female cook Díko who accompanied us, and whose services my friend could scarcely dispense with, and I thus agreed in the opinion of his confidential pupil Mohammed el Ámín, who, knowing well the character of his teacher, disputed with energy with those amongst my companions who thought that the Sheikh would send us word to join him in the town.

I therefore cheerfully enjoyed once more the very peculiar character of this river district, with its many creeks, small necks of land, and extensive swamps. Since we had last visited this place the waters had retired considerably, and the extensive swampy lowlands between Temáharót and Ernésse had become quite dry, so that we had to cross only a narrow channel-like strip of water. Following then the sandy downs, we soon reached the well-known encampment of the Kél-nokúnder, where I was hospitably entertained with a bowl of ghussub water. I was disposed to enjoy in privacy the view over the river, while lying in the shade of a siwák, but the number of Tuarek who were passing by did not allow me much leisure, for the tents of Sául, as well as those of El Wóghdugu, were at a short distance. But these people, conscious of their having deserved punishment at the hand of their liege lord, were frightened away by the rising of a simúm, as it is popularly believed in the country that this wind is the sign of the approach of the great army, or tábu, of the Awelímmiden, and they all started off the next morning.

The river, which is here very broad, forms a large low island called Banga-gúngu, the "hippopotamus island," while a smaller one, distinguished by a fine tamarind-tree, is called Búre. I endeavoured in the afternoon to reach the bank of the river itself, but it is beset with a peculiar kind of grass of great height, armed with such offensive bristles that it is almost impossible to penetrate through it. In the latter part of the cold and during the hot season, a path leads along this low grassy shore, but, during some months of the year, the water reaches the very downs. It is a fine spot for an encampment, the air being good. But the whole site consists only of a narrow sandy ridge, backed towards the north by an extensive swamp, the border of which

is girt with the richest profusion of vegetation, interwoven with creeping plants, and interspersed with düm-bush. This place is called "úggada," and forms a haunt for numbers of wild beasts, especially lions, and the inhabitants gave an animated description of a nocturnal combat which, two days previously, had raged between two lions on account of a lioness.

It had been decided that we should await here the return of the Sheikh; but, after we had passed the following day in this place, our friends the Kél-n-nokúnder, already satisfied with the honour of entertaining so many guests for one day, endeavoured to escape from our hands, and, without having given us the slightest warning, on the morning of Saturday suddenly removed their encampment. Fortunately they went eastward, in which direction I would have followed them to the end of the world. Thus my companions, the télmaïd, rushed after them like hungry vultures after their prey. I had my things packed in a moment, and we followed them along the same narrow neck of downs on which our route had lain in coming from Amalélle; but, instead of traversing the swamp by the ford northward, we kept along it towards the east, where the downs gradually decrease in height, being overgrown with colocynths, and, further on, with túrsha, or *Asclepias gigantea*, and the blue *Crucifera* or daman-kádda. Further on they cease entirely, and give way to a low shore, which, during the highest state of the inundation, forms a connection between the river and the swampy background stretching out behind the downs.

Here, where the river takes a fine sweep to the south-east, and forms several islands, was situated in former times a town of the name of Belcsáro, but, at present, nothing but groups of a beautiful species of wild fig-tree, called here duwé, mark this spot as the former scene of human industry.

Crossing then a low swampy ground, overgrown with rich byrgu and rank reed grass, we reached the high sandy downs of Úle-Tehárge, which had already attracted my attention from our encampment in Tehárge. On the highest part of these downs the Kél-n-nokúnder chose the place for their new encampment, and I fixed upon a former fence, wherein I pitched my tent, which from this elevated position was visible over a great part of the river. But my young friend, the Sheikh's nephew, imbued with the superstitious prejudices of his mother, always greatly objected to my using the former dwelling-places of other people, as if they were haunted by spirits.

It was a beautiful camping-ground, elevated about a hundred and fifty feet above the surface of the river, over which it afforded a magnificent prospect, the river here forming a very noble sheet of water. It is asserted, however, that in summer it is fordable at the place called Ensouéd. A little beyond the end of the downs, where it formed another reach towards the south, the river presented the appearance of an extensive lake. Nearer the opposite shore a low grassy island called Rábara stretched out, and another narrow strip of ground called Wáraka was separated from the shore, on our side, by a narrow channel, and overgrown with the finest býrgu. Towards the south, the steep sandy

downs were bordered by a strip of rich vegetation, behind which a green swampy plain stretched out, intersected by an open channel, which separated us from the main, where another village of the Kél-nokúnder was lying, the barking of whose dogs was distinctly heard.

The small creek which separated the island of Waraka from our shore was full of crocodiles, some of which measured as much as eighteen feet, the greatest length which I have ever seen this animal attain in Central Africa, and swimming just below the surface of the water, with the head occasionally peeping forth, they greatly threatened the security of the cattle, who were grazing on the fine rank grass growing on the border of the creek. In the course of the day these voracious and most dangerous animals succeeded in seizing two cows belonging to our hosts, and inflicting a very severe wound upon a man who was cutting grass for my horses.

This man had attached himself to my party in order to return to Háusa, which was originally his home. But there was a great difference of opinion as to whether he was at liberty to go, although he was a liberated slave, and I was given to understand that his company might involve me in disputes with his former masters, for, in general, even liberated slaves are supposed to observe some sort of duty to their former employers. Nevertheless, I had allowed him to stay, but was now obliged to send him back to Timbúktu, as almost the whole of his foot had been carried away by the monster, so that he was entirely unfit for the journey, and required immediate relief.

The view of the river was the more interesting, as a strong north-east wind, or, as the Tuarek say, "erife," ruffled its surface so considerably, that it crested the waves with white foam, and presented a very animated appearance, the magnificent sheet of water, the green island and shore, and the high ridge of the wide sandy downs, forming a most pleasing contrast.

There was, also, no lack of intercourse. Sometimes it was some fishermen of the Songhay who solicited my hospitality in the evening; at others, it was a troop of Tuarek horsemen, who came to see the Christian stranger of whom they had heard so much. The most remarkable among them were the horsemen of the Kél-tabórit, and the Kél-támulát, with whom I had a long conversation, in the course of which I endeavoured to make them understand that the whole of this extensive region, of which they knew only a small part, was "nothing but a large island, or gúngu" ("gúngu ghás"), in the great salt sea, just as the island of Rábara opposite to us, was with regard to the Niger, or the Eghírreu, the only name by which this river is known to all the Berber tribes. They thus became aware that the dominion of the sea was of some importance, as it gave access to all these countries, whereas before they had only looked with a sort of contempt upon people living only, as they thought, in vessels on the sea; and they were not a little surprised when I told them that we were able to come up this river from the sea. They likewise had heard, and some of them perhaps had even seen, something of that adventurous Christian who, fifty years ago, had navigated this river, and who, even after this lapse of time, remains a mysterious

and insoluble enigma to them, as to the place from whence he so suddenly appeared, and whither he was going.

The influence of conversation is great among these simple dwellers of the desert, and the more we talked the more friendly became the behaviour of my visitors, till at last they asked me why I did not marry one of their daughters and settle among them. On the other side of the river there were encampments of the Imeddiren and Terféntik, and some of the latter paid our hosts a rather abrupt visit, taking away from them a head of cattle, so that the Sheikh's nephew, Mohammed ben Khottár, was obliged to cross the river in order to obtain damages from them. The Kél-n-nokúnder, who in former times had been greatly ill-used by the free Imóshagh, had been imbued by their protectors the Kunta with such a feeling of independence, that they are now not inclined to bear even the slightest injustice, and they had certainly some right to demand that, at the very moment while they were treating so large a party belonging to their protector, they should not themselves suffer any violence. However, I heard to my great surprise, that they likewise pay zeká to the Fúlbe, or Fullán. My friend, who had some trouble in persuading the freebooters from beyond the river to restore the property, represented them to me as fine tall men, kinsfolk of the Tarabanása, but very poor. It is really surprising that a family of peaceable men should exercise such an influence over these wild hordes, who are continually waging war against each other, merely from their supposed sanctity and their purity of manners.

The interesting character of the locality did not suffice, however, for our material welfare, and my companions made serious complaints on account of the scanty supply of food which they received from our hosts; and for this reason they were almost as eager to hear some news of the Sheikh as I myself.

From our former encampment in Ernésse, I had sent my servant, Mohammed el Gatróni, into the town in order to procure me a supply of the most necessary provisions, as my former stock was entirely consumed, and it was fortunate, on this account, that I had saved 5,000 shells, which I was able to give him for this purpose. He now joined us again in this place on the 14th, and, of course, every one hastened to learn what news he had brought from the town and from the camp of the Sheikh. He had arrived in Timbúktu a little before sunset, and, having finished, without delay, his purchases of the articles wanted by me, immediately hurried away to the camp of my protector; for, as soon as the news of the arrival of my servant had got abroad in the town in conjunction with the return of the Sheikh to his camp, the utmost excitement prevailed amongst the townspeople, who fancied that I myself was returning, and, in consequence, the alarm drum was beaten. My servant also informed me that the Tawátiye themselves were greatly excited against me, as if I had had anything to do with the proceedings of the French against Wárgelá, and he assured me, that, if I had still been in the town, they would have been the first to have threatened my life. He had only slept one night in the camp, and then left early the following morning, and therefore knew nothing about our protector's

coming, but he confirmed the fact that there were letters for me. Fortunately, on returning, he had been informed that we had changed our camping-ground, and finding a guide, he had been able to join us without delay. The suniye of negro-millet fetched at the time, in the market of Timbúktu, 4,500, a large block of salt of about 60 lb weight, 5,000; and kóla nuts, from eighty to one hundred shells each. With my limited supply of means, it was fortunate that I never became accustomed to the latter luxury.

CHAPTER XXX.

FINAL AND REAL START.—CREEKS ON THE NORTHERN BANKS OF THE NIGER —GHÉRGHO.—BAMBA.

Wednesday, May 17.—ABOUT noon the whole encampment was thrown into a state of the greatest excitement, by the arrival of two of the Sheikh's followers, who informed us that our friend had not only left the camp, but had even passed us, keeping along the northern border of the swamp which stretched behind our camping-ground. All was joy and excitement, and in an instant my tent was struck, and my luggage arranged on the backs of the camels. But we had to take a very roundabout way to get out of this place, surrounded and insulated as it was by deep swamps, for with our horses and camels, together with our heavy luggage, we could not think of crossing the creek which entirely cuts off the downs of Úle-Tehárgé. We were thus obliged to return all the way to Belesáro, almost as far as our previous fording-place between Amaléle and Ernése. Here, cutting through the swampy plain (which at present at this spot was for the greater part dry), along the localities called Tín-éggedád, and further on Oráken, we at length, having gained firm ground, were able to change our direction to the east along Eliggedúf and Ewábe. We had just marched three hours, when we found ourselves opposite our encampment on the downs, separated from them by the swampy ground of about half a mile in extent.

Uncertain as to the direction which our friend had taken, we now began to rove about, here and there, in search of him; but there was no inducement to tarry long, as, by the breaking up of a great number of encampments of the Tuarek, an innumerable host of small flies had been left in this district without occupation and sustenance, and thus left destitute of their usual food greedily attacked ourselves. Leaving then behind us the low downs, which were thickly covered with düm-bush, the resort of a numerous host of guinea-fowl, we entered again low swampy ground, and at length, after having traversed a thickly wooded district, ascertained the spot whither the Sheikh had betaken himself, which was at a place called Ákale, the eminence on the bank of the river being called Em-aláwen. But, when we at length reached it, we found the holy man sleeping in the shade of a síwák, or *Capparis*, and the noise of our horses, as we came galloping along, was not

sufficient to awaken him from his deep slumber. Such was the mild and inoffensive character of this man, in the midst of these warlike and lawless hordes.

Waiting till my protector should rise from his peaceful slumber, I sat down in the shade of a rich *siwák*, enjoying the faint prospect of my journey home, now opening before me.

At length my friend awoke, and I went to him. He received me with a gentle smile, telling me that he was now ready to conduct me on my journey without any further delay or obstruction, and handing me at the same time a parcel of letters and papers. There were copies of two letters from Lord John Russell, of February 19th, 1853; one from Lord Clarendon, of the 24th of the same month; a letter from Chevalier Bunsen, another from Colonel Hermann, and two from Her Majesty's agent in Fezzán. There were no other letters, either from home or from any of my friends, but there were, besides, ten Galignanis, and a number of the *Athenæum*, of March 19th, 1853.

I can scarcely describe the intense delight I felt at hearing again from Europe, but still more satisfactory to me was the general letter of Lord John Russell, which expressed the warmest interest in my proceedings. The other letters chiefly concerned the sending out of Dr. Vogel and his companions, which opened to me the prospect of finding some European society in Bórnu, if I should succeed in reaching my African head-quarters in safety. But of the expedition to the Tsadda or Bénuwé, which had started for its destination some time previously to the date of my receiving these letters, I obtained no intimation by this opportunity, and, indeed, did not obtain the slightest hint of that undertaking, of which I myself was to form a part, till December, when it had already returned to England.

I thanked the Sheikh for having at length put me in possession of these despatches, but I repeated at the same time my previous remark, that if he and his friends wanted to have "*umína*," or well-established peaceable intercourse with us, security ought first of all to prevail as to our letters, and I was assured that this parcel had been lying in Ázawád for at least two months. But the Sheikh excused himself, stating that one of the chief men in that district, probably the chief of the Bérabísh, had kept them back under the impression that they might contain something prejudicial to his country, an opinion which, of course, could not fail to be confirmed by the proceedings of the French in the south-western districts bordering upon Algeria. But, altogether, the history of this parcel was marvellous. It had evidently come by way of Bórnu, yet there was not a single line from the vizier, who, if all had been right, I felt sure would have written to me; moreover, the outer cover had been taken off, although the seal of the inner parcel had not been injured. But the reason, of which I, however, did not become aware till a much later period, was this, that, before the parcel left Sókoto, the news of the execution of the vizier had already reached that place, when the letter addressed by that person to myself was taken away, and probably also something else which he had sent for me. But, it moreover happened that

the man who was commissioned to convey the parcel to Timbúktu was slain by the Góberáwa, or Mariadáwa, on the road between Gando and Say, at a moment when the packet was by accident left in the hands of a companion of his, who, pursuing his route in safety, took it to Azawád. But the death of the principal bearer of the letters addressed to me, in all probability, contributed not a little to confirm the rumour of myself having been slain near Marácu. However, at that time, and even much later, I had no idea that such rumours were current in the quarter which I had left.

Thursday, May 18—It was with a very pleasant feeling that I at length found myself in the company of my noble host, again pursuing my journey eastward, and I enjoyed the peculiar features of the country with tolerable ease and comfort. The varied composition of our troop, among whom there were several well-disposed friends, afforded also much relief.

The country was the same that I had already traversed, but it presented some new features, as we followed another path. I was principally struck with the enormous size of the "retem," or broom, which here assumed the proportions of considerable trees of more than twenty feet in height, while the siwák, or *Capparis sodata*, was in great abundance.

Having rested, after a march of about ten miles, in a dense part of the forest, which is said to be frequented by lions, we pursued our march in the afternoon, when, proceeding along the swampy creek of Barkänge, which was now almost dried up, and passing Tautilt, we pitched our tents a little beyond the former amazágh of the chief Wóghda, near a camp of the Welád-Molúk. The bianch of the river at this spot was at present so shallow, that a flock of sheep was seen fording it towards the island, water-fowl, also, and especially such birds as live upon fish, were in immense numbers. Crocodiles were seen in abundance, and caused us some anxiety for the horses, which were pasturing on the fine rank grass at the border of the river.

The Tuarek having now left the banks of the river, the black natives seemed to be more at their ease, and several boats belonging to the Songhay crossed over to us from the island of Kóra. I had seen the male portion of the Arab tribe of the Welád-Molúk on a former occasion, but I here, for the first time, saw their wives and daughters, who, attracted by curiosity, came in the evening to catch a glimpse of the Christian stranger, and were roving about my tent, but I did not observe a single attractive person among them, and, feeling rather sleepy, paid but little attention to them.

Friday, May 19—While the other members of our troop kept more inland, I followed the bank of the river, which here, with its fine open sheet of water, presents a highly interesting aspect, till I reached our old camping-ground at Izéberen, from whence I had some difficulty in rejoining my friends, for the whole of this part of the river is full of backwaters and creeks, which renders the communication rather difficult to people who are not well acquainted with the character of the country, but on this very account they afford rich pasture—

grounds after the river has begun to decrease. Unfortunately, even now, when we had finally entered upon our journey, the dilatory character of my host remained unaltered, and, after a march of seven miles, we halted near a small encampment of the Kél-n-nokúnder, professedly as if we were to start again in the afternoon, but in reality in order to pass the night there. However, I was glad that we had at least gone beyond the place which we had reached on our former abortive start.

The locality was adorned with some luxuriant specimens of duwé, and the tagelálet, or agáto. Under one of these fine trees, the dense foliage of which almost reached the ground, I passed the heat of the day in friendly conversation with some of the peaceable Tolba, who came to have a chat with me on religious topics. When the cool of the evening set in, I pitched my tent near the bank of the open branch of the river, which was girt by a fine border of rank grass, but the river was here broken, and did not present that noble character which I was wont to admire in it.

Saturday, May 20—We were to start at a very early hour, but the difficulty of making out the right path among these numerous swamps and creeks, kept us back till all our companions were ready. We then had to turn round a very difficult swamp, which had now begun to dry up, and where we observed the first traces of the wild hog that I had hitherto seen along this part of the Niger. After we had left this swamp behind us, the river exhibited its truly magnificent character, and we proceeded close along the border of its limpid waters, on a beautiful sandy beach, our left being shut in by high sandy downs, richly clad with dúm-palms and tagelálet.

It was here, for the first time, that I observed the traces of the zangway. This animal appears to be quite distinct from the crocodile, and perhaps resembles the American igwana. It is much smaller than the crocodile; and its footprint indicated a much broader foot, the toes being apparently connected by a continuous membrane. Unfortunately I never obtained a sight of the animal itself, but only observed its footprints in the sand—it attains, as it seems, only to the length of from six to eight feet.

The well-defined character of the river, however, did not last long, and again there succeeded the low swampy shore, which occasionally obliged us to keep at a greater distance from the main trunk, while the vegetation in general was abundant. The predominant tree in this district, also, was the siwák, or *Capparis*, which, with its small berries, which were just ripening, afforded us occasionally a slight refreshment. They can, however, only be taken in small quantities, as they have a very strong taste, like pepper, and on this account are much pleasanter when they are dried, in which state they afford a not inconsiderable portion of the food of the nomadic inhabitants of these regions. Besides the siwák, or "tésak," there was also a great quantity of "retem," which is here called atárkít or ásabáy; further on, dúm-palms became very prevalent.

Leaving, then, the locality called Tahónt on our left, we reached a

very large grassy creek, which was enlivened by herds of cattle, and encamped on its border, in the shade of a dense belt of fine trees, woven together by an immense number of climbing plants. The whole bottom of the valley was at least seven hundred yards wide, and behind a smaller strip of water a larger open branch was observed, intersecting the rich grassy valley. It is very remarkable, that neither the Imóshagh, or Tuarek, nor the Arabs, have, as far as I am aware, a name sufficiently expressive for these shallow vales, the Arabs in general calling an open creek of water "rej" or "krá," and a less open one "bot-há;" while the Tuarek call them in general an arm, properly a leg, of the river, or "ácar-n-eghírreu," but the native Háusa name "fáddama" is far more significant. It was on this account that Caillié called the whole of these shallow creeks by the corrupted Jolof name, "marigot."

Close behind our encampment the ground formed a slight slope, and presented the site or tazámbut of a former Songhay place called Hendikiri, a place which is perhaps identical with Kambakiri, mentioned in the history of Songhay as the spot where a dreadful battle was fought between two rival pretenders. It is difficult to imagine the different aspect which this country must have presented in former times, when all the favourable sites formed the seats of flourishing dwelling-places, and animated intercourse was thronging along the track on the side of the river. It was a fine halting-place, characteristic of the whole nature of this region; but the ants were very numerous, and disturbed us greatly during our short halt.

After resting for about four hours, we pursued our march eastward, keeping for the first mile close along the bot-há, which soon changed its character to a considerable open sheet of water. Leaving then this water, and crossing several smaller grassy creeks, and traversing a low sandy ridge, we reached another large backwater, and winding along it in a south-easterly direction, through bushes and dým-palms, we reached, after a march of about six miles, an interesting sandy headland called Ém-n-kúris, situated at the point where the creek joins the river, which here forms a fine sweep, changing its course from a west-easterly to a south-northerly direction.

On this open sandy promontory we chose the spot for our night's quarters, opposite an encampment of the Kél-antsár which was situated on the other side of the creek, and enlivened by dým-palms. The river itself formed a fine open sheet, broken only by a small island, and, being animated by several boats, exhibited a grand spectacle. There was a good deal of consultation in the evening between the eldersmen, or ámaghár, of the Kél-antsár and my protector, with regard to the course to be pursued under the present political circumstances of the country, these poor people scarcely knowing which party to follow amidst the general confusion which prevailed. I learned on this occasion that the Ígelád, to whom the tribe of the Kél-antsár belongs, have three learned chiefs or judges, the most respected of whom, El Táher, lives at Rás el má. The night which we passed here on a rising ground just over the stream was beautifully fresh, while the elevation caused us to be exempt from the plague usual in these swampy lowlands.

Sunday, May 21—While we were breaking up our encampment and loading our animals, the opposite camp of our friends was enlivened by numerous herds of sheep and goats, and we should have made a very interesting day's march, as we were now approaching a better-inhabited district, if it had not been for the hospitable treatment of our hosts, who, in order to satisfy their numerous visitors, had probably, the preceding night, mixed together all sorts of milk, so that almost all the people were seriously ill; and the first part of our march presented so distressing a spectacle that most of my companions thought the milk had been poisoned.

Thus we passed a remarkable locality on a rising sandy bank behind a considerable creek, which, by its name Tamizgida, evidently indicates the site of a former dwelling-place, and is probably identical with the Tírka (or rather Tírekka) of Arab geographers,* if that identity does not apply to Ghérگو. Having passed this place, we followed the shallow water, which gradually widened, being intersected by fences and dykes for the purpose of cultivating rice and catching fish. Larger trees became gradually more scanty, indicating our approach to a still existing dwelling-place, as is generally the case in Negroland, the trees being consumed for firewood, but just as we came in sight of this place, which is Ghérگو (pronounced Rérgو), in order to avoid the heat during the midday hours, on an almost unprotected shore, we thought it better to halt in the shade of the last trees. I myself found shelter under the densely woven foliage of a fine group formed by the union of a géza with an aghelál, where I had nothing better to do than to treat all my people with tea and coffee, in order to restore their wasted spirits and strength, as they had suffered greatly from their last night's diet.

Our road from this point to the town led along the border of the swampy lowlands, following a great many windings round the indented shore of the creek. Thus we reached, after a march of a little more than two miles, the bank opposite the village of Ghérگو, and began looking about for some time for a fit place to encamp, for the village itself, situated as it is behind a large backwater, could not be reached. The opposite shore is extremely bleak and unbroken, being destitute even of bush, while only three isolated trees dotted the ground for a great distance, and these were unfortunately too far off from the ford, where we chose our camping-ground, to be of any use to us during our stay.

Ghérگو is a place not without interest, and seems to be of considerable antiquity. According to tradition, it is stated to be seven years older than Tumbutu, or Timbúktu, and seems therefore well deserving of a right to be identified with one of the celebrated centres of life in these regions in the first dawn of historical record. It was originally situated on the main, occupying an eminence a little to the east of our

* See the highly interesting account of this place, the great commercial *entrepôt* between Ghána in the west and Tademékka in the east, in El Bekrí, "Description de l'Afrique," p. 180. The express mention of the ants which he here makes is very important, as, in coming from Timbúktu, the first ants were observed by us near Hendi-kiri.

encampment, till, in more recent times, the weakened and unprotected inhabitants were obliged to retire behind the backwater from fear of the Tuarek. Certainly, the insular nature of their dwelling-place is of a rather indistinct character, for in general, with the exception of those years when the inundations of the river reached an extraordinary height, as had been the case this year, the smaller branch dries up to such an extent, that a person may enter the place without wetting his feet; but this happens at a season when their tormentors the Tuarek leave the banks of the river and retire inland so that they suffer but little from them. This year the high state of the inundation had inspired them with so much confidence, that they had refused their boats to the tábu, or the army of their great liege lord himself. The river had risen to such an elevation, that it had reached their very huts, which, separated into three distinct groups, are situated on a slightly rising ground.

The inhabitants, even in the present reduced state of the country, raise a good deal of rice and tobacco, though the cultivation ought to be much more extensive, if we consider the wide expanse of the low swampy ground which is reached by the inundation. The river, indeed, is at such a distance, that it is not seen at all, being hidden behind the sandy downs which form its inner bank. But it is remarkable that the nutritious grass, the býrgu, which I have so repeatedly mentioned, was almost wanting here, and the cattle of the village were obliged to be driven to a great distance, so that, notwithstanding the richness of the pasture-grounds in general, I was in want of milk.

We remained here the following day, and after a very cold morning, which seemed rather remarkable in the month of May, I took a walk up the gradually rising downs, which partly consisted of sand and gravel, partly exhibited a more stony character, and, contrasted with the wide green valley of the river, presented a bleak desert scenery with undulating ground towards the north, clad with nothing but isolated tufts of dry herbage. From the higher ground I had an interesting view over the whole village, situated in the midst of swampy creeks and bordered on each side by a solitary tree. I counted from this point about three hundred and fifty huts.

On returning from my walk to our encampment, I found a great number of the inhabitants of the place assembled, and, after they had paid their compliments to the Sheikh, anxiously looking out for the stranger in order to obtain his blessing also. But I did not find them sufficiently interesting to have much intercourse with them, for they have very little of that noble independent carriage which distinguishes, in such an eminent degree, their south-eastern countrymen, and their stature, as well as their features, seemed to indicate plainly a very strong intermixture with Mósí slaves. It is not improbable, that the whole indigenous population of this northern bank of the Niger originally belonged to the race of the Tombo. Most of these people wore closely fitting white shirts and trousers, both made of a broad kind of cotton strip, or tári, of very coarse texture, while their head is generally encircled with a very rugged and poor turban, if we may so call it, of

the same material, only a few of them being dressed in a more decent style. They had a good deal of butter, but dared not sell it, through fear of the Tuarek. I was not a little surprised at the large species of geese which they were breeding.

Tuesday, May 23—We started in the cool of the morning, keeping close to the border of the swampy creek, which gradually becomes narrower, while the principal trunk of the river approaches. After a march of about a mile and a half, we receded a little into the desert, which exhibited an immense number of footprints of the giraffe, generally three or four together. Here the vegetation was rather scanty, the ground in general being covered with nothing but low bushes, but, after we had approached a small ridge of sandy downs, we crossed a hollow, which, being the dried up ground of a pond, or dhaye, was surrounded with dūm-bush and tobacco-grounds.

We had been joined some time previously by a chief of the Kél-antsár, who invited us to spend the hot hours of the day with him. We therefore halted at an early hour by the side of his encampment, which was situated on a promontory close beyond the rich vale whence the district was called "erášar," Kírtebe and Tárashit we had left on one side. The people slaughtered a whole ox, and sent us a great many dishes of rice and sour milk. The whole tribe of the Kél-antsár is rather numerous, numbering upwards of one thousand full-grown men, but they are scattered over a wide extent of country, reaching from Gógó to Rás el má, and even into the interior of Tagánet, the district between Timbúktu and Ázawád. We had intended to pitch our tent here, but we found the ground so extremely dry and hard that it would not hold the pegs.

Soon after starting in the afternoon, on descending from the eminence we had a fine view of the river, two branches of which united behind an island. But the scenery soon changed, and, leaving the river at some distance, proceeding first over sandy ground, and then crossing a large backwater which was at present tolerably dry, and following a large herd of cattle that were returning from their pasture grounds, we reached another considerable amazágh of the Kél-antsár, and encamped between them and the green swampy shore of the river. The place is called Zár-ho; but in the river lies the island of Kurkozáy, which has obtained a kind of celebrity on account of a sanguinary battle which was fought there thirty-five years previous to the time of my visit, between the Tuarek on the one side, and the Songhay and Ermá or Rumá on the other. The people here seemed to be very rich in cattle, and supplied us with an enormous quantity of fresh milk.

Wednesday, May 24—While we were loading our camels, the sky was overcast with thick clouds, and heavy rain evidently fell in Áribínda, while with us the strong wind prevented the clouds from discharging their contents. I have repeatedly remarked upon the quantity of rain that falls on the southern side of the river compared with the northern. Dry as the country here appeared to be, we this day became more than ever entangled among the numerous backwaters which make the passage along the river so difficult, although they afford the richest pasturage to

the cattle. The fault was that of our guide, who directed our course too far south from east, till, on becoming aware of our error, we had to cross two very considerable grassy creeks, the first having three and a half feet of water, and the last being still deeper. The tall rank grass of the býrgu entangled the feet of the horses, and caused them to fall, to the great discomfiture of their riders.

Having at length succeeded in crossing this double creek, we had still to traverse another grassy inlet, joining it from the north side, after which, all these swampy lowlands uniting together formed a very extensive fáddama, at the broadest part about two or three miles wide, the whole surface of the water being covered with water-lilies (*Nymphaea Lotus*). Beyond this extensive backwater, on a grassy island of the river, lies the hamlet Tabáílt, and at a short distance from it another ádabay, of the name of Ábaten. Here the extensive backwaters after a little while cease, and allow the river itself to approach the sandy downs, which in this spot rise to a considerable height. They thus afforded myself and the Sheikh's nephew a fine view over the river, which here forms a "large island," designated by this very name, "autel-makkóren," or "imakkóren," it often forms the camping-ground for Tuarek tribes. The sandy downs, however, soon gave way to swampy backwaters, the indented outline of which gave to our march a very indistinct direction, and formed a remarkable contrast to the dreary rising-ground on our left. The difficulties, however, after a while became more serious than ever, for we suddenly found ourselves on a narrow dyke, destined to keep back the water for the cultivation of rice, situated in the midst of a swamp. For the people of Timbúktu, who were brought up in the swampy grounds, were not aware of any difficulty until we approached the opposite shore, when we found that the dyke was intersected by a narrow channel, over which it was dangerous to leap our horses, and although my own horse accomplished the feat with success, many of the others refused to do so, so that most of the people preferred making their way through the swamp. As for myself, it was highly interesting to me, thus to become aware of all the various features of this whole formation, although for the sake of comfort we ought to have kept further inland.

When we at length left this swampy ground behind us, everything bore testimony to the fact, that we were approaching another little centre of life in this neglected tract, which, from a certain degree of civilisation, has almost relapsed into a state of total barbarism. Dykes made for the cultivation of rice, and places where the býrgu, the rank grass of the river, was passed through a slight fire in order to obtain honey from the stalks thus deprived of the small leaves, were succeeded by small fields of tobacco and wheat. Nay, even barley was seen, an almost unheard of article in the whole of these regions. Meanwhile, the deep channels made for irrigating these grounds showed a degree of industry which I had not seen for a long time. At present, of course, they were dry, the stubble of the wheat and barley alone remaining in the fields, irrigation being employed only during the highest state of the river, when the water closely approaches these grounds.

Here, where an open branch of the river was seen dividing into two smaller arms, we obtained a view of the town of Bamba, or rather of its date-palms, which waved their feathery foliage over a sandy promontory. However, the sky was by no means clear. Soon we reached this spot, and I was highly delighted at seeing again some fine specimens of the date-palm, having scarcely beheld a single one since leaving Kanó. The trees on the western side of the village are formed into groups, and in their neglected state, with the old dry leaves hanging down from under the fresh ones, formed a very picturesque spectacle. On the east side, also, where we were encamped, close to a magnificent tamarind, were two tall slender specimens of this majestic tree, but altogether there were scarcely more than forty full-grown date-palms. They are said to furnish a good kind of fruit, but, not having tasted them myself, I cannot give an opinion as to their quality.

The village, at present, consists of about two hundred huts, built of matings, and oval-shaped; for, besides a small mosque, there are only two or three clay buildings, or rather magazines, one of which belongs to Bábá Ahmed, a younger brother of the Sheikh El Bakáy, who generally resides here, at present, however, he was absent.

Such is the condition of this place at present; but there cannot be any doubt that it was of much more importance three centuries ago, as it is repeatedly mentioned in the history of Songhay, and its situation—at a point where the river, from having been spread at least during a great part of the year over a surface of several miles, is shut in by steep banks and compressed at the narrowest point to from six hundred to seven hundred yards—must have been of the highest importance, at a time when the whole of the region along this large navigable river was comprised under the rule of a mighty kingdom of great extent, and even afterwards, when it had become a province of Morocco.

This was evidently the reason why the place was fortified at that time, and probably it had formerly a strong fortress, constantly occupied by a garrison, which accounts for the Tuarek, even at the present day, calling the whole place by the name of Kásba. It also serves to explain the fact, that the whole population of the village, even at the present time, consists of Rumá, the progeny of the musketeers who conquered this province for the Emperor of Morocco. But, while in former times they were the ruling race, at present they drag on a rather miserable existence, the protection of the Kunta being scarcely sufficient to defend them against the daily contributions levied upon them by the overbearing rulers of the desert. A short time previously the chief Sadáktu had driven away almost all their cattle.

While awaiting the camels, I sat down on a cliff overhanging the steep bank, which here was about twenty-five feet in height, and enjoyed the splendid view over that great watery highroad of West-Central Africa. The waves of the river were raised by a strong wind, and offered considerable resistance to some light boats endeavouring to reach the opposite shore. My companions soon observed the interest which I took in the scene, and my amiable friend, the Sheikh's nephew, joined me here to enjoy the pleasant prospect. He was glad to find

that, since we were fairly proceeding on our journey, my mind had become far easier and more cheerful. He often spoke with me about my happy return to my native country; and I expressed to him the wish that he might accompany me, and witness for himself some of the achievements of Europeans. He had been to this place several times before, and had always taken great interest in the difference in the nature of the river, which, from spreading out over flat swampy shores with numerous backwaters, with a few exceptions, here becomes compressed between high banks, and he again repeated to me his account of the great narrowing of the river at Túsaya, where a stone might easily be thrown from one bank to the other, while at the same time the river was so deep, that a line made from the narrow strips of a whole bullock's skin was not sufficient to reach the bottom.

While thus cheerfully enjoying the interesting scenery, we were joined by several Rumá inhabitants of the village, who rather disturbed our silent contemplation. But their own character was not wholly uninteresting, for several of them were distinguished from the common Songhay people by the glossy lustre and the lighter hue of their skin, their features also were more regular, and their eyes more expressive. All of them wore, as an outward token of their descent, a red bandage about two inches wide over the shawl which covered the upper part of their face, and a leathern belt hanging loose over the right shoulder, ready to be fastened round the waist at the first signal of danger. Several of them were also distinguished by their better style of dress, which betokened a greater degree of cleanliness and comfort. As for smoking, all the inhabitants along the shores of this great river seemed to be equally fond of it. The pipe is scarcely ever out of their mouth. While smoking, they keep their mouth covered, after the fashion which they have learnt from the Tuarek. The head of the pipe sticks out from below the shawl.

At length the camels arrived. They had been called back by mistake from the upper road which they were pursuing, into the difficult swampy ground which we ourselves had traversed. A large comfortable dwelling of matting, or "búge," as it is called, was erected on the sandhills, for the Sheikh and his companions, but I had my tent pitched near the fine group of date-palms.

Here we remained the following day, when I was roused at a very early hour by the crowing of the cocks in Bamba, which could not but recall to my mind the fate of the enterprising but unfortunate Mungo Park, who is said by the natives to have stayed here a couple of hours in order to provide himself with fowls, and thus to have given leisure to the Tuarek, lower down the river, to collect together and impede his passage, a story which is also related with regard to Gógó and some other places along the river, though it is more probable that his chief reason for making a halt near the principal places along the river, was to open communication with the natives, and more particularly in order to make astronomical observations.

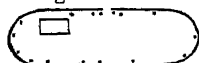
Rising at an early hour, while the sky was beautifully clear, I enjoyed an hour's pleasing reverie on my favourite rock of the previous day

overhanging the river. Although in full agitation the day before, this, morning its surface was unruffled, and several boats were crossing over towards the island.

I afterwards called upon my protector. One of his younger brothers, Sidi Ilemín, had the preceding day come to pay him a visit as he was passing through this country, and when I was ascending the sandy hill, on the slope of which their matting dwelling had been erected, he came out to meet me, and complimented me in a very cheerful manner. He was a respectable man, with a very pleasing countenance, and had with him his son, a most beautiful boy of seven years.

I could not help thinking what a noble family this was. They were all sons of Sidi Mohammed el Kunti, the chief who received Major Laing in Ázawád. First, Mukhtár, Bakáy's elder brother, who succeeded to his father when that chief had succumbed to an epidemic fever which raged in Ázawád, just at the time of Major Laing's arrival, and who died in 1847, then Sidi Mohammed, a man with a truly princely demeanour; then El Bakáy himself, next, 'Abidin, likewise well deserving the distinguished position of a chief, although he differed in politics from El Bakáy; then Hámma, a man with whom I did not become personally acquainted, but who was represented by all as a noble man; Sidi Ilemín, Bába Ahmed, and Sidi Ámmer. This latter is the youngest, but certainly not the least noble of the family. While on a visit to Sókoto, together with his brother El Bakáy, he made a deeper impression upon the people, and obtained their favour more generally, than his elder brother. Alawáte is the only member of this family, who, with the exception of his learning, does not seem to contribute much to its honour, but, even in his case, we must take into account the customs of the country, and not judge of him according to our views of nobility.

The light dwelling which had been erected for my protector, simple as it was, was spacious and elegant, affording a very cool resting-place during the heat of the day. It was of an oblong shape, measuring about



twenty feet by nine, with two doors opposite each other, a large angáreb forming a comfortable resting-place. The mats of which these huts are constructed are very large and excellently woven, the huts being supported by a framework of slender bushes. But the hut, although very pleasant, was too crowded, and, during the hot hours of noon, I retired to a group of magnificent gerredh trees, which overshadowed the cemetery, lying at the southern side of the village, and, interwoven by a dense growth of creepers, afforded a most agreeable shade, such as I had never before observed in the case of this tree.

Together with the adjoining tobacco fields, which were just exhibiting their freshest green, this cemetery formed a striking contrast to the barren country further north, which, although broken by a dhaye, or pond, of considerable size, and excellently adapted for the cultivation of rice, has neither trees nor bushes, with the exception of two or three isolated date-palms surrounding the border of the pond.

We had considerable difficulty in obtaining from the inhabitants a

small supply of rice and butter, as they asserted that their means were so reduced that they were sustaining themselves entirely on býrgu, or native grass; but I had reason to suspect that they made this statement through fear of the Tuarek. At all events, tobacco was the only article they offered for sale, the tobacco of Bamba, called "sherkiye," being far-famed along the Niger, and much sought after, although it is not so good as the "tábowé," the tobacco of Égedesh. Of býrgu, they have an unlimited supply; and I tasted here the honey water which they prepare from it, but found it insipid, besides being slightly purgative, not unlike the maddi, or góreba water, in Hausa.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE DESERT —COUNTRY ALONG THE BORDER OF THE RIVER —GREATEST NARROWING —SOUTH-EASTERLY BEND.

A SLIGHT fall of rain, and then a thunderstorm, which, however, passed over our heads without discharging itself, delayed our departure in the afternoon; and the camels having been sent to a great distance for a little pasture, it was past five o'clock when we left our camping-ground. A numerous crowd of Rumá, Songhay, and Ímóshagh having assembled to witness my departure, I distributed a good many small presents among them, reserving the few articles of value which I still possessed for mightier chiefs.

Having crossed, after a march of two miles, a backwater much overgrown with grass, and at present almost dry, we had the fáddama or bot-há of the river close on our right, while the open water was at about an hour's march distance. Here a considerable amount of cultivation was seen, a good many grounds for corn and tobacco being laid out and connected with the river by channels, through which the water during the highest state of the inundation approached closely, and rendered irrigation very easy; but unfortunately a heavy thunderstorm, rising in a tremendous battery of clouds, and enveloping the whole country in a dense mass of sand, did not allow of any exact observations being made. The many channels which here intersected our road, proved a disagreeable hindrance in our hurried march, and although the clouds passed by without bringing any rain, yet darkness set in before we had reached our destination, and to my great disappointment prevented my noticing the whole character of the district.

But the inconvenience soon increased when we entered upon the swampy, grassy border of the river; for although a small fire, on the dry shore to our left, held out to my companions, who were travelling almost without supplies, the prospect of a rather poor supper, a long line of fires in the midst of the river promised them better fare. Without regarding, therefore, the difficulties of the ground and the darkness

of the night, we made straight for them. My friends were not even deterred, when we reached a narrow dyke scarcely fit for one horse, and in great decay, and which the guide declared to be the only path leading through a sheet of water separating us from the encampment. Thus, we boldly entered upon this dyke, but we had only proceeded a few hundred yards, when it was pronounced, even by these people, so well accustomed to an amphibious life, to be totally impracticable, so that we were obliged to retrace our steps. While engaged in this most dangerous proceeding, my servant, the Gatróni, met with a serious accident, falling, with his horse, down the dyke into the water; and although, with his native agility, he succeeded in extricating himself, with a few contusions, from his unpleasant situation, we had great difficulty in getting the horse out from the hollow into which it had fallen, my companions asserting that it was dead, and wanting to leave it behind. At length we got away from the dyke, and finding a ford through the water, we reached the encampment, which was pitched on a narrow neck of grassy land, and completely dazzled us with the glare of its many fires, coming, as we did, out of the darkness. From the opposite side of the river, two hamlets of Songhay, called Inzámmen and Takankámte, were visible likewise by their fires.

The encampment belonged to some Kéle' Súk, who manifested a rather thievish disposition, and, although not altogether inhospitable, they were unable to treat my companions well, as in the swampy lowland there was an entire want of firewood. It was one of those encampments which contributed in a great measure to ruin my health, partly in consequence of the heavy dew which fell during the night. Meanwhile my servant, who was a most faithful person, was searching the greater part of the night for his pistols, which in his fall he had lost in the swamp.

Friday, May 26.—While my companions still lagged behind in order to indemnify themselves for their lost supper by a good breakfast, I set off at a tolerably early hour, in order to get out of the swampy ground; and fearing lest we might again be entangled in these interminable low grounds, we kept at a considerable distance from the river over the gentle sandy downs, bare at first, but afterwards clad with a considerable quantity of dry grass. But some of our companions, who overtook us, would not allow us to pursue our north-easterly direction, and led us back again to the border of a broad swampy sheet of water, which is called Terárrart, and at this spot formed a shallow water full of water-plants and geese, but gradually widening to a very extensive swamp, which again increased to a large open branch. The river, however, which was now almost at its lowest level, must present a very different aspect during the highest state of the inundation, when the downs of snow-white sand, which at present separated the principal trunk from the swamp, must appear like a narrow sandbank in the midst of the water.

Behind these downs, but separated from the main branch by a smaller creek, called "the false river," Eghiréu-n-báho, lies the hamlet Égedesh which at the present season was deserted, the inhabitants being scat-

tered over the islands in the river. The three villages Garbáme, Êm-n-Tabórák, and Nshérifen, are situated on its opposite southern bank.

Exchanging at this remarkable spot our east-north-easterly direction for an east-south-easterly one, we encamped after a march of three miles and a half, in the shade of a dense belt of underwood which girded its shores, and after a short time, we were here joined by El Bakáy. A little more than a mile beyond this place, at the downs called Ghadí, this large backwater joins the river, and here, when we pursued our march in the afternoon, we ascended for a while a higher level, consisting of sandstone rock in a state of great decomposition, but after a march of three miles, again descended to its shores, the river being here full of green islands, with plenty of fine cattle. Two miles further on, we encamped in a place called Tewílaten, or Stewílaten, at the side of a rather poor encampment of the Kél-Tebankórit. Notwithstanding their poor condition, the people slaughtered two oxen on our behalf.

I had this day still further cause to feel satisfied that we were travelling along the north, and not along the south side of the river, for while we ourselves had but a slight shower, besides summer lightning the whole of the evening, in the course of the afternoon a considerable fall of rain took place beyond the river in Áribínda.

Before we started I began conversing with the people of the encampment (the chief of whom, a man of renowned valour, is called Ham-maláti) in a cheerful manner. Whereupon they praised me as an excellent man, but made at the same time the candid avowal that the preceding night, when I did not speak a word, they felt a great antipathy towards me.

Having proceeded at a tolerable rate as far as this place, we here once more elapsed into our usual slow mode of progress; and after a short march of scarcely three miles over a ground strewn with pebbles and small stones, and clad only with scanty vegetation, we encamped close to the steep bank which descended towards the river opposite the island of Zamgoy, for here we were told was the residence of Sadáktu, the chief who had levied such heavy contributions upon the inhabitants of Bamba. As the country itself did not present any features of interest, it was some recompense to me for the delay we met with in this place, that the character of the river was remarkable; and in order to enjoy it as much as possible, I prepared myself a resting-place on the slope of the bank, which was thickly overgrown with small trees.

It is here that the beginning of the rocky district through which the river takes its course is first perceptible. The western end of a small island is entirely surrounded by large granite blocks, which have given to the island the remarkable name of Tahónt-n-éggish, clearly indicating that even the natives themselves regard this place, for him who comes down the river, as the "entrance-rock," or the beginning of the rocky district.

The island of Zamgoy lies nearer to the southern shore, and seems to be of considerable extent, densely clothed with trees, and containing a small hamlet, or áday. Besides the view of the river, and a walk now

and then over the desert ground in our neighbourhood, where I observed the ruins of some stone dwellings, I had plenty of occupation during this and the three following days which we remained here, in conversing with the natives.

Sadaktu himself was very unwell, and greatly wanted my medical assistance; but after I had made him feel the efficacy of my medicines so strongly that he declared every evil to be removed from his body, he did not reward my zeal with so much as a drop of milk. I therefore could not help observing, to the great delight of his subjects, that he was the most niggardly chief I had ever met with. There were, however, others who were more social and communicative, if not more liberal, than this chief. There was, first, a wealthy and good-looking man of the name of Jemil, of the Kél-Burram or the people of Burrum, who evidently originate in a mixture of free Songhay people and Imó-shag'h, and he himself seemed to unite in a certain degree, the qualities of these different nations, while his rich dress and his *embassador* proved that he was not an austere inhabitant of the desert. A great deal of trouble was caused me by another man of the name of Sinsun, the son of Sidi Ámmer, and the eldest of seven brothers, a very rich Ámóshagh, who was totally blind, but who, nevertheless, expected me to restore his sight, and it really seemed as if my friend El Bakáy confirmed him in this belief, in order to obtain from him some handsome presents for himself.

This person also had the stately appearance peculiar to all these easterly Tuarek, who seem to have enriched themselves with the spoil of the native Songhay population, the latter having to a great measure been reduced by them to the condition of serfs. Almost all of them had a very proud bearing, but nevertheless, upon nearer acquaintance, they proved to be of a very cheerful disposition; and although of a wild character and of warlike propensities, they have an easy temper, and are not difficult to manage.

The poor inhabitants of Bamba, from whom Sadaktu had taken seventy cows and ten slaves, joined us here, in the endeavour to recover their property. They earnestly begged me to be the mediator between them and that hostile chief; and I was very glad when, after a good deal of dispute, the chief returned half of the spoil. It was here also that I learnt that the whole population of Áír, under the command of Háj 'Abdúwa, had gained a great victory over the Dinnik, or Awelímiden-wén-Bodhál, and the Arévan, or Kél-gerés. The tribe of the Kél-fadáye enjoy a great name in this region, and it is evident that, in former times, they occupied a much more conspicuous position than they do at present. Even El Bakáy himself had taken a wife from that tribe; and I was also informed here that they lay claim to a descent from sherifs.

We had a storm almost every day during our stay in this place; but although we ourselves had very little else than a disagreeable sand-wind, there seemed to be a very heavy fall of rain in Áribinda. In one of these thunderstorms we nearly lost our camels, which, headed by one of their companions that had lately come from Ázawád, were making

straight for that district, their beloved home, and had proceeded a distance of some miles, before they were overtaken.

Wednesday, May 31.—At length we pursued our journey, but only for a short march of two hours, and I was so disgusted at the repeated delays and sham travelling, that I prayed earnestly that the Almighty would speedily deliver me from this sort of bondage. Throughout our march, the bare desert, here consisting of stony ground, torn by many small channels, closely crept up to the fertile bed of the river, where a green swampy lowland girded the present reduced sheet of water. Amongst the stones with which the ground was covered, fine white and red striped rock was discernible; and I observed another island, with a rocky point, towards the west.

The ground where we encamped was bleak in the extreme, without any shade, although a few hundred yards in front of us there was a fine grove of gerredh; but as these trees adorned a cemetery, my companions, from superstitious motives, were too much afraid to choose that place for their encampment. Although our camping-ground was excessively hot, I was agreeably surprised to find the water of the river so pleasantly cool at a time when the sun was high, and could only attribute this phenomenon to the rocky character of the channel and to its considerable depth. Nevertheless, crocodiles, as well as river-horses, were numerous.

In this unprotected ground we remained not only this but the following day, although the place was as uncomfortable for the people, who were almost scorched by the heat of the sun, as it was detrimental to the animals, who found nothing to eat here. The Sheikh had gone in the morning to visit Sadaktu, in the island of Zamgoy, and from thence did not join us until late in the evening. It was one of the hottest days we had had, and it was here that, about noon, we discovered in my tent a large, black, poisonous *arachnæa*, or spider, the body of which measured almost two inches in diameter, and whose like my companions from Timbúktu had never seen. The Tuarck were so disgusted at the sight, that while I was looking attentively at it, after we had killed it, they threw it hastily away with their swords, so that I did not see it again; but they told me that it was the most dangerous and abominable creature to be found in these regions.

The excessive heat rendered a thunderstorm which we had in the afternoon of the second day highly acceptable, especially as the heavy gale was followed by a light rain, which greatly relieved the burning heat of the sandy soil. It was highly amusing to me to observe also, this time, that although a large leathern tent had been pitched for the Sheikh, nevertheless, as was always the case when a thunderstorm arose, everybody hastened to carry his treasures, especially the saddles and books, under cover of my small European tent, which had now withstood more than four years' exposure to the weather, and was mended and patched in such a manner that the original material was scarcely discernible.

Friday, June 2—We at length left this place, but only to move on a distance of seven or eight miles, to an encampment of a wealthy man of the name of Sidi Ílemin, who, although not belonging to the tribe of the

Fúlbe, was living amongst the Tuarek, and had been settled in the place for a great many years. The contrast between the open river, bordered by the green grassy lowlands, which at present had been laid bare by the retreating waters, and the bleak desert which closely approached it, was very remarkable, especially a short distance before we reached the encampment, where an extensive sandy eminence excluded for a while the view of the river, and with a few scattered bushes of the poisonous fernán, and the short herbage called "ellob," made one fancy oneself transported into the heart of the desert.

Along the former part of our road the low shore of the river had been clothed with a profusion of excellent býrgu, but here there was none, and the poor camels again fared very badly. In the whole of this district along the river, where trees are very scanty, the camel is reduced to the diet of býrgu, although it by no means agrees with animals accustomed to the food of the young acacia trees and the dry herbage of the desert. All circumstances considered, my camels were in a very bad condition, and there was good reason for my kind friend and protector looking about for some fresh animals to enable me to reach more favoured regions. He therefore determined to set out from this point to the nearest of his "kissib," or herds of camels, while we were to wait for him at a place called Tin-sherifen.

The river, which, in its present state, was about nine hundred yards from our camp, had here a very shallow, and not at all an imposing appearance, although a few miles below it enters a very rocky district, where it is enclosed by steep banks and broken by islets and cliffs. Four boats were lying on the shore. The place was called Igómaren.

The encampment of Sidi Ílemin was large, consisting of very spacious leathern tents, where Tuarek and Fúlbe, and some Arabs also, were living together in peaceful community. Although they are tolerably wealthy, they have only asses, and no horses. A good many Tuarek joined us here the day of our arrival, and, while I rewarded the most respectable amongst them with a small present of some kind or other, I had some difficulty in satisfying a more powerful lord of the name of Míki, the son of Elésa; and found it still more difficult to satisfy his companion, or "énhad," who, as is very often the case in Europe, raised his pretensions much higher than his master.

The blind Simsim also accompanied us to this place, and troubled me not a little with begging a remedy for his blindness. Among other chiefs, there was one whose name seemed to me rather remarkable, as he called himself El Ísfaháni; but what he or his ancestors had to do with the famous town of Ísfahán, I could not make out. Sidi Ílemin treated us well with a number of large dishes of rice, but the food being prepared without any salt, I was not able to enjoy it, and was the more grateful at being furnished in the evening with a rich supply of milk.

Saturday, June 3—While my protector directed his steps towards the desert, I, with the greater part of his followers, continued my journey along the banks of the river, which had now almost become a second home to me, and with its many backwaters, islands, and cliffs, afforded me a never failing source of interest. About half a mile beyond our

encampment we passed the site of a former settlement or dwelling-place, after which the sandy downs receded a little from the bank, affording comfortable ground for a good number of Tuarek encampments. Having then left on our right an extensive swampy lowland, which, during the highest state of the river, becomes inundated, we reached the beginning of the rocky district, through which the river has to pass. After a very short march, we encamped in a place called Himberimme, on account of the indisposition of my friend Mohammed ben Khottár.

The slope where we halted was very handsomely adorned with fine shady tabórak, and the river was here free from rocks, being divided into two branches by a low sandbank, while a mile higher up a mighty ledge of granite rocks projected into the water. But about one thousand yards below our halting place, the river presented a very wild aspect, a considerable rocky island, consisting of immense granite blocks, together with a rocky ledge projecting from the high bank, shutting in half the breadth of the river, and forcing it, with a direction from S. 30° E. to N. 30° W., into a channel of probably not more than three hundred and fifty yards broad. This remarkable place, where the river, when it is full, must form a very powerful current, is called Tímálshiden.

The heat of the day having passed by, we continued our march, cutting off the bend of the river over a ground which was at first bare and destitute of vegetation, but after a while became overgrown with stunted talha trees, a few síwák, and a great profusion of retem; till, after a march of two miles, the river again approached on our right, being here free from rocks and bordered by a grassy lowland richly clad with the famous býrgu. On our left, a few tobacco plantations gave proof of a certain degree of industry on the part of the natives, although on this side only a nomadic encampment was to be seen, but on the opposite bank a hamlet appeared. The whole of this district belongs to Tin-sherifen.

As the river takes here a very winding course, meandering along between steep banks, we again left it at some distance on our right, ascending from a low swampy inlet upon higher ground, where we passed another Tuarek encampment, and then, as darkness was setting in, we again descended to the green shore, where the river seemed to be obstructed by islands. Parallel with the bank, a shallow grassy swamp stretched along, and from beyond the southern bank, a little higher up, a village was seen. On the largest of the islands, which was at the same time the nearest to our side, was the residence of Kára, the father of a young man named Sála, one of the pupils of El Bakáy. This was the reason why my companions, notwithstanding the darkness of the evening, and although the island was at present separated from the mainland by a deep channel, entertained the absurd idea of crossing over to the latter. It was only after much uncertainty, and a great deal of dispute, that we decided upon encamping on the narrow neck between the swamp and the river.

In this place we remained the four following days, my protector not returning until the third day, and my patience was again put to a severe

trial But, altogether, the stay here was not so uninteresting, as we received a great many visits from the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring districts First, there came Kára, the governor of the island, a stately-looking old man, dressed in a fine white robe, with a white shawl round his head Having entered into conversation with me, he stated, without the subject being brought forward by myself, that about fifty years ago, a Christian had come down the river in a large boat with a white tent, and the river being then full, had passed without any accident the rocky passage ahead of us. But he added that the Kél-terárat had attacked him at Zamgoy. Park had passed this place in the morning, while he (Kára) was encamped with his people on the sandy downs of Ánbinda This chief himself, although he was not at all hospitable, had really something in his demeanour which might indicate a descent from a nobler stock, but the rest of the inhabitants of the island had much the same appearance as the less noble tribes of the Tuarek in general. However, there is no doubt that the name of the whole district, Tin-sherifen, is taken from the supposed origin of these people—from sherifs. And here in this district, as well as in the neighbouring one of Burrum, where the great river, after having made this remarkable bend into the heart of the desert, changes its easterly course into a south-easterly one, we must evidently look for the earliest Mohammedan settlers along the Niger.

I here also first came into more intimate relation with that remarkable tribe the Kél e' Súk, who seem to deserve a great deal of attention among these nomadic tribes, although I am not yet able to elucidate all the points connected with their history, for they themselves take very little interest in historical facts, and if there exist written records they are not generally known But this much is certain, that these Kél e' Súk have been so called from a place, Súk, or at least generally called Súk, situated at the distance of five days' journey from this point, and six from Gógó, which seems to have been a very considerable place in former times, but was destroyed in the latter half of the fifteenth century, by Sonni 'Alí, the great predecessor of the still greater conqueror Háj Mohammed Askíá The original name of this place I did not succeed in making out, but it is no doubt that very place which, by El Bekrí* and other Arab geographers, after the name of the tribe, has been called Tademékket, and which, till the middle of the seventeenth century, ruled over this region

This large and well-built town appears to have been the centre of various tribes, although I can scarcely conceive that my informants were right, when they asserted that their ancestors had been living there, together with the Hogár and the Kél-owí, as from this statement,

* El Bekrí, who is the only reliable authority, in the edition of de Slane, p. 181, *et seq.* The distance of nine days from Gógó, according to El Bekrí, is to be regarded as the rate for heavily laden caravans, corresponding well to six days of light camels or mehára. See the itinerary from Tawát to this place, in the Appendix. Of the (erroneous) derivation of the name of the town, I have spoken on a former occasion.

if it were true, we should have in this place a much more remarkable example of a community founded by several Berber tribes together, than is afforded by the history of *Agades*. Be this as it may, the name of *Súk* has settled upon this tribe, who still form quite a separate body, being distinguished from the neighbouring tribes for their learning and peaceable pursuits.

Besides several respectable men of this tribe, I received a visit also from *Nássaru*, a daughter of one of their chiefs named *Khozématen*. She was one of the finest women that I saw in this country. Her decent apparel contributed not a little to increase her beauty, for over her under-gown she wore an upper-garment of red and black silk, in alternate strips, which she occasionally drew over her head. Her features were remarkable for their soft expression and regularity, but her person rather inclined to corpulency, which is highly esteemed by the *Tuarek*. Seeing that I took an interest in her, she, half-jokingly, proposed that I should marry her; and I declared myself ready to take her with me if one of my rather weak camels should be found able to support her weight. As a mark of distinction I presented her with a looking-glass, which I was always accustomed to give to the most handsome woman in an encampment, the rest receiving nothing but needles. She returned the next day with some of her relations, who were equally distinguished by their comeliness, and who were anxious to obtain a glimpse of me, not less than of the *Sheikh El Bakáy*. These noble *Tuarek* ladies furnished a remarkable example of the extreme liberty which the females belonging to this tribe enjoy, and I was greatly astonished to see the pipe pass continually from their mouths to those of the men, and from the latter back again into the mouths of the women. In other respects, I can only hope that they surpass the female portion of the population of *Tademékka*, of whose virtue *El Bekri* speaks in rather doubtful terms.

Less agreeable than the company of these people was the arrival of the blind *Simsim*, who, it seems, had been rather disappointed in his expectation of having his sight restored, although my friend had contrived to get from him a present of a camel and a female slave. We were here also at length joined by *Ahmed Wadáwi*, the principal pupil of the *Sheikh*, whom I scarcely expected to see again, but being fully aware of the slow and deliberate character of his master, he felt convinced that he could never come too late. Altogether I was glad that he had arrived, for although apt to make great pretensions, and being inspired with too great zeal for his creed, he was nevertheless a cheerful and good-natured man, and, on account of his considerable learning and his knowledge of the *Tuarek* chiefs, might be of great service to me after having separated from the *Sheikh*. He had, besides, acquired some useful experience with regard to the difference between the straightforward and trustworthy character of a Christian, and the treachery and cunning of an Arab; for having in the beginning constantly taken the part of my former guide, *Welcd Ámmer Waláti*, against myself, he had been cheated in return for his friendship by that rascal, and in order to get from him what was due to him, had been obliged to pursue

him to Áribínda. He brought the news from Timbúktu that the rebel chief Ákhbí, whom we had been unable to persuade to return to his former allegiance, was collecting an army against Alkúttabu.

The whole time of our stay at Tin-sherifen the weather was excessively hot, the heat being felt the more severely, as there was not the slightest shade near our encampment; and as my tent was almost insupportably hot, in order to obtain a little shade, I wandered to a considerable distance up the slope which rose behind our encampment, and here lay down under a small hájilij, or tabórak. From this spot I had an interesting view over the river, which, on account of its peculiar features, here deserved my full attention, and even more than I was able at the time to bestow upon it, as, in the absence of my protector, my companions were rather anxious about my safety. My young and cheerful friend, Mohammed ben Khottár, was suffering all this time from severe indisposition, so that I had no one to rove about with me. A little lower down, the road recedes from the bank of the river for a short distance; and hence I am not able to lay down the river, between this place and Tósaye, with that minuteness of detail which it deserves, in order to facilitate navigation. Under other circumstances, I should have made a special drawing of this remarkable locality on a larger scale; but the assertion of the natives, that Park in his large boat (His Majesty's schooner *Joliba*) had passed through in December or January without accident, reassured me perfectly. Besides, as I myself had to travel all along the bank of the river by land, I had to take care not to excite too much the suspicions of the natives.

From this spot I had a clear prospect over the point where the river issuing forth from between the islands is shut in by two masses of rock, called, I think, Shabór* and Barrór, which obstructed it like a sort of iron gate, although the passage between them, especially at high water, appeared to be open and clear. In summer, however, during the lowest state of the river, the difficulty of the navigation is greatly increased by the sandbank which is formed a little above this strait between the island and the bank. On the island where the chief Kála resided, also, a mass of rock, which at times in the sunlight of the afternoon appeared like a snow-white boulder of quartz rock, started forth like an artificial terrace. Higher up the river was encompassed in its winding course by steep banks, but, in one spot on the opposite shore, where the sandy downs formed a recess, a low grassy headland or island was formed, which at the time was enlivened by numbers of horses, cattle, and sheep, and was adorned by stately trees, especially a fine group of dúm-palms; for dúm-palms apparently begin to prevail here, and lower down the river are found occasionally in great numbers. The slope itself, from whence I overlooked this scenery consisted entirely of rock. Quartz and mica-slates were visible everywhere, and an uninterrupted ledge of the latter mineral set right across with an inclination towards east. The evenings were beautiful, and nothing afforded me greater delight than to walk along the fine sandy beach far into the river. During the lowest state

* I am not quite certain whether Shabór may not be the name of the island and not of the rock,

of the water, this beach forms a junction between the mainland and the island where Kála resided.

Our attention was also attracted to some young zangway, the small species of alligator, which every evening raised their cry from the swamp where they were left by their dams. It sounds like the barking of a dog, and it appeared to us as if they were bred purposely in this back-water, in order that they might not fall a prey to some larger animal in the river.

CHAPTER XXXII.

TÚSAYE, OR THE NARROWING OF THE RIVER—BURRUM; ANCIENT
RELATION TO EGYPT—GREAT SOUTH-SOUTH-EASTERLY REACH.

AT length, in the course of the 8th, my protector returned from his herd of camels, or, as the Arabs call it, "kissib," bringing with him seven fresh camels. He was accompanied by a nobleman of the country, and a near relative of his, of the name of Sídí 'Alí. Soon after his arrival, he came expressly to ask me, whether one of our steamboats would be able to cross this rocky passage, and I told him that, as far as I had been able to investigate the character of the locality from this point, I thought there was not much difficulty for a small boat or launch, at least during the highest state of the river. In the evening, he sent me a small bullock to cut up for our journey, and a short time afterwards a camel, in order to supply the place of the most exhausted of my animals, and it now appeared as if we were fully prepared to pursue our journey at a more accelerated rate.

Friday, June 9—Having taken leave of all the new friends whose acquaintance I had made here, I started at a rather late hour, first keeping along the shore, but after having proceeded about one thousand four hundred yards, turning away and with a north-easterly direction entering the stony slope of the desert plateau, which here consisted of black sandstone in a state of decomposition. At this spot, where I was obliged to keep away from the bank, the great rocky ledge, to which Barrór belongs, crosses the river. This rock not being illumined to-day by the sun, exhibited the same black character which is peculiar to the whole locality, and there is no doubt that it intercepts the navigation for larger boats during a great part of the year.

The bare rocky slope was succeeded by sandy downs, which surrounded and enclosed small irregular vales, the bottom of which was formed of small black stones. A little further on we passed the locality called Tin-rásen, where Sadáktu had once vanquished a superior force led by Ákhbi, who, notwithstanding the close relation which subsisted between them, had come to attack him. The women, hurrying forth from the encampment, had met their kinsfolk with bare breasts, which they held forth to them as having suckled their kindred,

and implored them, for the sake of their near relationship, not to shed the blood of their own kinsmen. But this appeal for mercy being without effect, Sađáktu and his handful of men, inspired with fear for the lives of their wives and children, and fighting with the courage of despair, had beaten the superior force of his arrogant relation, and killed nine free men of his tribe.

A little more than half a mile beyond Tin-rassen we again reached the river, at that remarkable place called Tósaye, or Tósé, where the noble Niger is compressed between steep banks to a breadth perhaps of not more than one hundred and fifty yards, but of such a depth that, as I have before observed, the bottom has not been found by the natives. Here the Sheikh, who, as in general, had slept till late in the morning, overtook us, and seemed much interested when I told him that I thought a small strong built steamer might safely cross this obstructed passage, as in the case of the current being too strong, it might be assisted by chains fastened to the rocks. The locality is of the greatest importance, on account of the intercourse between the desert and the province of Libtáko, as the Arabs of Ázawád in general prefer crossing the river at this point, which, although very deep, is easily passed by the camels and cattle, while in other places they have to swim for miles.

Immediately beyond this narrowing of the river the sandy downs cease, and a low stony level of black, dismal colour, stretched out before us. The river, winding along this tract in a north-easterly bend, and illumined by the dazzling light of the sun, scarcely appeared to be the same large and noble stream which I had admired higher up. The black stony ground was torn by several small channels, and being only sparingly clad with the sad-looking poisonous bush the "fernán," exhibited a very melancholy appearance. But gradually as we descended from this rough ground upon the green shore, clothed with the rank grass of the býrgu, the river again began to widen, and to assume its former noble character, while a little further on a large island, called "Ádar-n-háut," was formed, separated from the mainland by a narrow channel. We encamped opposite the place where the latter again joins the principal branch, and where, in the present low state of the river, a ledge of rock was seen projecting a considerable distance into the water, and numerous isolated cliffs starting forth from its middle course. I chose my camping-ground a few hundred yards from the shore, among the trees, where we found some shelter during the hot hours of the day, and I even remained here during the following night, although all the people tried to frighten me with the assurance, that the lions which infest the neighbourhood would not leave a bone of my horses and camels.

We were visited in this encampment by the inhabitants of the opposite island, who, although belonging to the mixed tribe of the Rumá, have a much better appearance than their brethren in Bamba. Their chief, of the name of Mohammed, was greatly distinguished by his fine glossy skin, his beautiful black and lively eyes, and his regular Circassian features. The dress of these people, however, is

everywhere the same,—white shirts of the commonest and coarsest make, sewed together of narrow strips (only persons of higher rank adorn them with a little silk embroidery), and long white trousers, besides a miserable bandage of native cotton tied round the head, over which some of them wore another bandage of red cloth. All of them had slung over their shoulders the open leathern belt with which they gird their waists in case of emergency. The intelligence of these people seemed very limited, and it was impossible for me to enter into any serious conversation with them. I was, however, fortunately enabled to buy some rice with cotton strips.

Saturday, June 10—As if I was destined to spend my whole life in this region, we this day only moved on three miles, keeping close along the shore of the river, which here formed several islands, and gradually took a more southerly direction. The whole of this part of the river, the valley of which, including the islands, measures certainly more than three miles in breadth, is called Burrum, and was formerly one of the chief seats of the Songhay. There is a remarkable tradition that a Pharaoh once came from Egypt to this spot, and again returned. This story would at least imply an early intercourse with Egypt, and should not, I think, be viewed incredulously, for, if it had no foundation whatever, it would certainly attach to the capital of the nation itself, and not to a place which possesses no great historical importance. But on the other hand it is highly interesting to observe, that this is the spot where the great river, which here makes a bend from a west-easterly into a southerly direction, is nearest to Egypt. Let it be further taken into account, that the inhabitants of the oasis of Aújila, which lies on the great commercial road from Egypt to these regions, were the first who opened this western part of Negroland to the intercourse of the Arabs. The whole history of Songhay points to Egypt, the itinerary of the route of the Nasamones, if rightly constructed, inclines to this quarter, and it is easily to be understood how Herodotus, on receiving the news that so large a river was running eastward, in such a northerly latitude as nearly 18° , could conceive the opinion that this was the Upper Nile. Even in more modern times, we find Egyptian merchants established from the eleventh century in the town of Bíru, or Waláta, side by side with those of Ghadámes and Tafilélet; the principal commerce of Gágbo and Kúkia was directed towards Egypt, and the large commercial entrepôt—Súk—of the tribe of the Tademékka, about one hundred miles from Burrum, on that great highroad, was evidently founded for that purpose.

Formerly there were three villages, containing a considerable population, till about 1843 the Fulbe, under the command of 'Abd Alláhi, the uncle of the present ruler of Másiina, who at that time was a very energetic and warlike chieftain, made an expedition to this place with about 6,000 horse, and 20,000 foot, while the whole of the Tuarek, the Awelimmiden, Igwádaren, and Tademékket, collected together near Tóndibi, did not dare to offer them open battle. Destroying, then, those villages of Burrum, the Fúlbe transferred the whole population,

consisting of nearly four thousand people, into the neighbourhood of Gúndam

A good deal of rice is here cultivated; the cultivation of that article in this region being said to have proceeded from this very locality, a fact which is of the greatest interest as regards the ancient intercourse with Egypt. Even now, those among the rest of the inhabitants of Burrum who belong to the Tuarek tribe of the Tademékket, are distinguished for their wealth and their more refined manners, and I here made the acquaintance of two eminent men among them, named Énnas and Gedéma, the latter particularly remarkable for his corpulency.

At the place where we chose our encampment, the low grassy shore was greatly compressed, a steep bank of black sandstone rising to about thirty feet elevation close behind us, and forming at the top a flat level, strewn with black pebbles, which, if a person turned his back to the river, offered almost the same view as the most dreary part of the waste; but as soon as one directed one's eyes southward, the picture was entirely reversed,—a magnificent stream, studded with rich grassy islands, and affording the most refreshing breeze, appeared in sight.

The Sheikh had so many dealings with the inhabitants of the islands opposite our encampment, that he was obliged to stay here several days, but in order to satisfy me, he made us move on a little. However, we only proceeded for about the distance of a mile, leaving this steep rocky bank behind us, the ground remaining stony, clad with nothing but small stunted trees. Here we encamped again near the border of the green shore, where alone the soil was soft enough to admit the pegs, opposite a long sandbank, which was the resort of numerous flocks of white waterfowl. Of course this sort of progress did not exactly suit my wishes, and in order to soothe my discontent, El Bakáy, soon after we had encamped, paid me a long visit, in order to cheer me up, telling me that he had heard that there really had been, as I conjectured myself, a letter from Háj Beshír, with my parcel, and enumerating those of his pupils, or *télamid*, whom he wanted to send along with me.

There being no stated market-place all along this river, the buying of provisions is sometimes accompanied with a great deal of trouble; and although the only produce of this district is rice, that article is never to be obtained in a prepared state. Nothing but *kókes*, that is to say, rice in the husk, is procurable; and this is a circumstance not to be overlooked by Europeans who attempt the navigation of this river, as they must always be prepared to lose some time in getting ready and cleaning their rice. I here brought the *néffeka* of this kind of rice for two *drá* of *tári*, equal to forty shells. Butter fetched twenty *drá* per *néffeka*.

During our two days' stay in this place, I received some valuable information from some Arabs of the tribe of the *Welád Molúk*, who were settled in *Áribínda*, that is to say, on the southern bank of the river, and kept up a small trade with *Líbákó* which is distant from here about ten days' march. The river being here so broad, it did not

at all surprise me to hear from these people that in average years, during the lowest state of the river, it is fordable in several places.

Far more interesting than the visit of these mixed Berbers was that of a man called Mohammed, who, with eight companions was on his way from Gógó, his native place, to Bamba by water, in a middle-sized boat, thus proving that the water communication between those places was still kept up, notwithstanding the total political ruin of the country, and that too, at the present season of the year, when the water was at its very lowest. He was a wealthy man, belonging to the mulatto stock of the Rumá, and spoke only Songhay. He also brought me the latest news from the districts farther eastward, and I was glad to hear that, owing to the rebel army of Zabérma having been beaten by the governor of Tánkala, the road by Say was open.

Tuesday, June 13.—Having had a thunderstorm during the latter part of the night, with a heavy squall of wind, but without rain, we started at a rather late hour along the grassy shore, which gradually becomes lower and is filled with numerous small ponds, till, after proceeding a little more than a mile, rocky ground began to rise to the surface on our left. It soon assumed the form of steep cliffs, rising to the height of about one hundred and twenty feet, but although during the inundation it is closely approached by the river, at present a narrow passage was left along the green shore. A heavy gale raised the waves of the river to a considerable height, but the sky was so overcast and enveloped in fog that nothing of the opposite shore was to be discovered.

Numerous small torrents had intersected the cliffs, while a thick bush of an unknown species lined the foot of them. A little further on, while slightly decreasing in height, the rocks became more regularly stratified, presenting numerous crevices and caverns.

Having then passed a place where the cliffs formed a deep recess, the low grassy shore extending far into the river, we were obliged to ascend the higher level for a while, an open branch coming close up to the foot of the rocks. We however descended again after a little more than half a mile, near two magnificent sycamores, and encamped at eleven o'clock in the midst of a dense growth of dúm-bushes, while the Sheikh himself pitched his tent on the top of the downs, near an encampment of Kél-tenákse, a division of the Kél e' Súk, to whom belonged also another encampment upon an island in the river.

The sandy shore, thickly covered with dúm-bush, was represented to us as the retreat of numerous lions, and we were warned not to encamp here; but we preferred exposing ourselves to this slight danger, as the strong wind did not allow us to pitch our tents on the top of the downs. We had scarcely made ourselves comfortable, when a great multitude of people belonging to the different tribes settled in the neighbourhood, —Tuarek, Kél e' Súk, Rumá, and Songhay—gathered round us. Many of them had fine features, while others bore distinctly the African character. The Kél e' Súk, who seemed to presume upon their learning, scanty as it was, brought forward their religious prejudices, and I had a sharp disputation with them.

The whole of this district still belongs to Burrum. The Rumá seemed to have also a hamlet of their own in this tract on an island in the river, and appeared to be tolerably well off. A great deal of rice is cultivated hereabouts. I bought some, and had it pounded by two females, one of whom, during her work laughed and made merry almost without interruption, while her companion, who was of a more sullen temper, rendered herself guilty of theft, but was caught in the act.

Almost all the slaves of these Tuarek wear nothing but a leathern dress, that of the females consisting only of a long apron, while the males very often provide themselves with a tight shirt or kilt of the same material.

From all that I observed, I must conclude that the state of the morals of these Tuarek slaves is very low, particularly those of the Kél e' Súk. The latter were formerly the inhabitants of fixed settlements on the borders of the desert, where a great deal of foreign commerce centred, and have thence contracted manners which were strange to their origin. But we must remember that from the most ancient times prostitution, as a proof of hospitality, has been in practice among various Berber tribes of North Africa.

Wednesday, June 14—Having stayed here during the forenoon, we started late in the day. My protector remained behind in order to settle some business, while I proceeded in advance with the most trustworthy of his pupils, first keeping close along the river, which here seemed to be of considerable depth quite near the shore, but further on turning away to some distance from it, through the plain, which was here well clad with small talha trees. Thus, after a march of about four miles from our former encampment, we ascended sandy downs, behind which a broad belt of swampy meadow ground stretched along at a distance of more than two miles from the river itself. The higher level soon became more rocky, being strewn with black pebbles, between which numerous footprints of the giraffe were visible. It was pleasantly undulating, a ledge of sandstone and calcareous rock intersecting it like a wall. Having here heard from a shepherd who was watering his flock at a small pond formed by the recent fall of rain, that there was an encampment at some distance, we gave to our course a more southerly direction, and soon reached a village lying at the very brink of the steep bank of the river, consisting of huts, and inhabited conjointly by some Arabs of the tribe of the Bú-'Alí, and some poorer members of the tribe of the Kél e' Súk. The huts consisted of matting, and were very clean and well ventilated, each of them having two doors, one on the north and another on the south side, both of moderate dimensions.

It was late in the evening when we arrived here, and there being an entire want of trees, we had great difficulty in obtaining a little firewood; nor was there any good byrgu for the horses, the river, which here divided into two branches, being too deep to allow this rank grass, which prefers the swampy lowlands, to grow to any extent. The poverty of the inhabitants, also, could not at all satisfy the wants of my companions, who were very fond of a good supper; hence El Bakáy

himself, who was well aware of this circumstance, had passed this locality, and, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, directed his steps to another encampment further on. This was also the reason of our following day's march being limited to a few hundred yards. We thus exchanged our encampment at Isabegen for that of El Bakáy's at Asakan Imbége, but the change was by no means advantageous to us, as the high level presented here a most dreary aspect, being almost totally destitute of trees or shrubs. The border of the river, however, bore a very different character, and the swampy lowland extended to a great distance, intersected by a dead water which at present had no connection with the river. The profusion of herbage which grew in this locality enabled me to buy here a good supply of butter, although the country in general appeared to be very bleak. A large island, also, is formed in the river, which is inhabited by Songhay, and called Éha. The previous afternoon, we had observed ahead of us, to the east, a mountain chain called Aseghárhu, and we now saw it more distinctly, stretching from east to west 15° south.

We had scarcely pitched our tents, when we were visited by a great number of Tuarek of the tribe of the Tin-ger-egedesh, who were encamped at a short distance with their chiefs Amáre and Sadáktu. They were distinguished by their noble countenance and superior style of dress, and in both respects resembled the Tarabanása, whose enemies they are. Most of them wore black tobies, the black alternately interchanging with a white band, and I counted not less than fifty of them, all decent-looking men. After a while I became very good friends with them, although the commencement of our intercourse was rather awkward. They had had some dealings with Mungo Park, whose policy it was to fire at any one who approached him in a threatening attitude,* and having lost some of their tribe by his well-directed balls, they kept at first at some distance from me, viewing me with a rather suspicious and malevolent eye. But when they observed that I had entered into cheerful conversation with some of their party, they convinced themselves that I did not belong to the class of wild beasts, or "táwakast," for such, from the reception they had met with from Park, they had supposed all Europeans to be. I even, to my great astonishment, found here, with one of the Kél'e Súk, the *Life of Bruce*, published by Murray in 1835, and which most probably had been the property of Davidson,

* It was this policy of Mungo Park, which he no doubt adopted much against his own inclination, that inspired Major Laing, when he heard of it in Tawát, with such ominous dread of the fate which might await himself. In one of his letters which I had the opportunity of inspecting through the kindness of General Sabine, he exclaims, after having mentioned that he met a Tárki who had been wounded by Mungo Park.—"How imprudent, how unthinking! I may even say how selfish was it in Park, to attempt to make discoveries in this country at the expense of the blood of the inhabitants, and to the exclusion of all after communication, how unjustifiable was such conduct!" It was on this occasion that Major Laing sent back the sailors whom he had with him, and almost gave up his design of navigating the river below Timbúktu.

the Kél e' Súk having brought it from Azawád, where it had been taken by Hámma, a younger brother of El Bakáy, who, about the time of Davidson's journey, had paid a visit to Tawát and the country of the 'Aríb. It was almost complete, only ten leaves being wanting, and I bought it for three benáig, or strips of indigo-dyed cotton. It had been used as a talisman, an Arabic charm having been added to it.

Here, as in general, I allayed the suspicions of the people and made them more familiar by showing them some pictures of men of various tribes. Notwithstanding the great distance which separated my tent from the encampment, none of the women remained behind, all being anxious to have a look at this curious and novel exhibition, and having been sent about their business when they came in the daytime, they again returned towards night in such numbers that my people, being anxious for the safety of my small tent, which became endangered by these unwieldy creatures, endeavoured to frighten them away with powder. But all was in vain, they would not stir till they had seen the pictures, which, in accordance with the disposition of each, excited their great delight or amazement. My custom, which I have mentioned before, of honouring the handsomest woman in every encampment with a looking-glass, created here a great struggle for the honour; but I was so unfortunate as to hurt the feelings of a mother by giving the prize of beauty to her daughter, who was rather a handsome person.

We remained here the following day, when we had, in the morning, a considerable fall of rain, which lasted several hours, and drenched the Sheikh and his followers in their leathern tent, while my old and worn white bell tent, pitched in this open hammáda, withstood the rain beautifully, to the great astonishment of the Tuarek, who all came, soon after the rain was over, to see if I had not been swamped in my frail dwelling, which, before, they had looked upon with contempt.

I had afterwards a very important controversy with the Sheikh's people, in which I had to make use of all my energy in order to carry out my intention of following up the shores of the river; for the Kél e' Súk wanted to persuade the Sheikh to enter here the open desert, and to make straight for the encampment of their chief, Khozématen, who, they said, would provide me with everything necessary for my further journey. They were seconded in their endeavour by all the eloquence of Ahmed Wadáwi, El Bakáy's favourite pupil, who asserted that, after the heavy rains that had fallen, the desert afforded plenty of herbage for the horses. But I opposed these arguments in the most determined manner, assuring the Sheikh that, even if he should go, I would not, but that I should pursue my route straight along the river; and, in order to make an impression on his mind, I reminded him of the distinct promise which he had given me of conducting me to Gógó. The Sheikh, then seeing that I was firm, adhered to his word, and it was therefore decided that a message should be sent to the chiefs of the Kél e' Súk, to the effect that they were to meet us in Gógó, while we continued our march along the river.

Thus we left this cheerless camping-ground in the afternoon, and soon descended by a gradual inclination from the higher desert tract, which,

however, after the heavy rain which had fallen in the morning, was full of pools of stagnant water. We then passed several encampments, till we reached the low grassy shore of the river, when the high ground on our left was intersected by several dry watercourses, and obliged us, although only for a short time, to exchange the green bottom for the rocky slope at a place where a branch of the river, which approached closely, was full of crocodiles.

Entering then an open grassy plain intersected by several channels, and making our way with difficulty through this swampy ground, called Erárar, we reached about dark an encampment of Kél e' Súk, at the border of an open branch of the river, which was here about four hundred yards broad. The locality was called Tabórak, though not a single tree was to be seen hereabouts, the whole district is here still called Éha. The open river afforded a very pleasant sight, as, during the last few days, I had seen nothing but swampy creeks. Towards the south-east, the watery plain was bounded by Mount Tóndibi, which juts out into the river in the shape of a promontory of considerable elevation. The locality, however, was so very unhealthy, that I could not long enjoy the fresh air outside, but was obliged to retire into my tent at an early hour.

Saturday, June 17—On leaving our camping-ground in the morning, we had to cross two small creeks, and then keeping along the swampy plain, soon got entangled in a larger sheet of water, which stretched along the foot of Mount Tóndibi, and appeared to intercept our passage. We therefore thought it better to get out of the swampy ground, which here was full of water covered with water lilies, and to ascend the sandy downs, where we passed another ámazagh of the Tin-ger-égedesh. There is no doubt that this swampy plain, for several months of the year, presents one uninterrupted sheet of water. Thus we ascended the northerly offshoots of Mount Tóndibi, which formed undulating sandy downs, stretching forth from the foot of the rocky mount, and richly clad with düm-bush, but we soon passed them, and descended again on the other side into the grassy swampy plain, at present dry, but intersected by a creek every now and then. The river was at a considerable distance.

A mile beyond, we reached an encampment of the Kél e' Súk, consisting of reed huts, and at the instigation of the Wadáwi, in the absence of the Sheikh, made a halt and unloaded our camels, when we suddenly received counter-orders, and reloading our camels with great alacrity, proceeded on our march. The plain was here intersected by several winding channels, where we observed numerous herds of cattle and flocks of sheep belonging to the slaves of Khozématen, who, like all the Tuarek, were about to leave the river, and to enter the region of the desert, and the mountainous tract of Áderár, where, in consequence of the rains, fresh herbage was springing up.

Here we ascended the sandy downs, keeping close along the green border of the bot-há, and passing two small encampments, till we descended again from the rising ground into the green bed of the valley, which was here about three miles broad, and richly overgrown with daman-kádda interspersed between the düm-bush, with which the

small isolated sandy downs were adorned, besides a little "áshur," tursha, or *Asclepias*. But we soon received another serious warning not to trust to this low swampy ground, for we suddenly observed a considerable sheet of water, which seemed to be connected with the principal river extending in front of us, so that we were obliged to regain the higher ground.

While riding a while by myself, I was much amused in observing our motley troop, consisting of about thirty individuals, some mounted on horses, riding singly or in pairs, others on camels, others again toiling along on foot, some armed with guns, and some with spears, and all in different attire, moving along this low swampy ground, where it rose a few feet above the deepest bottom, and was well lined with bush. It being then noon, the sun was very powerful, and when we reached the drier ground, the heat became very troublesome. My companions therefore were well pleased when we reached a village of the Songhay, or rather of that division of them which is called Ibawájitén or Ibáujitén, hoping that they should be able to get some refreshment; but the Songhay, now that they have lost almost all their national independence, and are constantly exposed to all sorts of contributions, are inhospitable in the extreme; and they pointed out to us the encampment of their chief at a considerable distance along the river, where we were to look for quarters. The whole district is called Abúba.

Following the example of my companions, who were lightly laden and not very cautious, I was induced once more to enter the swampy grounds, and, being obliged to cross two boggy channels, we regained with difficulty the sandy downs, which were enlivened with three separate groups of dúm-palms, which adorned a cemetery. Here we encamped in a small field, enclosed with fernán, but at present empty, the locality being called Fágóná.

The situation on these high downs was so conspicuous, that my tent, being visible at a great distance over the valley, attracted a great proportion of the neighbouring population, among whom there were also some Rumá. A few of them were even mounted on horses, although of a very awkward breed. They were seated upon a very awkward kind of saddle, which was merely thrown over the horse's back without a belly-band, and quite low behind. Their dress was also poor, and of the same character as that of the inhabitants of Bamba and Ghérgo. All these people belong to the tribe of the Ibawájitén, and were remarkable for more than ordinary ignorance. Many of them came to solicit medicine from me; and one cannot wonder that, in such a locality, a great deal of sickness prevails, for the whole river is almost entirely lost in a broad shallow valley of about three miles in width, which, in its present low condition, bordered by steep banks, was nothing but a labyrinth of small creeks, intercepting swampy meadow grounds, although, during the higher state of the inundation, it must be filled up by the river, and form one large stream. Seeing so few trees hereabout, I was astonished to hear all the people speak of the number of lions which infested this district; they even begged us urgently to be upon our guard against them during the night.

Sunday, June 18—Having heard nothing of lions or wild beasts during the night, we prepared early for our departure, but were detained some time, as the Sheikh had again business to transact as a general pacificator, these Ibawáuten having purchased two of the slaves whom Sadáktu had taken from the people of Bamba, and not feeling inclined to return them. At length we started, but found it extremely difficult to avoid a wide swampy creek which deeply indented the country, while it afforded a beautiful field for the cultivation of rice, and even in the present decayed state of the country, was not left wholly unprofitable. At length having passed several small channels, we regained the border of the sandy downs, which were richly clothed with vegetation, although the melancholy looking fernán bush here also vindicates its right, beside the retem and the talha tree.

We at length resumed our southerly direction, but were not allowed for any length of time to follow a straight course across this swampy ground, being recalled by some of our companions, who conducted us to a sandy promontory, with projecting granite blocks and dúm bushes, where the Sheikh had made a halt, opposite an encampment of the Songhay, in the "Amnas," as the Imóshagh call the bottom of the valley. Although I was sorry to break off our march so soon, the view from this place was highly interesting, as it afforded a distant prospect over the river, if I may so call a broad swampy valley, hemmed in by steep banks, enclosing in the midst an abundance of rank grass, and scarcely affording at the present time the aspect of an open sheet of water, smaller and larger creeks, and more extensive ponds being formed in every direction. But the most curious sight was that presented by the river a little higher up, where corresponding to the deep gulf which we had turned round in the morning, there appeared on the opposite side another swampy gulf, the whole width of the valley at that place being scarcely less than eight miles. It is evident, from all that I saw here, that the navigable branch of the river runs on the side of Ánbínda, that is to say, the southern bank.

As it had been decided that we should remain here during the night, we had already pitched our tents, and made ourselves comfortable, when our companions having been informed that in a neighbouring encampment there was a better prospect of a good supper, suddenly started off, although a thunderstorm gathered with threatening appearance over our heads; but fortunately the encampment was not far distant, and the storm passed by without rain. This encampment belonged to the Kél e' Súk, and was very considerable. The next morning several very decent-looking men were introduced to me, by my officious friend, Áhmed el Wadáwi, when they assured me that the whole road to Say was safe. All these people, who possess a small degree of learning, and pride themselves on writing a few phrases from the Kurán, were extremely anxious to obtain some scraps of paper, and I was glad to be still enabled, besides small strips of black cotton cloth and needles, to give away some trifling presents of this kind.

When we left the encampment, which was at about eight hundred yards from the outer bank of the river, the country assumed quite

a different aspect, and we had soon to descend a rough rocky passage of blackened sandstone, interspersed with granite blocks, in a great state of decomposition, and passing several encampments of Tuarek, of the tribe of the Imédídderen, we entered a plain richly wooded with talha, hájilj, retém, fernán, and the poisonous euphorbia, which, as is generally the case, grew in the shade of the talha trees.

We very nearly became embroiled in a serious quarrel with the inhabitants of one of these camps, who seized a small box which I had given to the Sheikh, and which one of his young slaves was carrying. I was riding in advance, and the people allowed me to pass unmolested, contenting themselves with putting some questions to me. The whole country was in a state of great agitation, a rumour having got abroad that I, in conjunction with the Sheikh, was to establish here a new kingdom. But a few considerate admonitions from the more respectable members of the troop brought the Tuarek to reason, and it was very curious to witness the theatrical attitudes which one of these simple-minded but energetic original inhabitants of North Africa made use of, in order to demonstrate to the author of the not the absurdity of his proceedings.

After some slight delay caused by this theatrical *intermezzo*, we put our little troop once more in motion, following our former southerly direction, till we were overtaken by a messenger from the Sheikh, with the order that we were to approach nearer the river. Proceeding therefore in a south-westerly direction, we soon came to the exterior embankment of the river reached by its waters during the highest state of the inundation, and girt by a dense grove of dúm-bush and talha trees, but destitute of the nutritious býrgu.

In this locality, which is called Kókoro, we made a halt in order to wait for El Bakáy; but, as he did not come, and as we were unable to stay in this wilderness where no encampment was near, we moved on in the afternoon, with an almost exact southerly direction, towards Gógó, Gáwó, or Gáhgo, the celebrated capital of the Songhay empire. We first kept along the border of the green swampy creek, which further on presented an open sheet of water, while on our left, between the dense dúm-bush, dúm-palms also began to appear. But about two miles further on, leaving the creek for awhile, we ascended sandy downs, where from the deserted site of a former ámazagh, bearing evident traces of having been the resting-place of a numerous herd of cattle, my companions descried in the distance the tops of the palm trees of Gógó, while I strained my eyes in vain, filled as I was with the most ardent desire of at length reaching that place.

Descending then into a slight depression, we reached a larger fáddama, which soon after was joined by a considerable branch from the north-west, gradually filling with water as we advanced, and forming an arm of the river. From beyond the other side, a very comfortable looking encampment became visible, and almost induced my companions to give up the plan of reaching the desolate site of the former capital of this Nígrítian empire; but the fine tamarind-trees, and the beautiful date palms burst now too distinctly upon our view to allow me to relinquish

the pleasure of reaching them, without further delay. It was a most interesting and cheering sight to behold a large expanse of fields of native corn take the place of the desert. The whole country became one open cultivable level, uninterrupted by any downs, and I thought at that moment that we had bid farewell to the desert for ever, and entered the fertile region of Central Negroland, an expectation which, however, was not fully realised by what I observed further on. But here, at least, even in the present decayed state of the country, there were some remains of industry, and the stubble-fields of saba, or sorghum, were succeeded by tobacco plantations, and, after a slight interruption, by rice-grounds under water. However, darkness set in before we reached the miserable hovels of Gógó, and we encamped on a large open area, bordered round about by detached huts of matting, from which the ruins of a large tower-like building of clay rose to a considerable height, and by a fine grove of rich trees, running on into a dense underwood of siwák. The river was not visible from this point.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF SONGHAY AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Tuesday, June 20.—As soon as I had made out that Gógó was the place which for several centuries had been the capital of a strong and mighty empire in this region, I felt a more ardent desire to visit it than I had to reach Timbúktu. The latter, no doubt, had become celebrated throughout the whole of Europe, on account of the commerce which centred in it, nevertheless I was fully aware that Timbúktu had never been more than a provincial town, although it exercised considerable influence upon the neighbouring regions from its being the seat of Mohammedan learning. But Gáwó, or Gógó, had been the centre of a great national movement, from whence powerful and successful princes, such as the great Mohammed el Háý Áskia, spread their conquests from Kebbi, or rather Háusa, in the east, as far as Fúta in the west; and from Tawát in the north, as far as Wángara and Mósi towards the south.

Cheered at having reached this spot, I passed a tranquil night, and rising early in the morning, lay down outside my tent, quietly enjoying the prospect over this once busy locality, which, according to the unanimous statements of former writers, was the most splendid city of Negroland, though it is now the desolate abode of a small and miserable population. Just opposite to my tent, towards the south, lay the ruined massive tower, the last remains of the principal mosque, or jingére-bér, of the capital, the sepulchre of the great conqueror Mohammed. All around the wide open area where we were encamped, was woven a rich corona of vegetation, among which, in the clear light of the morning, I discovered different species of trees that I had long ago lost sight of, such as date-palms, tamarind-trees, ngáboré or sycamores, and even the

silk-cotton tree, although the specimens of the latter plant were rather poor and of small growth

Having enjoyed the scenery for some time, I went with my young Shúwa lad, in order to obtain a sight of the river, of which as yet I had see nothing here. Emerging from the fine group of trees, I found that only a very small creek without an outlet at the present season, closely approached the town, while an extensive swampy lowland extended far into the river. But for several months in the year this lowland is inundated, with the exception, perhaps, of a few spots which rise to a greater height, and are adorned with talha trees.

At the present the name of Gáwó is given not only to the site of the former capital, but also to the island, and even to the opposite shore of Áribínda, and I once supposed, that the chief part of the town was situated on the island, but this does not appear to have been the case; neither does it appear to have stood on the western bank. The fact is that in former times there were two distinct quarters of Gógó, the quarter of the idolaters on the western bank towards Gúrma, and the royal and Mohammedan quarter on the eastern bank towards Egypt, whence Islám, with its accompanying civilisation, had been introduced. In the course of time the latter quarter would gain over the former, which from the beginning, when pagan worship was prevalent, was no doubt the more considerable

Even at present, when all this ground was left dry by the retiring waters and formed a rich grassy island, only a few huts were seen on the island, as well as on the shore of Áribínda. But the present inhabitants appear scarcely to be in want of the river, for only a single seaworthy boat was to be seen, and four others out of repair were lying on the shore. The natives, when I expressed my astonishment at the miserable state of their craft, complained that they had no wood for building boats. Between the huts and the little creek, which by means of a northerly branch serves to irrigate the rice-fields, there is a tobacco plantation. It is here that the finest trees are grouped together, and I now observed, that besides from twenty to twenty-five date-palms, which were just full of fruit, bordering upon ripeness, there were two or three düm-palms

Having thus surveyed the river, I took a turn round the hamlet, which altogether consists of about three hundred huts, grouped in separate clusters, and surrounded by heaps of rubbish, which seemed to indicate the site of some larger buildings of the former city. While walking round the huts, the women came out from their "búge," or matting huts, and gathered cheerfully round us, exclaiming one above the other, "Nasára, nasára, Allah aákbar!" "A Christian, a Christian: God is great!" but they seemed to take a greater interest in my younger Shúwa lad than in myself, dancing round him in a very cheerful and fascinating manner. Some of them had tolerably regular features, and were tall and of good proportions. They were all dressed in the same style, very different from the dress of the women in Tímbugtu, having a broad wrapper of thick woollen cloth of different coloured stripes fastened below the breast, so that it came down almost to their ankles, and

many of them had even fastened this dress over their shoulders by a pair of short braces, in the same way as men wear their trousers in Europe, and others had simply fastened it from behind.

While I was thus walking round the village, I met an old man who greeted me in the most cheerful manner, and attached himself to me. From what he intimated, I could not but conclude, that he had come into close contact with the Christian who so many years ago navigated this river in such a mysterious manner, but, unfortunately, he was of weak understanding, and I could not make out half of what he said to me. I regretted this the more as he conducted me through the heaps of rubbish to a long narrow clay building at a short distance west from the mosque, where he wanted to show me something of interest, but the owner of the house refused me admittance.

Leaving then the furthest huts on my right, I turned my steps towards the jingeré-bér, and endeavoured to make out as well as I could the plan of this building.

According to all appearance, the mosque consisted originally of a low building, flanked on the east and west side by a large tower, the whole courtyard being surrounded by a wall about eight feet in height. The eastern town is in ruins, but the western one is still tolerably well preserved, though its proportions are extremely heavy. It rises in seven terraces, which gradually decrease in diameter, so that while the lowest measures from forty to fifty feet on each side, the highest does not appear to exceed fifteen. The inhabitants still offer their prayers in this sacred place, where their great conqueror, Háj Mohammed, is interred, although they have not sufficient energy to repair the whole. The east quarter of the mosque evidently was formerly the most frequented and best inhabited part of the town, and is entirely girded with a thick grove of *siwák* bushes, which covers all the uninhabited part of the former city. The town, in its most flourishing period, seems to have had a circumference of about six miles. According to the statement of Leo, it appears never to have been surrounded by a wall. The dwellings in general do not seem to have been distinguished by their style of architecture, with the exception of the residence of the king, although even that was of such a description that the Bashá Jódar, on conquering the town, wrote to inform his master, Múláy e' Dhéhebi, that the house of the Sheikh El Harám, in Morocco, was much better than the palace of the Áskia*.

When I returned to my tent from this my first excursion, I found a great crowd of men assembled there, but was unable to make the acquaintance of any one who might give me some information about the place, and, on the whole, I did not succeed in entering into any amicable relations with the inhabitants of Gógó. Their sullen behaviour seems to be accounted for by the fact, as I shall mention further on, that they had behaved rather treacherously towards the Christian who had visited this place some fifty years before.

I endeavoured also, although in vain, to buy Indian corn, from the inhabitants, although it was perhaps the fear of the Tuarek which made

* *Journal of the Leipzig Oriental Society*, vol. ix, p. 549.

them deny that they had any. Thus I found myself reduced to the necessity of providing myself with a supply of *úzak*, or *eníti*, that is to say, the seeds of the *Pennisetum distichum*, which is generally used as an article of food by the Tuarek, my horses having fared very badly for some time.

It was not until the second day of our arrival, that my protector, accompanied by Hanna, Khozématen, Hammalába, and the other chief men of the Kél e' Súk, who had come to have an interview with him, joined us. These people were mounted partly on camels, partly on horseback, and the large open area which spread out between the mosque and our tents thus became greatly enlivened, and it was not long before the messengers who had been sent to Alkúttabu returned with the answer, that he would meet the Sheikh in this place in three days. It almost appeared as if Gógó was again to acquire some slight historical importance, as the place of meeting between the native chiefs of these disturbed regions and a European, anxious to inspire the natives of these countries with fresh energy, and to establish a regular intercourse along the high-road which Nature herself has prepared.

When all these people arrived, I was just busy laying down, as well as circumstances allowed, my route from Timbúktu to Gógó, which I was very anxious to finish, and to send off from here, and thus to secure the results of my exploration, in case of any mischance befalling myself. At that time, the legs of my table being broken, I was obliged to finish this map on a board placed upon my knees, and sitting on my mat, as I had at that period neither chair nor box. Having finished this business, I went with the Sheikh, in order to pay my compliments to the Kél e' Súk, who had just concluded their prayers. The two chiefs, Khozématen and Hanna, principally claimed my attention. But, although they were very respectable men, it was a rather curious circumstance that both were blind, or nearly so; Hanna, who was the elder by two years, had only one eye, and Khozématen was totally blind, notwithstanding which, he felt confident that I was able to cure him.

Besides the transactions with these people, the preparations for my home journey were going on, although slowly, and the Sheikh addressed a letter in my favour to the chiefs on the road along which I had to pass. It was couched in flattering terms, and could not fail to be of the greatest service to me after my separation from him. Notwithstanding that a tolerable variety of business was on hand, the locality soon became loathsome to me on account of the great heat which prevailed. The shade which was afforded by the fine sycamores near the river, was at too great a distance from my tent, and too much frequented by birds, to be of any avail. I was therefore glad that the visit of some other people induced my host to interrupt our stay here by a small excursion.

These people were the Gá-béro, as they are generally called, or, according to their original nomenclature, Súdu-kámíl, a numerous tribe of Fúlbe, who have been settled in these regions for several hundred years, and from fear of the persecution of the Áskíá, or Sikkíá, have exchanged their own native language for that of the inhabitants of the

country. They had formerly enjoyed almost undisturbed liberty, in a state of nominal dependence on the governor of Say, but some time previously they had been forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Hómbori, the governor of which place had made an expedition against them, and killed some thirty of their number. They therefore desired the Sheikh to come and extend his protection over them and to impart blessing to them. However, we did not leave this place till the afternoon of the 25th.

Having left behind us the area of the ancient town, and then traversed a plain clad with small talha-trees and dùm-bush, we reached, after a march of about four miles, the grassy border of the river, and boldly entered the swampy grounds, for in the midst of these lowlands, from whence the river had retired, there were several clusters of matting-huts, inhabited by Gá-béro and Rumá. Not having taken any tents with us, sheds were erected both for El Bakáy and myself, but they were in a miserable condition, and it was fortunate that a thunderstorm, which had hovered over our heads almost the whole of the afternoon, was moving northwards, where a great deal of rain fell, and left us tolerably free from wet and wind.

Monday, June 26—The inhabitants of the hamlet treated us rather inhospitably, and we set out at an early hour to pursue our march in the swampy vale. After proceeding for about a mile, we passed a small hamlet, situated on a rising ground, adorned with dùm-palms. Crossing several small channels, where the people were busy renewing the dykes encompassing the rice-fields, we reached the firm shore, which was adorned with dùm-bush, fernán, kalgo, tursha, and daman-kádda. The river, which forms here a tolerably open sheet, is bordered on the side of Áribínda by a steep bank, which, a little further on, is succeeded by sandy downs. However, after a short time, we were again obliged to enter the low swampy ground, which at present formed a wide grassy gulf enclosed by hills.

The plain was cultivated with a good deal of sorghum, the blades of which were just starting forth, but the grain does not ripen before the period when the inundation covers this spot, and transforms it into a lake-like widening of the river. Winding along between several channels which had not yet dried up, we were glad when we again reached the firm shore, where the rocky slope, from eighty to one hundred feet elevation, closely approaches the open river. A party of Kél e' Súk were just pitching their tents here.

Keeping along the narrow slip of level shore, which gradually became more and more compressed, from which circumstance the locality is called Tin-shéran, we found ourselves, after a march of about a mile, opposite an encampment of the Gá-béro, spreading out on a flat sandy beach, which at present formed the border of a very extensive grassy plain, but which, when the river rises to a greater height, forms a sort of sandbank, till it is overwhelmed, in its turn, by the rising waters of the Niger. These being the people who had invited us to come and pay them a visit, we chose our camping-ground on the high sandhills forming the offshoots of the rocky slope, which here rose to the height

of two hundred or three hundred feet. It was a beautiful open place, and the Gá-béro, as soon as they observed us, began to beat their drum, or tobl, and prepared to cross over to us. To accomplish this, however, it was first necessary for them to borrow some boats, as they themselves did not possess any, from fear of the Tuarek, who might easily cross over to them, and annoy them.

Having sent three oxen swimming across the river as a first token of hospitality, they began to raise a very neat matting-dwelling for the Sheikh; but my noble friend, with great courtesy, gave it up to me, and ordered another for himself. These people exhibited great superiority both in carriage and intelligence over the Songhay inhabitants, although their dress is not very different from that of the Fúlbe, being only a little fuller and less shabby. A few, such as their chief, Hanna, and his people, wear black tobes, with pockets of red cloth, like the Tuarek. Their wives dress like the Songhay women, wrapping a woollen shawl round the lower part of the body, below the breast, and fastening it over the shoulder.

They derive their descent partly from Fúta, and partly from the tribe of the Úrube settled in Másina. Some sherifs are also stated to have intermarried with them: and it was with considerable interest that I beheld among them several individuals with real Púllo features. They are greatly afraid, not less of the Fúlbe of Hómbon (the place mentioned in my outward journey, which is only four good days' march distant from here), than of the Kortita, a division of the Songhay settled further down the river. They were therefore most anxious to possess a double talisman against this twofold danger which threatened them, and received a blessing from me as well as from the Sheikh; for although I told them repeatedly that the blessing of the Sheikh was quite sufficient for them, they insisted upon receiving my own benediction likewise. I now learned that several of them had made my personal acquaintance on a former occasion, having been among the troop of natives who assisted me in crossing the dangerous swamp a few miles from Áribinda.

In this place, which is called Borno, or Barno, we remained the four following days; and I might have enjoyed the fine air and the charming view over the river, notwithstanding my eager desire to continue my journey without any longer delay, if it had not been that I was badly off for food, the rice with which we were supplied not being seasoned with salt, and there being an entire lack of milk. The communication with the opposite shore was rendered rather difficult by the great breadth of the open river, which, moreover, became repeatedly agitated by a thunderstorm, and was infested by several hippopotami, which at times were furiously snorting about in the river, as if in anger at our having disturbed their quiet retreat. The day of our arrival they had thrown the whole of our horses into disorder, and put them to flight while they were pasturing near the shore. They even at times interrupted the intercourse between the two banks, and altogether exhibited a very noisy character, especially during the evening and in the course of the night, when they wanted to come out for their usual food. Two

white "ar," a rather rare species of antelope in these quarters, were seen by some of my companions on the rocky heights above.

At times I was roaming about in the recesses of the rocky slope, which offered very charming views, or I had some conversation with people who were passing by. Among the latter were especially a troop of Sherifen, a section of the Kél e' Sûk, but very different from the general character of that tribe, whose distinguishing features are humility and harmlessness. All of them came in full armour, and many were well dressed, and their general bearing bore testimony to an independent mind. It was curious, however, that the chief of these people mistook me for El Bakáy, and therefore paid his compliments to me first, probably in consequence of my beard being longer.

Saturday, July 1—The herd of cattle which the Gá-béro were to make a present of to the Sheikh, having at length successfully regained their native shore, we set out on our return march to Gógó late in the afternoon, and keeping along the rocky slope, where it recedes inland, behind Tin-shéran, we halted for the night in an encampment of the Kélgúnhan, which was very considerable, consisting of more than one hundred leathern tents. The encampment was full of young slaves, such as I had rarely seen with any of these Tuarek; but as I have observed on a former occasion, the Kél e' Sûk do not seem as yet to have entirely forgotten their former residence in a large, luxurious place, and even at the present time indulge greatly in the traffic of slaves. Here, also, the slaves, male and female, were entirely clad in leather, but on the whole, they were good-looking, and appeared cheerful.

Sunday, July 2—I again reached Gógó, while the Sheikh remained behind in the encampment of another body of Kél e' Sûk, situated on a sort of promontory, projecting into the swampy plain, which we reached about five miles after setting out from the place where we had passed the night. Our march lay along the foot of the rocky slope full of caverns and ravines, and enlivened with trees and bush, the swampy ground on our left being laid out in rice-fields, which the people were busy cultivating, and interrupted here and there by insulated rising ground clad with dúm-bush.

On my arrival in my tent I was glad, after my long abstinence from palatable food, to indulge in an excellent repast, the favourite drink made with cheese and dates, which is very acceptable in the desert country, but rather difficult to digest in the feverish regions of Negroland. Thus I began to prepare myself for my home journey, which from henceforward I might confidently expect to pursue with more steadiness. I then went to pay a visit to my friends the Kél e' Sûk, who, during our long absence, had grown very impatient, and, as it would seem, not without good reason. They received me very cheerfully, and in their excess of friendly feeling, made an endeavour to convert me to their creed; but having received a direct refusal, they entreated me very earnestly to return to them as soon as possible, but this time by way of Tawát. However, I was obliged to tell them, that it was very unlikely I should ever return, and more improbable still by way of Tawát, that road being extremely dangerous for us; but I informed them, that I

entertained no doubt, that if it were possible to get over the rapids which obstructed the lower course of the river, the English would not be long in paying them a visit.

All my friends who now saw my departure near at hand, began to evince their attachment to me more strongly than ever, and in the evening, after I had dismissed El Munir and Inésa, the sons of Khózématen, both of them worthy young men, I had a very animated conversation with my friend Mohammed el Khottar over our tea, and I promised him a considerable number of Arabic books, in the event of his paying a visit to England.

The following morning, when I was lying outside my tent, as was my custom, enjoying the fresh air, all my friends gathered round me, and I had to read to them passages from various European books, including the Greek text of the Evangelists. The German principally attracted the attention of these people, the full heavy words of that language appearing to them somewhat like their own idiom, and they became highly elated, when I recited to them from memory some verses of a favourite German poem.

All my people were so full of enthusiasm, on account of a fair prospect of a speedy departure on our home-journey being held out to them, that they gave the Sheikh El Bakáy, when he joined us, in the course of the morning, in Gógó, a most hearty reception, and fired away a good deal of powder in honour of him. I afterwards went with him to distribute some presents amongst the chiefs of the Kel e' Súk and some great men of the Awclimmiden, who had arrived in the company of the Sheikh Khozématen received a fine black Núpe tobe and a black lithám, Hanna, a túrkedí and a lithám; the four Awclimmiden, viz, Bodhál, Riwa, Alíso, and Sábét, each a lithám, besides some smaller articles, and each of the sons of Khozématen and Hanna, the half of a lithám. Every one was content, although some of them would have liked to receive articles of greater value.

There being no prospect that Alkúttabu would join us here, as we were told that he had gone to drive back a predatory expedition of the Kél-fadáye, I returned the fine black horse which the Sheikh had made me a present of, and which I had destined for the chief of the Awclimmiden, to the former, who was going to visit that chief, in order that he might present it to him in my name. I also made ready the present which I intended to make to Thákkefi, the son of the former chief, and El Ágwí, a near relation of his.

The Sheikh himself showed his consciousness of our approaching separation by assuming a lively air. In the evening I had a very animated conversation with him and Sídí Ahmed el Wádáwi, the most learned of his pupils, with regard to the shape of the earth, and succeeded, at length, in clearly demonstrating to him its globular shape and the circular motion of the whole system of the planets. He was not a little struck when, speaking of what was above the earth and under it, I told him that, with regard to the Omnipresent Being, such as we and they recognise the Almighty Creator of the universe to be, the idea of an above and below was not to be entertained, but that such expres-

sions had only reference to human speculation. But, although as a Mohammedan he could not entirely concur in such a doctrine, being overruled by the authority of the Kurán, yet, having before his eyes the beautiful panorama of the hemisphere, he became quite convinced that on the whole I was right; although, shut up within the narrow walls of his room in the town, he had always thought it both absurd and profane to assert such a thing.

Wednesday, July 5 —All was ready for our departure, when Thákkefi, the cousin of the present ruler of the Awelímmiden, and son of the late powerful chief E' Nábegha, joined us with a few of his companions, among whom Sohéb was the most conspicuous. The arrival of this important personage caused us fresh delay, which, however, on the whole, was agreeable to me, as he was authorised by Alkúttabu to grant me full franchise and perfect security for all Englishmen travelling or trading in their territory; and in the course of conversation he even made the remarkable proposal to me, that the English should endeavour, by means of a strong expedition up the river, to establish regular intercourse with them.

Meanwhile, the chiefs of the Kél e' Súk departed for their respective homes, holding forth the prospect that I myself might soon follow. Thákkefi stayed with me almost the whole of the day, inspecting my effects with the greatest curiosity and attention. He was a fine tall man, possessed of great strength and remarkable intelligence, and had the most ardent wish to see more of our ingenious manufactures. I was very sorry that I was able to show him so little, as almost the whole of my supplies were exhausted. A spear had been thrust through his neck from behind, in the sudden attack by the Kél-gerés at Tintalát, where his father was slain, and he was very anxious to obtain some efficacious plaster for his wound. Everything went on so well in my intercourse with this chief, that in the afternoon of the day following his arrival the letter of franchise was written by Daniél, the secretary of Alkúttabu, and the day after Thákkefi himself called upon me in my tent. He appeared to have some particular object in view, and, having carefully secured the entrance of the tent, in order to prevent other people from overhearing our conversation, he expressed his desire and that of his uncle, that the English might send three well-armed boats up the river, in order to establish intercourse with them. I took care to point out to him, that however anxious the English were to establish commerce and an exchange of produce with this region, yet the success of their endeavours was dependent on the circumstance whether they would be able to cross the rapids and the rocky passage which obstructed the river lower down, between Búsa and Rába, and that therefore I was unable to promise him anything with certainty. I gave to this chief, who, besides being possessed of great vigour, had a good deal of good-nature about him, one robe shahariye, two black robes, two black shawls, three türkedis, a silk cord of Fás manufacture for suspending the sword, and several other smaller articles.

During our stay in this place I had laid down the course of the river between Timbuktú and Gógó on a tolerably large scale, as far as it was

possible to do so, written a despatch to Government, and several letters to members of the Royal Geographical Society and other private friends, and having sealed the parcel, I delivered it to the Sheikh in order that he might forward it without delay upon his return to Timbúktu. I am sorry to say, however, that this parcel only arrived a few months ago, having been laid up in Ghadames for more than two years.

Before leaving Gógó, I was anxious to ascertain exactly the nature of the river along this shore, as on our march both to and from the Gábéro, we had kept at some distance from its bank, and I arranged with the Sheikh's nephew to survey the shores of the river for some distance downwards. When I was about to mount on horseback, Thákkefi requested that I would put on my European dress, as he was anxious to see how it looked, but, unfortunately, instead of an officer's dress, which would certainly have pleased them very much, I had no European clothes with me except a black dress suit, which could only impress them with a rather unfavourable idea of our style of clothing, and although they approved of the trousers, they could scarcely fail to think the shape of the coat highly absurd. But having never before seen fine black cloth, they were surprised at its appearance, and, at a distance, all the people mistook it for a coat of mail, as most of them had been accustomed to see only red cloth.

Pursuing then, my proposed excursion, I observed also, below the village, some fine groups of date-palms. I also assured myself that the creek of Gógó, at least at this season of the year, is quite unnavigable, although I could not understand why the modern capital of the Songhay empire was not built on the open river, the only advantage derived from its actual situation being that the small creek forms a kind of close harbour, which affords protection to the boats, and may easily be defended in case of need. As for the site of the former capital Kúkiya, or Kúgha, I am sorry I did not arrive at a distinct conclusion respecting it.

Having followed the bank, as far as the point where the creek joins the principal branch of the river, I felt myself induced, by the precarious state of my companion's health to retrace my steps. This indisposition of the Sheikh's nephew influenced the choice of my companions on my return journey, as it had been originally the Sheikh's intention to send his nephew along with me as far as Sókoto. In his place another, but more distant relation of the Sheikh, Mohammed ben Mukhtár, an energetic, and intelligent young man, but of a less noble turn of mind, was appointed, and besides him, there was the Hartáni Málek, son of a freed slave, who was to return with the last-named messenger from Támkala; then Mústala, and Mohammed Dáddeb, the latter a native of Timbúktu, who were to return from Sókoto, and Ahmed el Wádáwi, and Háj Ahmed, who were to return from Bórnu.

In the evening preceding our departure, our camp exhibited a busy scene, as we were engaged in finishing our preparations for the journey, the Sheikh undertaking the outfit of one half the messengers and I the other; but the presents, also, which the latter destined for the chiefs of Negroland, were delivered to me, in order that I might take them under

my care. He had, besides, the goodness to supply me with some native cotton and tobacco, to distribute as presents to the Tuarek and Songhay on our road. he also gave a dress to each of my companions, I doing the same to those among his pupils who had been most attached to me. I even felt induced to make a present of a very handsome robe from Sansândi, richly ornamented with silk, which I had intended to take with me as a specimen of that very interesting manufacture, to Sidi Mohammed, a son of the Sheikh, who had accompanied us, and who, on account of our long absence from the town, was rather shabbily dressed at the time.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

SEPARATION FROM THE SHEIKH—CROSS THE RIVER TO THE SOUTH-WESTERN SIDE—VARIOUS ENCAMPMENTS—RIVER STUDDED WITH ISLANDS—ANSÚNGHO.

Saturday, July 8—At length the day dawned when I was, in reality, to begin my home-journey, for all our former movements along the river had rather resembled the wanderings of the natives themselves than the direct march of a European traveller, and, although I felt sincerely attached to my protector, and under other circumstances might still have found a great many objects worthy of my investigation and research in this region, I could not but feel greatly satisfied at being at length enabled to retrace my steps homeward, with a tolerable guarantee as to my safety. It was highly gratifying to me that when I left this place a great many people wished me a hearty farewell and a prosperous journey; nay, Thakkefi even commissioned me to offer his special regards to Queen Victoria, with whose name I had made him acquainted.

Having then pursued our march through the level tract along the river, which here forms a great north-southerly reach, and which, from having been full of life, is now empty and desolate, we reached the site of the encampment of the Kél e' Sûk on the sandy eminence which we had passed a few days before, but which was now deserted. From thence we descended into the swampy ground towards the river, and here passed by a Songhay hamlet, the inhabitants of which received us with their usual inhospitality, and even refused us a little water,—an unkind feeling which displeased me most from a young newly married lady, who, standing in front of her neat hut of matting, with her fine figure and varied ornaments of all sorts of beads, presented quite an attractive appearance. Turning then round a creek filled with water, we reached an encampment of Kél e' Sûk, and pitched our tent. For, although it was our intention to cross the river as soon as possible, yet no boats having as yet arrived, we were so long delayed that evening came on before we could carry out our design; and obstinately refusing

to be separated from my luggage, I preferred crossing the river together with my people and effects the next morning. Our hosts possessing a great number of cattle, we were well treated, and I was able to indulge in plenty of milk. The Tuarek have a common name for the whole north-easterly bank of the river. They call the whole of it to the north-west of Gôgô, Târamt, and to the south-east, Âghelê.

Sunday, July 9—This was the day when I had to separate from the person who, among all the people with whom I had come in contact in the course of my long journey, I esteemed the most highly, and whom, in all but his dilatory habits and phlegmatic indifference, I had found a most excellent and trustworthy man. I had lived with him for so long a time in daily intercourse, and in the most turbulent circumstances, sharing all his perplexities and anxieties, that I could not but feel the parting very severely. Having exhorted the messengers whom he was to send along with me, never to quarrel, and to follow my advice implicitly in all cases, but especially with regard to the rate of progress in the journey, as he knew that I was impatiently looking forward to my home journey, he gave me his blessing, and assured me that I should certainly reach home in safety. Mohammed ben Khottâr, who in consequence of his serious indisposition was prevented from accompanying me any further, and the Sheikh's eldest son, Sîdî Mohammed, did not take leave of me until I was in the boat. When I had safely landed on the opposite shore, I fired twice a farewell, in conformity with the request of the Sheikh.

The river here, at present, was studded with sandbanks, which greatly facilitated the crossing of my camels and horses, although between the sandbanks and the south-westerly shore there was a deep channel of considerable breadth. The locality where I touched the south-western bank of the river is called Gôna, a name identical with that of a place of great celebrity for its learning and its schools, in the countries of the Mohammedan Mandingoes to the south. The sandy downs were lined with a fine belt of trees. Three different paths led over these downs into the interior, the most important being the track leading straight to Dôre, the chief place of the province of Libtâko, and joining, at a very extensive lake or backwater, called Khalêbleb, the road leading to the same place from Burre to the south of the island Ansôgho, lower down the river. At present, a broad swampy lowland spread out between the downs and the brink of the river.

The chief of my companions, Âhmed el Wâdâwî, being once more called beyond the river into the presence of the Sheikh, we did not leave this place till a late hour in the afternoon, keeping along the low swampy shore. After a while, an open branch approached us from the river on our left, forming an island of the name of Berta. Here an animated scene presented itself to our eyes. An immense female hippopotamus was driving her calf before her, and protecting it from behind, her body half out of the water, while a great number of "agamba" and "zangway," crocodiles and alligators, were basking in the sun on the low sandbanks, and glided into the water with great celerity at the noise of our approach.

Here the swampy shore presented some cultivation of rice, while, on the opposite side, the river was bounded by the rocky cliffs of Tinshéran, but the sandy beach, which a week previously had been animated by the numerous encampments of the Gá-béro, was now desolate and deserted, and we continued our march in order to find out their new camping-ground.

While ascending a spur of rising ground called Gúndam, a fierce poisonous snake made a spring at my mounted servant, who was close behind me, but was killed by the men, who fortunately followed him at a short distance. It was about four feet and a half long, and its body did not exceed an inch and a half in diameter.

Having then kept along the slope for a little more than a mile, we again descended into the grassy plain, and reached a considerable creek, forming a series of rapids gushing over a low ledge of rocks, and encompassing the island of Bornu-Gungu, where the Gá-béro were at present encamped. The creek being too considerable to allow of our crossing it with all our effects, we encamped between it and the swamp, in a locality called Juna-bária, and I here distributed amongst my companions the articles which I had promised them.

The river, at this point, was frequented by several hippopotami, one of which, in its pursuit of good pasturage in the dusk of the evening, left the shore far behind it, and was pursued by my companions, who fired at it, without however hurting it or preventing its reaching the water.

Monday, July 10.—It was a beautiful morning; and while the Wádáwi crossed over to the island in order to fetch a supply of rice, I had sufficient leisure to look around me. The shore on this side presented little of interest, and was only scantily adorned with trees, but the island was richly clothed with vegetation. The only interesting feature in the scenery was the opposite shore, with the imposing cliffs of Bornu, where we had been encamped some time before. When at length we started, we were soon obliged to leave the shore in order to avoid an extensive swamp, and approached the hills, at the foot of which we had to cross a small creek, which during a great part of the year forms the border of the river itself, and then continued along the downs. Numbers of people, who had their temporary abode in the swampy plain, came to pay me their compliments.

These people are called Gá-bíbi, a name which is said to have reference to their black tents, which distinguish them from the matting dwellings of the Gá-béro. I was here not a little surprised at the swarms of locusts which the wind drove into our faces, and which certainly indicated our approach to more fertile regions. Proceeding in this manner, we reached a fine camping-ground in an opening of the slope of the downs, through which a path led to the interior, thus giving to the herds of cattle access to the river, and therefore called Dúnyáme, "the watering-place of the cattle." A fine hájlíj afforded a cool shade, the vegetation in general consisting only of fernán, retém, and bú-rékkeba, and we at once decided to halt here, in order to await our guide, Hamma-Hamma, one of the Gá-béro, who had gone to visit

his family, but had promised to rejoin us at this spot. The situation of our camping-ground afforded us an interesting prospect over the valley; and numbers of the inhabitants of the neighbouring hamlets and camps visited us in the course of the evening, and even supplied us with a tolerable provision of milk late at night.

Tuesday, July 11.—The guide who was to accompany us as far as Say not having arrived, I had great difficulty in inducing my companions to set off without him, and we started at an early hour, keeping along the sandy downs, which a little further on became adorned with the rich bush called "mdéren," or "kólkoh," while ledges of rock obstructed the river. Gradually the downs decreased in height, and the melancholy-looking fernán succeeded to the fresh indérren, but its place was supplied for a while by the richer tabórak. The locality was called Alakke, and further on, Dergumi, but fixed settlements of any kind are, at present, looked for in vain in these districts. In Áussa, however, on the north-eastern side of the river, we left, first a hamlet called Dergónne, and, further on, a place called Ághadór, which, as the name indicates, must have been formerly a walled place. West from Dergónne is probably the halting place Shínjeri, and Ághadór is most likely identical with a place called Eben-efó-ghan, said to be hereabouts. The opposite bank, gradually sloping down and being clad with large trees, bore the appearance of a pleasant, cultivable country, while the shore on this side the river likewise improved, altogether it seemed as if we had left the desert far behind us. I am not sure how the country here is called, but I think that the district called Ázawágh may reach down to the eastern border of the river. The Niger was for a moment entirely free from rocks, forming a magnificent open sheet of water; but further on it again became obstructed by isolated cliffs.

Meanwhile, as we pursued our march steadily onwards, at a short distance from the bank, in a S.S.E. direction, the Kél e' Súki, Mohammed e' Telmúdi, entertained me, from the back of his tall méhari, with a description of the power of the Táarki chief, El Khadir, the southern verge of whose territory we had passed on our outward journey, and now again turned round the northern side of it. The chief, at this time, was encamped about three days from here, towards the west, collecting, as we were told, an expedition against the principality of Hómbori, the governor of which claims dominion over the whole district. There are even here several settlements of Fúlbe, a troop of whom we fell in with, and recognised in them young noble people, who in their countenances bore evident traces of a pure descent. Their idiom was closely related to the dialect of Másina. During the spring, however, the Táarki chief generally frequents the banks of the river, which then afford the richest pasturage.

Gradually the green shore widened, and formed a swampy ground of more than half a mile in breadth, adorned by a line of trees which, during the inundation, likewise becomes annually submerged by the water. The valley is bordered on this side by steep banks of considerable elevation. As soon as I became aware of the swampy character of the plain, which greatly retarded the progress of my camels, I

endeavoured to strike across the swampy ground, and to reach the firm bank again, but had considerable difficulty in doing so

The bank was adorned by a growth of the finest trees, which gave to the river scenery a peculiar character, and invited us to halt during the hot hours of the day. We therefore encamped opposite Tongi, a hamlet lying on a low swampy island, separated from us by a considerable open creek, and ruled over by a man of the name of Sálah, who was a brother of Hamma-Hamma, the very man who was to serve us as a guide, but who had broken his word. The people, who seemed to be called Dekiten, behaved very hospitably, sending us immediately upon our arrival cows' and goats' milk as a refreshment, and giving us in the course of the afternoon a bullock for our further entertainment. I have already mentioned, I think, on a former occasion, how cruelly the inhabitants of these regions treat oxen which have been destined for slaughter, although in general they are rather mildly disposed towards animals. In conformity with their barbarous custom, my companions broke the hind legs of the animal which had been given us as a present, and allowed it to drag itself about in this state until they found it convenient to slaughter it.

While detained here the remainder of the day, I had the pleasure of meeting, among the people who crossed over to us from the island, an old man who had a very lively remembrance of Mungo Park, and who gave me an accurate description of his tall commanding figure, and his large boat. He related, besides, the manner in which the Tuarek of the tribe of the *Íde-Músa*, the name of whose present chief is *El Getéga*, attacked that mysterious voyager near *Ansóngho*, where the river is hemmed in by rapids, but without being able to inflict any harm upon him, while the intrepid Scotchman shot one of his pursuers, and caused two to be drowned in the river.

It was altogether a fine camping-ground, the talha and siwák being thickly interwoven with creeping plants; but a heavy thunderstorm, accompanied with rain, which lasted almost the whole of the night, rendered us rather uncomfortable. Besides this circumstance, the fact that the people of the Sheikh could only with difficulty be induced to forego the companionship of our guide, lost us here the best half of the day. But I collected a good deal of valuable information, especially with regard to the chief settlements of the independent Songhay, and our former route through *Yágha* and *Libtáko*.

At length I succeeded, at a rather late hour in the afternoon, in stirring up my companions; and, leading the way, we crossed from this advanced headland a swampy creek which separated us from the main, and then kept along the rising ground, which was richly clad with vegetation, and from time to time formed recesses, as the one called *Tennel*, the river being now more open. But further on it became obstructed by cliffs and rocks, till at length, after a march of about seven miles, the river, which here formed a fine bend, assuming a south-easterly direction, exhibited an open undivided sheet of water, and on this account forms the general place of embarkation, called *Adar-andúrren*, properly "the small branch," meaning evidently here

a narrowing of the river, for people going from Kúlman to this part of Áussa generally cross here. A little higher up there is a hamlet called Tabállat, inhabited by sherifs, with a chief named Mohammed. Just at that moment some people were crossing over, but, when we horse-men hurried in advance, they immediately took to flight with their boats, leaving behind them some slaves and four or five pack-oxen, and all our shouting was not able to convince these native travellers of our peaceable intentions. Here, owing to a small creek which runs closely at the foot of the hills, we were obliged to ascend the rising ground, and, rather against the advice of our more prudent Kél e' Súki guide, encamped on the heights, which were clad with rich herbage, but covered with great quantities of the feathery bristle. This spot afforded a commanding view over the surrounding country, but on this very account appeared less secure for a small party, and notwithstanding the elevation, the camping-ground was greatly infested by mosquitoes, which almost drove our camels to distraction, and troubled our own night's rest not a little.

But the view which I here enjoyed over the northern end of the island, round which the river divided into four branches, was highly interesting to me, as being one of the places along the river best known to the natives as scenes where that heroic voyager from the north had to struggle with nature as well as with hostile men. Our fires having given to those poor lads who had been left behind by their frightened masters an opportunity of discovering what kind of people we were, they took courage and came to us, when we learned that they were Kél e' Súk, who had paid a visit to Kúlman, and were now returning home. They also informed us, that the crocodiles had devoured one of the pack-oxen, upon their attempting to swim them across the river.

Thursday, July 13.—Breaking up our encampment at an early hour, we descended, when the branch nearest to us again assumed an open character tolerably free from rocks; but after a short time we were again forced by a ridge of sandstone about twenty feet high, which here formed the bank of the river, to ascend the higher ground. We thus obtained a clearer prospect over the whole valley, which at this spot attains a breadth of from four to six miles, the ground being open, and the view only for a short time shut in by a dense grove of gerredh and talha trees.

Further on the river afforded a very wild spectacle. In the distance before us, the iron gates of Akarámbay became visible, bordered by the high sandy downs of Tidejutiten; a grand mass of rock, like an immense artificial wall, with a strong northerly dip, started up from the creek; and from the extensive grassy island of Ansógho similar masses appeared, which rose to an elevation of from seventy to eighty feet. Gradually the shore became more stony and barren, forming a plain called Erárar-n-tésawel, by the Taurek, and Farni, by the Songhay. We passed a deserted hamlet which had formerly been inhabited by the Íde-Músa, and here the river again approached nearer on our left, but after a short time it again receded and became obstructed by ledges of rocks,

especially at the place called Tazóri, where an uninterrupted ridge of cliffs breaks through the surface of the water. Even at this season of the year, it leaves a small channel beyond the grassy shore, which evidently connects the open water above and below the rapids.

About one thousand five hundred yards below this ledge, in a south-easterly direction, we reached the iron gates of Akarámbay, where the river, or at least this westerly branch of it, is forced through between two considerable masses of rock, at present from thirty-five to forty feet high, and about as many yards distant from each other. On the right, the sand downs rise to a considerable elevation opposite a large hamlet, situated on the island Ansóngho, and adorned with dúm-palms.

Following a south-easterly direction, in a short time we reached the place where the several branches into which the river had divided at Adar-andúrren again join, but being full of ledges and rocks, at least in the present low state of the water, they exhibited a wild and sombre aspect. The river, however, does not long retain this character, and a little more than half a mile below, it widens to a broad and tolerably open sheet of water, the shore, which hitherto had been clothed only with the gloomy fernán, being now beautifully adorned with an isolated tamarind-tree, which (together with the dúm-palms on the island of Ansóngho), might well serve as a landmark to people who would attempt to ascend this river. But the hills, which ascended to a height of three hundred feet, approached so closely the bank of the river, that we were obliged to ascend the steep slope, which was thickly clothed with fernán, and being torn by many small watercourses, scarcely afforded a passage for the camels.

Descending from the slope, we reached the Teauwent, or place of embarkation of Burre, a hamlet lying on the opposite shore, but at present deserted, where the river forms only a single branch, from eight hundred to nine hundred yards wide, and a little further on about one thousand, and on the whole unobstructed, with the exception of a few rocks near the shore. Having here passed a rocky cone, projecting into the river, we encamped near a cluster of anthills, formed by and adorned with the bushes of the *Capparis sodata*; but it was a very inauspicious place, as the camels, not finding food enough in the neighbourhood, were, through the negligence of Ábbega, lost in the evening, and it cost us the whole forenoon of the following day to find them again. When we at length started, I was obliged to yield to the wishes of my companions, who, in order to obtain some supplies for their journey, were most anxious to halt near a small farming village of a Púllo settler, Mohammed-Sídi, a distant relation of Mohammed-Jebbo, who had settled here several years before amongst Tuarek and Songhay, and my friends, having been informed that this person was a pious and liberal man, felt little inclination to forego such an opportunity of receiving a few alms.

Having encamped on a high ground rising to considerable elevation, we had an extensive view over the river, which was here again broken by rocky islets and intersected by ledges, so that, seen from this distance, in several places it appeared almost lost. Beyond, on the other

shore, across this labyrinth of rapids and divided creeks, filling a breadth of two to three miles, were seen the two mountains of Ayóla and Tikanáziten, where, in the time of the chief Káwa, a bloody and decisive battle was fought between the Dinnik and the Awelimmiden. Towards the south, on the contrary, a fertile and well cultivated plain, bordered by low hills, where the crops of native millet were just shooting forth, stretching out, nothing but retem and fernán, breaking the monotonous level.

The hamlet of our host consisted of only six huts, but the district did not seem to be uninhabited, and in the course of the day a considerable number of Fulbe and Songhay collected around us, and troubled me greatly, begging me to impart my blessing to them by laying my hand upon their heads, or spitting into a handful of sand, and thus imbuing it with full efficacy for curing sickness, or for other purposes. Even the river did not seem quite destitute of life and animation, and the previous evening, while I was enjoying the scenery, seated on the cliffs at some distance from our camping-ground, two boats filled with natives passed by, and procured me an interesting intermezzo.

Saturday, July 15.—The good treatment that we received here seemed to please my companions so much, that they tried to detain me another day by hiding one of their camels behind a bush and pretending it was lost. When at length I had found it, and was on the point of setting out to pursue my journey, a very heavy thunderstorm broke out, and, although I persisted in proceeding, the rain became so violent that I was obliged to halt for fully an hour, near some bushes that protected us a little from the heavy gale which accompanied the torrents of rain. Here, also, the river was obstructed by a great number of rocks, while the adjacent grounds were partly cultivated, but only sparingly clad with trees, till, after a march of a couple of miles, rich talha trees and gerredh began to appear; but even here groups of rock cropped out from the surface. Thus keeping along at some little distance from the river, we encamped shortly after noon at the foot of a sandy eminence, and were very glad when we were enabled to dry our wet clothes and recruit our strength with a dish of mohamsa.

Having ascended the rising ground in order to obtain a view of the mountains on the opposite shore, I went down to the river and enjoyed the wild scenery of the rapids, which here also obstructed its course, forcing this westerly branch to a velocity of perhaps six miles an hour, intersected by flat cliffs, which at present were only a few feet out of the water. A fine belt of trees lined the bank at a short distance from the edge of the river, the islands also being clad with rich vegetation, and, altogether, the locality seemed to me worthy of a slight sketch. I had hitherto looked in vain all along the shore for traces of the elephant, but I discovered that this part is visited by them in great numbers. The place is called Tiboráwen. Having indulged in quiet repose for several hours, we were joined by our companions, who, seeing that I was not to be detained by their tergiversations, were anxious to come up with us.

Sunday, July 16.—Keeping a short distance from the river, first in a

more winding and then in a south-westerly direction, we entered, after a march of three miles, more undulating and fresher pasture-grounds, but stony ground soon began to prevail, although without entirely excluding vegetation. Here, before we reached the cape called Immánan, meaning the fish-cape, the several branches of the river united, while a grassy lowland was attached to the higher bank which bounds the river during the period of its inundation. This fresh grassy tract, full of herbage and trees, was awhile interrupted by the high ground attached to the cape, but as soon as we had left the naked hills behind us, we descended into a lovely little valley or ravine, which in a winding course led us to the beach of the river, which here formed a magnificent reach, but a little further on, at a place called Ekeziriden, it was broken by a ledge of rocks, which stretched almost across its whole breadth, and, at this season at least, made it totally unnavigable. A short distance beyond, a second ledge set across the river, while a little further on a rocky islet, overgrown with rich vegetation, caused the stream to divide. The bank itself now became stony, mica-slate protruding everywhere, and we ascended a small ridge, which formed a higher cone at some distance on our right, while on our left it formed a promontory jutting out into the river. The whole district is called Béteng.

Having descended from this small ridge, we approached nearer the river, which was here tolerably free from rocks, and then entered a dense but short tract of forest, full of the dung of the elephant, and traces of the footsteps of the banga or hippopotamus. Here we had to cross several watercourses, at present dry, one of which is called Galindu, and is said to be identical with the Búggoma, which we had crossed with so much difficulty before reaching the town of Áribinda. But rocky ground soon prevailed again; and another promontory jutted out into the water, the river, which on the whole has here a south-westerly direction, being once more broken by cliffs.

A little further on we encamped opposite a hamlet called Waigun, which was just building, while another one of the same name was lying a little higher up the river. However we derived no advantage from the neighbourhood of this little centre of life, for having no boat at our disposal we were not able to communicate with those people ourselves, and they, on their part, felt little inclination to make our acquaintance, as they could not expect that we should be of much use to them, except in lightening their stores. My companion, the Kél e' Súki, with shouts endeavoured to intimate to the people that their sovereign lord Bozéri was himself present; but this artifice did not succeed. The Imelligizen, or their slaves, who dominate both shores, are ill-famed on account of their thievish propensities, and we protected ourselves by firing a good many shots in the course of the night.

Monday, July 17—Pursuing our course at an early hour, generally in a south-westerly direction, we reached, after a march of about four miles, a fine running stream, about twenty-five feet broad and fifteen inches deep, traversing a beautifully fresh vale, the slopes of which exhibited traces of several former encampments of the Tuarek. It

joins the river at a spot where it forms an open and unbroken sheet of water, and greatly contributes to enhance the whole character of the scenery, although, about one thousand two hundred yards below, it was again broken by a ledge of rocks crossing almost the whole breadth of the river, but mostly covered by the water, even at the present season. About five hundred yards below this ledge a small island lies in the midst of the river, occupied almost entirely by a village called Kátubu, consisting of about two hundred snug-looking huts, which were most pleasantly adorned by two beautiful tamarind-trees. But the peace of the inhabitants appeared to have been disturbed, as they had probably heard our firing during the night, and were therefore on their guard. Five or six boats, filled with men, lay around the island at various distances, most probably spying out our proceedings, although some of our party thought that they were fishing.

We here left the beach for awhile, and ascended the higher ground, which rose to a greater height, cutting off a curve of the shore. The river, further on, was again broken by a ledge of rocks, but so that a passage remained open on the side of Áussa, and shortly afterwards the various branches joined, and formed a fine noble reach. The country now became more hilly and better wooded, being clad with retem, besides kórna and hájily. Numerous ponds of water were formed in the hollows, and antelopes of various species, including that called "dádarit," were observed. Leaving then a path leading to a place called Tákala, situated at a distance of about fifty miles inland, in a south-easterly direction, we reached, about a quarter past ten o'clock, the highest point of this undulating ground, from whence we obtained a view over a wild and gloomy-looking forest-region, behind which the river disappeared, after having enclosed a well-wooded island called Sakkenéwen.

From this higher ground we descended into a fine rich vale, the vegetation of which was distinguished by a few busúsu, ághanát, or tamarind-trees. Emerging from this richly-clad valley, we again obtained a sight of the river—if river it can be called—for seen from hence it looks almost like an archipelago or network of islands and rocky cliffs in the wildest confusion, the river foaming along through these obstructed passages. For just as it turns round a cape, which juts far out to the N.N.W., and is continued under water towards the opposite shore in a long reef of rocks, forming a sort of semicircle, it is broken into several branches by a number of islands, through which it makes its way, as well as it is able, over cliffs and rocks, in such a manner, that along this south-westerly shore there is no idea of navigation even during the highest state of the river, but on the Áussa side it is more open, and renders navigation possible, although even there caution is evidently necessary. I have no doubt that this is one of the most difficult passages of the river. The name of the cape is Ém-n-íshib, or rather Ém-n-áshid, "the cape of the ass."

Having passed a place where the most westerly branch forms a small waterfall of about eighteen inches elevation, foaming along with great violence, we encamped on the slope of the green bank, adorned

with fine herbage and luxuriant hájili, in full view of this wild scenery. I made a sketch of it from the highest ground near our halting-place, which is occupied by a small cemetery, the locality having been formerly enlivened by a hamlet of the Ímeliggizen, of the name of Lebbezéya. This encampment was also important to me, as I here had to take leave of our guide, Mohammed Kél e' Súki, whom I had vainly endeavoured to persuade to accompany me as far as Say, although he would have had no objection to have fulfilled his promise, if our other guide, Hamma-hamma, had not broken his word, and stayed behind, for, alone, he was afraid to trust himself to the Fúlbe. It was, moreover, his intention to proceed from here on a visit to his friends, the Událen. Convinced, therefore, of the justice of his arguments, I gave him his present, although I missed him very much, as he was an intelligent man, and had given me some valuable information.

CHAPTER XXXV.

DENSER POPULATION BEGINS.

Tuesday, July 18.—THE beginning of our journey without a guide was not very fortunate, for, having set out first from our encampment, endeavouring to cut off the great windings of the river, with my camels and my three freed blacks, my companions, in the dawn of the morning, lost the traces of my footsteps upon the grassy undulating ground, and it was some time before they joined me. The ground became at times stony, talha, gerredh, and other species of mimosas, being the predominant trees; and after a march of eight miles, we had to ascend another ridge, clothed with thick forest, where the kúka, or tédumt, the monkey-bread tree, which I had not seen for so long a time, was very common. This was an almost certain sign of the locality having once been a centre of human life, but at present only the traces of a former ksar, or hamlet, were to be seen. Having then crossed a small "rek," or "faire," that is to say, a barren, naked plain, we descended again, while the desolate character of the country continued, and the only signs of human life which we observed were the traces of two men, with three head of cattle, probably robbers from the other side of the river, who were returning to their haunts with their booty. But gradually the country assumed a more cheerful aspect, being clad with large trees, and exhibiting evident signs of former cultivation, while isolated masses of rock were projecting here and there. The country altogether was so pleasant, that having met with a shallow pond of water, in a trough-like cavity of the grassy ground, we decided on encamping, for it was with great difficulty that I was able to drag on my companions more than fifteen miles a day at the utmost.

However, we had scarcely pitched our tents, when we became aware

that our camping-ground close beyond the belt of trees with which it was girt, was skirted by a small rivulet, which although full of rocks was yet so deep, that it afforded sufficient room for crocodiles or alligators, and was not fordable here. It was a pity that we had not a guide with us who might have given us some clear information respecting the features of the country, for the conjecture of my companions, who fancied that this rivulet took its rise to the south of Hómbori, where it was called Ágelé was quite absurd if it be correct that the Galindu which we had crossed the preceding day was really the lower course of the river near Áribinda; but it is very difficult to say how these courses correspond, and nothing is more likely than that the same watercourse may join the Niger by several openings. As it was, we had a long dispute as to the manner in which we should cross this water, and the following morning we had to take a tedious roundabout way to get over it.

After a march of two miles from our starting point we reached a crossway. We followed the advice of the Wádáwi, who, having taken the lead at the moment, chose the path to our left, though that on the right crosses the rivulet at this spot, but in the end it was perhaps as well that we did so, as otherwise we should scarcely have been able to ford it. We therefore continued our march after my companions had finished their prayers, which, as we always set out at an early hour, they used to say on the road. The open pasture grounds were here broken by large boulders of granite, while the rivulet, girt by fine large trees, approached on our right, or at least one branch of it, the river dividing near its mouth into a delta of a great many smaller branches. We here changed our direction, keeping parallel along the shore of the great river, where on a rocky island was situated the village of Ayóru or Auru, from whence a troop of about twenty people were just proceeding towards their field labours. Most of them were tall, well made men, almost naked, with the exception of a white cap and a clean white cotton wrapper. Two or three of them wore blue tobes. Their weapons consisted of a bow and arrows, or a spear, and their agricultural implements were limited to a long handled hoe of a peculiar shape, such as is called *jerrán* by the Arabs, and *kámbul* by the Songhay. But besides a weapon and implement, each of them bore a small bowl, containing a large round clod of pounded millet, and a little curdled milk, which they hospitably offered to us, although it constituted their whole supply of food for the day. We rewarded them with a few needles and by repeating the *fat-há* or opening prayer of the *Kurán* * It was, moreover, very fortunate that we had met them just here, as, if not directed by their information, we should scarcely have been able to cross without accident these numerous creeks, some of which were of an extremely boggy nature, and others obstructed by rocks, which caused us considerable delay; for the principal branch or *góru* of the rivulet was not less than about thirty-five yards broad, and about two and a half feet in depth, with a rocky bottom. Fine *busúsu*, or tamarind-trees, and wide-spreading *duwé*, or fig trees, adorned the delta, while

* They informed us, that *Kúlman* was six hours' distance from here.

a good deal of a kind of grain called "adelènka," or "donhère," was cultivated in the fields.

Having at length left this difficult delta of small rivulets behind us, which may occasionally cause great trouble to a traveller, we ascended sandy downs, and obtained from thence a view over the whole valley, which here rather resembles a large well-timbered *fáddama* than a river, only a small open branch becoming visible, not obstructed by rocks. The district exhibited a good deal of cultivation, the fields of *Ayóru* extending for more than two miles, and the low shore of the creek was adorned further on by a rich profusion of *kenya* or *tedúmnt*. The richly-wooded islands afforded a very pleasant sight, one of them being enlivened by a great number of horses, which were left here to pasture, and the shore formed one uninterrupted line of tamarind-trees. But the navigation may be very difficult here, as from time to time, the river, or at least as much as we saw of it, became greatly obstructed by rocks. It was pleasing to observe that we had at length entered more hospitable regions, for a short time after we left behind us the fields of *Ayóru*, cultivated ground again succeeded, and apparently very well kept.

Having then turned round a swampy gulf, we ascended higher ground, and now obtained a view of the remarkably wild scenery of the river which attaches to the island of *Kendáji* and the rocky cone *Wárba*, which had been in sight all the morning, and encamped, at half-past eleven o'clock, on a rising ground at some distance from the island. The river here presented a very wild character, so that it almost seemed as if the navigation was interrupted entirely. Between the island of *Kendáji* and the rocky cone there really does not appear to be any passage open; but beyond the island there are evidently two more branches, and, as far as it can be seen from here, they are not nearly so much obstructed by rocks. The village seemed to be of considerable size, the huts covering the whole surface of the island, but, at the time of our arrival, not a living soul was to be seen, with the exception of an unfortunate man who was lamed by *Guinea-worm*, all the healthy people having gone to the labours of the field. But in the course of the afternoon the scenery became pleasantly enlivened by the arrival of a numerous herd of cattle and a flock of sheep, belonging to *Fúlbe* settlers in the neighbourhood, that were brought here to be watered.

Gradually, also, the inhabitants of the village returned from their labours, and began to give life to the scenery, crossing over to their insulated domicile in small canoes. Others, in the company of their chief, came to pay us a visit. The latter was a man of tall, stout figure, but of not very intelligent expression of countenance, and, as it appeared, not of a very liberal and hospitable disposition, for he received the eloquent address of my noble friend the *Wádáwi*, who adduced all the claims which he and his party had upon the chief's hospitality, very coldly, answering through the medium of a *Púllo fáki* who had been staying here for some time, and rather laying claim himself to a handsome present than acknowledging the demands made upon him by my companions for hospitable treatment. The most

interesting feature about this petty chief was his name, which reminded one of the more glorious times of the Songhay empire, for he called himself Farma-Ërkezuizze; "farma" being, as I have said on a former occasion, the princely title of a governor; "izze" means son, Ërkezu being the name of his father. It was also highly interesting to me to observe that these Songhay, the inhabitants of Kendáji as well as those of Ayóru, call themselves, in their native language, Kádo (in the singular) and Hábe (in the plural form), a name which the Fúlbe have made use of to indicate, in general, the Kóhelán, or the native black population of all the regions conquered by themselves, and it seems almost as if the latter had taken the name from this tribe.

Besides these Songhay, we also received a visit from a Tárki gentleman of the name of Misakh, son of Ellékken, and nephew of Sinnefel, the chief of the Ímeliggizen of Aribínda. These people are on hostile terms with their brethren in Áussa, where the populous district Amára is situated, and thus, fortunately, undermine their own strength, which is only employed in the way of mischief, although they are still strong enough to lay heavy contributions upon the poor Songhay inhabitants of these distracted shores. They had levied, the preceding year, a tribute of four horses on the people of Kendáji, and a camel, together with a quantity of corn, upon those of Ayóru. But although our guest, who was accompanied by two or three followers, was a rather decent young man, nevertheless, the neighbourhood of these Tuarek inspired us with just as little confidence as the behaviour of our friends the Songhay on the island, and we kept a good watch, firing the whole night. Nothing is more probable than that Park had a serious quarrel with these islanders.

Fortunately we were not disturbed; and we set out from our camping-ground at a very early hour, in order to make a good day's journey, but we were first obliged to search about in the two hamlets which lie opposite the island, and one at the very foot of the rocky cone of Wárba, for the guide that had been promised to us the preceding day. We had scarcely set out fairly on our march, when a heavy thunderstorm rising in the south-east, threatened us with a serious deluge, and obliged us to seek shelter under some trees to the right of our path. We then unloaded the camels, and endeavoured to protect ourselves and the luggage, as well as possible, with the skins and matings; but the storm was confined to a very violent gale, which scattered the clouds, so that only very little rain fell. Having thus lost almost two hours of the best part of the day, we proceeded on our march, not now digressing to the right and left, but following a broad, well trodden path, which led us through carefully cultivated cornfields, shaded with fine hájilj. But soon the ground became more undulating, and we followed a sort of backwater, at some distance from the principal branch of the river, and then crossed a cavity or hollow, where calcareous rock interrupted the granite. The river also, in its present low state, laid bare a good many rocky islets, and further on divided into five branches, over which, from the rising bank, we obtained an interesting view, with a cone, on the Áussa shore, towards the north. One of the islands was

handsomely adorned with dùm-palms, while the shore was clothed with a plant called "hekík."

This district appeared to be extremely fertile, and its populous state, after the desolate region which we had traversed, seemed the more remarkable; for soon after, having passed a small hamlet, we had on the opposite shore the considerable place Tornáre, and just beyond, on an island, another village called Fichile, densely inhabited and full of life and bustle. Scarcely had we passed this busy place on our left, when another hamlet appeared called Kochómere, and it was most gratifying to behold the river, which, during the greater part of our journey, had seemed to roll its mighty stream along without the least use being made of it, covered with small canoes, which carried over to our shore numbers of people who were going to the labours of the field. The bank itself also became here beautified by a variety of luxuriant trees, such as the kéwa, the dingi, the baúre, the hájlíj, and others of various species, the hájlíj, especially, exhibiting here a very luxuriant and rich growth. A sort of shallow grassy creek separated from the bank a low island, which, during the highest state of the inundation, is under water.

Two miles beyond Tornáre the character of the country changed and deep sandy soil, clothed with the herbage called rodám, and destitute of trees, succeeded to the fine arable soil, but after a march of about a mile, cultivation again appeared, and even extended over the hilly chain which we ascended. We then passed a slave village called Gandútan, belonging to the Tárki chief, Mohammed el Amin, where numerous horses were seen grazing in the fields, distinguished by the kind of herbage called by the Arabs el debédi, in which my companions were delighted to recognise an old friend of theirs, as growing also plentifully in the Aberas of Timbúktu. Crossing the plain, where we met several travellers, we began to ascend the slope of a promontory called Ém-Aláwen, and soon reached the residence of the chief just mentioned, who is the head of one of the two divisions of the Erátáfáni. The village consisted of one hundred and fifty to two hundred huts of matting, with a larger and a smaller leathern tent in the centre; but as it did not offer any cool shade, being perched on the bare hot gravel overlying the rock, we thought it very uninviting, and preferred descending the steep eastern slope, upon the narrow slip of the low shore which stretched along the river, and which, being richly clothed with hájlíj, baúre, and other trees, offered a very pleasant resting-place. We were, however, not allowed to enjoy much repose, but were soon visited by the whole male population of the village, Taurek and Songhay, full-grown men and children, who gathered round us without great curiosity, but without entering into close conversation, as they did not know what to make of me, and scrutinised suspiciously what my real character might be, my companions passing me for a sheriff.

Later in the afternoon the chief himself, who had not been present on our arrival, paid us a visit, and behaved in a very becoming manner, so that I made him a present of half a lithám, while I distributed a quantity of needles amongst his people. The place was tolerably well

supplied with provisions, and I bought a good supply of butter and rice ; but milk was scarce, although I succeeded in bartering a small quantity for some dates, of which these people were extremely fond. A little below our encampment, on the low shore, there was a farm, and on the island nearest the shore, two small hamlets, for the branch of the river, which in general appears to be of considerable depth, was studded with green islands, which stretched out lengthwise in two parallel rows, being of the same height as the bank on which we were encamped, and which at present formed a steep descent to the shores of the river of about ten feet, rendering the watering of the horses very difficult. It was only with the utmost exertion that we rescued one of them which fell into the stream.

The whole district is said to be greatly infested by lions, and we saw the remains of four horses, which a single individual of that species had torn to pieces the preceding day, but, notwithstanding the strength and ferocity of this animal, I was assured by all the inhabitants that the lion of this region, like that of A'ir, has no mane, and that its outward appearance was altogether very unlike that beautiful skin upon which I used to lie down, being the *exuvie* of an animal from Lógone.

Friday, July 21 — On our way hither the preceding day, we had been overtaken, near the village of Gandútan, by a band of some three or four Songhay people, who had rather a warlike and enterprising appearance, and were very well mounted. Having kept close to us for some time, and spoken a great deal about my arms, they had disappeared, but at a very early hour this morning, while it was yet dark, and we were getting our luggage ready for the day's march, they again appeared and inspired my companions with some little fear, as to their ulterior intentions. They therefore, induced the chief of the Erátáfáni to accompany us for a while, with some of his people on horseback ; as they were well aware that the Songhay who at present have almost entirely lost their independence, cannot undertake any enterprise without the connivance of the Tuarek. But as for myself I was not quite sure who were most to be feared, our protectors, or those vagabonds of whom my companions were so much afraid ; for although the chief himself seemed to be a respectable man, these people, who are of a mixed race of Tuarek and Songhay, do not appear to be very trustworthy, and I should advise any traveller in this region to be more on his guard against them than against the true Tuarek. But under the present circumstances when they accompanied us on the road, I thought it better to tell them plainly who I was, although my companions had endeavoured to keep them in the dark respecting my real character. They had taken me for a Ghadámsi merchant, who wanted to pass through their territory without making them a suitable present. After I had made this confession they became much more cheerful and open-hearted, and we parted the best of friends. The cunning Wádáwi also contributed towards establishing with them a more intimate relation, by bartering his little pony for one of their mares. Nothing renders people in these countries so communicative, and at the same time allays their suspicions so much, as a little trading.

Having separated from our friends, and made our way with some difficulty through a tract of country partly inundated, we at length fell in with a well-trodden path, where on our right a low hilly chain approached. Here a little düm-bush began to appear, and, further on, monkey-bread trees adorned the landscape, but the river, after having approached for a short time with its wide valley, retired to such a distance, that not having provided a supply of water, we began to suffer from thirst. I therefore rode in advance and chose a place for a short halt during the midday heat, where a sort of *fáddama*, which during the highest state of the inundation forms a considerable open sheet of water round an island thickly clad with düm-palms, indents the rising bank of the river, offering, even at the present time, a handsome tank of clear water. The surrounding slope was adorned with a fine grove of düm-palms, and, protected by the shade of some rich *hájlilj*, produced a great profusion of succulent herbage.

Having rested in this pleasant spot for a couple of hours, we pursued our march along this green hollow at present half dried up, and feeding also a good many tamarind-trees, and after a march of about half a mile, reached the spot where this shallow branch joins a considerable open arm of the river, which here is tolerably free from rocks. A little below, it is compressed between rocky masses projecting from either bank, intersecting the whole branch, so that only a narrow passage is left, enclosed as it were by a pair of iron gates formed by nature. Yet the navigation was not obstructed even at the present season, as a boat about thirty-five feet long and rowed by six men, which went quickly past us, evidently proved. The path was lined with mushrooms, called by my companions *tobl e ndén*.

This branch of the river presented a very different aspect when, after having ascended a rising ground, we had cut off a bend or elbow of the river, for here it formed a kind of rapid, over which the water foamed along, and from the circumstance of the boat having followed another branch, this locality did not seem to be passable at present. The low shores, which are annually inundated, and even now left swampy ground between us and the river, were cultivated with rice; the higher ground, rising above the reach of the inundation, bordered by a belt of *damankádda* and thorny bushes, was reserved for millet, and beyond, the whole valley, which is here very broad, is bordered by a mountainous chain. The rocky nature of the river was further demonstrated by a remarkable group of rocks rising from an island a little further on, and affording a very conspicuous landmark; but, in general, this part of its course seems to be free from cliffs.

We had long strained our eyes in vain in order to obtain a sight of the large town of Sinder, which we knew to be situated on an island, till at length, from a hilly chain which here borders the river, we obtained a fair sight of the whole breadth of the valley, and were able to distinguish an extensive range of huts spreading over one or two islands in the river. Here, therefore, we encamped at the side of a few huts, although it would have been more prudent, as we afterwards found, to have chosen our encampment a little lower down the river, where a channel

leads straight to the island of Sínder, with which we wanted to open communication; while, from the spot where we actually encamped, another considerable island-town called Garú lies in front of it.

The whole valley, which is probably not less than from six to eight miles broad, and is studded with extensive islands, is very fertile, and tolerably well inhabited. The two towns together, Garú and Sínder, according to the little I saw of them, did not seem to contain less than from sixteen thousand to eighteen thousand inhabitants, and are of the utmost importance to Europeans in any attempt to navigate the upper part of the river, as they must here prepare to encounter great difficulties with the natives, and at the same time ought here to provide themselves with corn sufficient to carry them almost to Timbúktu. For Sínder, which in some respects still acknowledges the authority of the governor of Say, is also the market for all the corn used in this district. A large quantity of millet can at any time be readily obtained here, and during my journey was even exported in large quantities to supply the wants of the whole of the provinces of Zabérma and Déndina. Notwithstanding this great demand, the price was very low, and I bartered half a suniye of dukhn, equal to about two hundred pounds' weight, for a piece of black cloth, feruwál, or zenne, which I had purchased in Gando for one thousand and fifty shells, a very low price indeed, not only when we take into account the state of things in Europe, but even when we consider the condition of the other countries of Negroland. I was also fortunate enough to barter the eighth part of a lump of rock salt from Taodénni, for eight drá of shásh or mushn - but as for rice, it is difficult to be got here, at least in a prepared state, although rice in the husk, or kókesh, is in abundance.

A great many people visited me, and altogether behaved very friendly. In this little suburb, where we had encamped, there was staying a very clever fáki, belonging originally to the Gá-béro, and called Mohammed Sáleh. To my great astonishment I became aware that this man was acquainted with my whole story, and, upon inquiring how he had obtained his information, I learned that a pilgrim, named Mohammed Fádhl, a native of the distant country of Fúta, who, being engaged in a pilgrimage, had undertaken the journey from Timbúktu along the river in a boat, had acquainted the people with all my proceedings in that place. This fáki also informed us of the present state of Háusa. He told us that Dáúd, the rebellious prince of Zerma, or Zabérma, after his whole army had been cut to pieces by Adú el Hassan, had made his escape to Yélu, the capital of Déndina, where the rebels were still keeping their ground. Meanwhile 'Alíyu, the Emír el Múmenín, had arrived before Argúngo, but in consequence of his own unwarlike character, and a dispute with Khalilu, to whom that part of Kebbi belongs, had retraced his steps, without achieving anything worthy of notice. But I learned that owing to the revolt continuing, the Dendi were still in open rebellion, and that, in consequence, the road from Támkala to Fógha was as unsafe as ever, although part of the Máuri had again returned to their allegiance.

I should have liked very much to visit the town of Sínder, but not

feeling well, and for other reasons, I thought it more prudent to remain where I was; for, besides the fact that the governor himself is only in a certain degree dependent on the ruler of Say, there were here a good many Tuarek roving about, which rendered it not advisable for me to separate from my luggage, I therefore gave a small present to my companions, which they were to offer to the governor in my name. In consequence of this they were well received, and the governor himself came to meet them half-way between the towns of Sinder and Garú, and behaved very friendly to them.

Sunday, July 23.—After a rainy night, we left this rich and populous district; in order to pursue our journey to Say. Keeping close along the bank of the river, our attention was soon attracted by some young palm bushes covered with fruit, which caused a long dispute between my people and the followers of the Sheikh, part of them asserting that it was the oil-palm, while others affirmed it to be the date-palm. This latter opinion appeared the correct one considering that the oil-palm does not grow at any distance from salt water, for on our whole journey through the interior, we had only met with it in the valley of Fôgha, which contains a great quantity of salt. This opinion was confirmed by further observation, when we discovered the male and female seeds, which wanted nothing but the civilising influence of man in order to produce good fruit. Without an artificial alliance of the male and female, the fruit remains in a wild and embryo-like state. Thus keeping along the shore, we passed several islands in the river, first Juntu, and at a short distance from it Bisse-gûngu; further on Kôma and Bossa, adorned with a fine growth of trees; and about five miles from our halting-place, after we had passed a small hilly chain called Mâri, the island of Nénî, which is likewise richly timbered. This island is remarkable on account of its being the birthplace of the great Songhay conqueror, Hâj Mohammed Áskîá, or Sîkkîá.

Our march was the more interesting, as we were so fortunate as to be accompanied by the fâkî Mohammed Sáleh, whose acquaintance I had made during my stay near Garú. He was very communicative and social, and I regretted that I was not allowed to traverse in his company the whole territory of the independent Songhay in various directions. He dwelt particularly on the distinguishing character of Dargol, the principal seat of the free Songhay, especially the Koi-zé, with the remains of the royal family of the Sîkkîá, of which several princes were still living.

My companion also informed me of the attack which the natives of Gurina under the command of their chief Wentinne, in conjunction with the Songhay, had made a short time previously upon the emîr of the Toróde, or Tórobe. He likewise gave me an account of the extensive dominion of Dáúð, the grandfather of 'Omár, the present chief of the Erátáfán, who succeeded in founding a large kingdom, when he was murdered by a rival nephew, and all his power was annihilated.

Our sociable and well-informed companion now left us. A little lower down the river on the opposite bank are the villages of Tilla-béra and Tilla-kana, which are governed by 'Othmán, a relation of Moham-

med Tondo. The whole country is undulating, covered with rank grass, and adorned with hájilí, and altogether left a pleasing impression; while here and there, cultivated ground, with crops shooting up to the height of from two to four feet, gave some variety to the landscape. A little further on, large monkey-bread trees appeared; and beyond that, besides talha, of a rather luxuriant growth, kalgo also became plentiful. The river was at some distance from the path, so that we encamped a little after noon in the midst of the forest, near a swampy pond full of herbage and mosquitoes, and surrounded with large luxuriant monkey-bread trees and fine sycamores. I felt here extremely feverish, and was obliged to take a good dose of medicine.

Monday, July 24.—Having been detained by a heavy thunderstorm, we at length started, traversing a dense forest full of monkey-bread trees, and extending about two miles. We then turned round a large swampy inlet, when a hilly chain approached on our right, and the shore of the river was clad with a rich bush called *yén* by my companions.

About two miles beyond, we reached a hamlet called Ázemay spreading out on a hill, and encamped a short distance beyond towards the south-east. The village is inhabited by Tuarek of the tribe of the Erátafán, who have exchanged their nomadic habits for those of settlers, but without giving up their character or language. A few Kél e' Súk live amongst them, but nearly half the population of the village consists of Fúlbe, of the tribe of the Zoghorán, this settlement presenting the remarkable instance of a peaceful amalgamation of these two tribes. But the Erátafán, as I have stated above, have lost their former power, although under the dominion of Dáúd, they held all the towns as far as Say under their sway. Notwithstanding their diminished power, they appeared to be well off, for not only were they dressed decently, but they also treated us hospitably with excellent furá, the favourite Háusa dish of sour milk with pounded millet, and in the evening they sent a great quantity of pudding and milk, and a young heifer.

I here provided myself with a supply of corn, as I had been given to understand that it fetches a high price in the market of Say. I found that the price already far exceeded that of Sínder, one feruwal of Gando buying only twenty-three kél of millet; but my camels were extremely weak, and one had died the preceding night, so that I was not able to carry with me a greater supply. As for rice, none was to be had, and no cultivation of this grain was to be seen, although it might be supposed to succeed here, the river being wide and forming a large island called Délluwé.

Tuesday, July 25.—The good treatment of the people of Ázemay made my companions rather unwilling to leave this place so soon, and a further delay was caused by their bartering. When at length we set out on our march, we had to make a considerable *détour*, in order to avoid the lower course of a rivulet, which is here not passable. Our path lay through corn-fields till we reached the village of Kasánni, consisting of two groups, one of which was surrounded by a keff, or stockade, and inhabited by Fúlbe; the other was merely a slave hamlet. Rich corn-fields, shaded by fine trees and broken by projecting rocks,

extended on all sides. Close beyond this hamlet, we crossed a little rivulet called Téderimt by the Tuarek, which in this spot, although only twenty-one feet wide and a foot in depth, caused us a short delay, owing to its banks rising to the height of about ten feet. But inconsiderable as was the size of the river, it became important to me, as in crossing it my ear was greeted for the first time by the usual Háusa salute, which I had not heard for so long a time, and which transported me once more into a region for which I had contracted a great predilection, and which among all the tracts that I had visited in Negroland, I had found the most agreeable for a foreigner to reside in.

We then continued our march through the district of Gôte, which is chiefly adorned with the monkey-bread tree, till we reached a small village called Bóse, which is inhabited by the tribe of the Koi-zé or Koizá-ten (who came originally from Damgót). It consisted entirely of the kind of huts which are usual in Háusa, and manifested that we had left the Songhay architecture behind us. But although it possesses a small mosque, most of the inhabitants, together with the head man himself, are idolaters. Here we were hospitably treated with a bowl of ghussub-water, while I had to give the people my blessing in return. Two miles and a half beyond Bóse lies the village of Hendóbo, on a small branch of the river. We encamped a short distance from it, in the shade of a luxuriant duwé, on a ground rising slightly from the swampy plain opposite the island Barma-gúngu, which is situated a little further in the midst of the river, which here, from N. 20° W to S. 20° E, changes its course to a direction from N. 20° E. to S. 20° W.

The island is adorned with dúm-palms, and is the residence of the chief of the Kortita, or Kortébe, whose real name is Slimán or Solimán Géro Kúse-izze, the son of Kúse, but who is generally known in the district under the name of Solimán Sildi. My companions, who were very anxious not to neglect any great men of the country, had determined to pay this chief a visit, in order to try to obtain a present from him. But the eloquent Wádáwi and his companions did not appear to have succeeded with these islanders, for they returned with rather dejected spirits from their visit to the chief, who showed us not the slightest mark of hospitality. But, from another quarter, I myself, at least, was well treated; for the inhabitants of a small island in the river brought me a plentiful supper in the evening, consisting of prepared millet, a couple of fowls, and some milk.

Wednesday, July 26.—Traversing the swampy ground, after a march of half a mile we reached again the direct path, keeping at some distance from the bank of the river, which, although divided into several branches, exhibited a charming spectacle in the rising sun. Cultivated ground and wilderness alternated, and the monkey-bread tree appeared in great abundance; but further on the duwé and kenya began to prevail; the islands in the river also, as Nasile and Ler, being richly clad with vegetation.

However, the district did not seem to be very populous, and the only village which we passed on the main was Shére, surrounded by a stockade, where we endeavoured, in vain, to obtain a little milk. We

left, at a distance of several miles to the west, the town of Larba, which, as I have mentioned on my outward journey, is inhabited by a warlike set of people greatly feared by their neighbours, but at present we heard that the ruler of that town, of the name of Bito, had lately returned from Say, to whose governor, Abú Dakr, he was said to have made his submission, although it is probable that his only intention had been to keep free that side, in order to be undisturbed in his proceedings against the chief of the Toróde, or Tórobo.

Altogether the region presented a very interesting feature when, close behind the village of Gárbegurú, we reached the river Sirba, with which, in its upper course, we had first made acquaintance at Bóse-bángo, but which here had a very different character, rushing along, in a knee-like bend, from south-west to north-east, over a bed of rocks from sixty to seventy yards across, and leaving the impression that at the time when it is full of water it is scarcely passable. But at present we found no difficulty in crossing it, the water being only a foot deep. Nevertheless, the Sirba is of great importance in these regions, and we can well understand how Bello could call it the 'Alí Bábá of the small rivers. Ascending then the opposite bank of this stream, we obtained a view of a hilly chain ahead of us, but the country which we had to traverse was at present desolate, although in former times the cornfields of the important island-town Koirwa spread out here. However, we had a long delay, caused by another of our camels being knocked up, so that we were obliged to leave it behind, an unfortunate circumstance, which afforded a fresh proof of the uselessness of the camels of the desert tract of Azawád for a journey along the banks of the river.

The country improved greatly after we had crossed a small hilly chain which approached on the right, but it did not exhibit any traces of cultivation, the inhabitants having taken refuge on the other side of the river. We also passed here a pretty little rivulet of middle size, girt by fine trees, and encamped close beyond the ruins of a village called Namáro, opposite the village of Kuttukóle, situated on an island in the river. The place was extremely rich in herbage, but greatly infested by ants, and, in consequence, full of ant-hills, but we only passed here the hot hours of the day, in order to give our animals some rest, and then set out again just as a thunderstorm was gathering in Áussa on the opposite side of the river.

The sheet of water is here broad and open, forming an island, and does not exhibit the least traces of rocks. The shore was richly clad with vegetation, and a little further on seemed even to be frequented by a good many people; but they did not inspire us with much confidence. Meanwhile, the thunderstorm threatening to cross over from the other side of the river and reach us, we hastened onward, and encamped on the low and grassy shore, opposite a small village called Wántila, situated on an island full of tall dúm-palms, which however, at present, was only separated from the main by a narrow swampy creek. However, we had a sleepless night, the district being greatly infested by the people of Larba. The governor of this place, as we now learned, was then staying in the town of Karma, which we had just passed, and

from whence proceeded a noise of warlike din and drumming which continued the whole night.

At an early hour, therefore, the next morning we set out, keeping at a short distance along the river, the ground presenting no signs of cultivation, while the steep slope on the opposite bank almost assumed the character of a mountain chain, the highest group being from eight hundred to one thousand feet in height, and called Bingáwí by our guide, while he gave to the succeeding one the name of Wágata; the most distant part of the chain he called Búbo. At the foot of this ridge lies the village of Tagabáta, which we passed a little further on.

Enjoying the varied character of the scenery, we continued our march rather slowly, an ass which my companions had bartered on the road lagging behind, and causing us some delay, when we entered a dense underwood of thorny trees which entirely hemmed in our view, while on our right a hilly chain approached, called from a neighbouring village Senudébu, exactly like the French settlement on the Falmé in the far west.

Proceeding thus onward, we suddenly observed that the covert in front of us was full of armed men. As soon as they became aware that we had observed them, they advanced towards us with the most hostile gesticulations, swinging their spears and fitting their arrows to their bows, and we were just going to fire upon them, when we observed amongst them my servant the Gatróni, whom a short time before I had sent to fetch some water from the river. This fortunate circumstance, suddenly arrested our hostile intentions and led to a peaceable understanding. We were then informed, that obtaining a sight of us from a hill while we were still at a distance, and seeing six armed horsemen, they had taken us for a hostile host, and had armed themselves; and it was very fortunate for my servant with whom they first met, as well as for ourselves, that one of them understood a little Háusa, and was able to make out from his description the nature of our undertaking. But for this, we should perhaps have been overwhelmed by numbers. The first troop consisted of upwards of one hundred men, all armed with bow and spear, and round black shields, many of them wearing a battle-axe besides and smaller detachments were posted at short intervals up to the very outskirts of their village. They consisted of both Songhay and Fúlbe, and the greater part wore nothing but leather aprons. They wanted us to accompany them to their village, but we did not feel sufficient confidence in them to do so, and were glad when we got rid of them. On this occasion I had another proof of the warlike character of my Arab companion 'Alí el Ágeren, who, as long as there was any danger, kept at a respectful distance behind the camels, but, as soon as he saw that all was over, he rushed out on his little pony in the most furious manner, and threatened to put to death the whole body of men, so that I had great difficulty in appeasing him. Probably, if we had had a serious encounter, he would have turned his horse's head, and I should never have seen him again.

When we continued our march, we were gratified to see a wide extent of ground covered with fine cotton plantations; on our left, where

the river again approached, much kharrwa, or berkínde, appeared. Further on, fields of millet succeeded to the cotton plantations, and the cultivation now continued without interruption, extending to the slope of the hills, while, on the other side of the river, five villages appeared at short intervals. We then entered upon hilly sandy ground, but even this less favoured tract was covered with fine crops. I had made it a rule, owing to the weakness of my camels, which required a good feed, always to encamp at some distance from a larger place, and we therefore chose our camping-ground about two miles on this side of the town of Birni, amongst monkey-bread trees and hájilíj, at a short distance from a swampy creek of the river. Our encampment, however, became unpleasant in the extreme, as we had to sustain here a very heavy thunderstorm, accompanied by violent rain.

All the inhabitants of this district are Fúlbe, or Songhay speaking the language of the Fúlbe, the conquering tribe of the latter beginning to prevail here almost exclusively. All of them wear indigo-dyed shirts. We also met here an old man, originally belonging to the tribe of the Událen, a section of Imghád, or degraded Tuarek, but at present in the service of a Púllo, who, assisted by his slaves, was just getting his harvest, into the town of Birni, where he invited us to follow him on the approach of night.

Friday, July 28—Having lost the greater part of the morning in order to dry ourselves and our animals, we continued our march straight upon a kind of defile, which seemed almost to hem in the passage along the river. The bank here exhibits a peculiar feature, and the locality would be of the highest importance, if the state of the country were in any way settled, for the hilly chain on the right closely joins a group of rocky eminences which nearly approaches the river, and opening towards it in the shape of a horse-shoe, leaves only a very narrow passage between the south-easterly corner of this semi-circle of the hills, and a detached cone rising close over the brink of the river, the latter being likewise full of rocks. On the slope of the amphitheatre, called Sáre-góru, about half-way up the height, lies the village or town of Birni,* presenting a very picturesque spectacle, notwithstanding the frail character of the dwellings.

Even beyond this passage, only a small border is left between the slope of the hills and the river, especially behind the little village of Kollónte, which is separated by a small ravine into two distinct groups, and very pleasantly situated in a fine recess of the hills; at the same time, busy scenes of domestic life attracted our attention. Here the shore formed a bend, and the river glided along in a slow, majestic, and undivided stream, but a little further on formed two islands, and, on

* There is no doubt that this was formerly a place of considerable importance, and commanded the whole of the surrounding district, as the masters of this defile had at the same time in their hands the whole intercourse along the shore. In this respect the name Birni is not less remarkable than that of Sáre-góru, both "birni," as well as "sáre," being the names given to cities, or large walled places, in various Negro languages. Sáre-góru means the rivulet or channel (góru) of the city (sáre).

the main, we observed again that cotton was cultivated. Traversing then a swampy plain, covered with several large farms belonging to people of the Kortére, we reached a small detached chain on our right, called Kirogáji, distinguished by three separate cones. Cultivation here is carried on to a great extent, and the number of horses scattered over the plain, afforded a tolerable proof of the wealth of the inhabitants, and we passed the residence of a rich farmer, called Ūro-Módibo, "úro" being the Púllo term for a farm, and "módibo" the title of a learned gentleman. At the village of Sága also, which, a little more than two miles further on, we left on our right, beyond swampy meadow-grounds, numbers of horses, and extensive cotton plantations attracted our attention.

Three miles beyond Sága, we encamped near a small rivulet lined with luxuriant trees, of the species called gamji, or ganki, at the foot of the hills, the slope of which was covered with the richest crop of millet, and crowned with two villages inhabited by Fúlbe of the tribe of the Bitinkóbe, the river forming a rich and populous island called Bé-gúngu. This place is the residence of a sort of emir of the name of Bâte, to whom my companions paid a visit, and obtained from him a supper and a small viaticum.

Saturday, July 29—We made a very interesting day's march. The hills, which are here crowned with the various hamlets, form a bend closely approaching the river, and the path wound along the slope, which was intersected by several ravines full of rocks and trees, and afforded a beautiful view over the stream. Descending from this slope we kept along the bank, richly adorned with kenya or nelbi trees, the river spreading out in one unbroken sheet, interrupted only by a few isolated masses of rock. We here crossed a broad channel or dry watercourse starting forth from the hilly chain, and called Góru-tilkóli, or Góru-kére. This watercourse my guide, probably erroneously, indicated as a branch of the river Síba. It was succeeded by several others, one of which, distinguished by its breadth, was called Góru-luggul. The bank of the river, at this spot, was cultivated with great care, and we passed several farming villages, one of which, called Lellóli, was the residence of a young Púllo woman who had attached herself to our party the preceding day. She was neatly dressed, and adorned with numerous strings of beads, and mounted on a donkey.

Here cultivation, including a good deal of cotton, was carried on with great care, and all the fields were neatly fenced. But this well-cultivated ground was succeeded by a dense and luxuriant underwood, and, in the river, an island of the name of 'Otílli, or 'Otílli, stretched out to a great length. This probably is the ford originally called Ghútl or Ghúdil. A little beyond, at the distance of about five miles, the soft slope gave way to a small rocky ridge, through which a little rivulet or brook had forced itself a passage, forming a very picturesque kind of rocky gate, which, when the stream is full, must present an interesting spectacle. But the water contained at the time a quantity of ferruginous substances, and after taking a slight draught I remained in a nauseous state all the day long. It affected one of my companions still more unpleasantly.

Here the steep rocky cliffs, consisting of gneiss and mica-slate, and interwoven with fine green bushes, closely approached the river, which, in a fine open sheet, was gliding gently along at the rate of about three miles an hour, and we kept close to the margin of the stream, which, during the highest state of the inundation, is scarcely broad enough to afford any passage. The cliffs, with their beautifully stratified front, were so close that even at present only a border a few feet in width was left, and this narrow strip was beautifully adorned with dunku trees, the dark green foliage of which formed a beautiful contrast with the steep white cliffs behind them. The leaves are used by the natives for making a kind of sauce and for seasoning their food, like those of the monkey-bread tree. Further on, underwood of *arbutus* succeeded. The rocky ledge was interrupted, for a short time exhibiting the aspect of a crumbled wall, but further on again assumed the shape of precipitous cliffs, although less regularly stratified than in its north-westerly part.

This steep range of cliffs is called by the natives, "Yúri." Just where it began to fall off and to become smoother, we were obliged to leave the margin of the beautiful stream, which, near the bank, apparently descended to a great depth, in order to ascend the higher ground; for here the land juts out into the river in the form of a broad promontory, the whole slope being covered with fine crops, which were just approaching to ripeness. Thus we reached the farming village, or *rúmde*, belonging to Fittia Imám, or, as the name is generally pronounced, Mam Fitti, a wealthy Páillo, who possesses also a farm in the plain at the foot of the promontory close to the river. Here we encamped on the south-east side of the village, where the ground afforded good pasture for the camels.

I had been reposing awhile in the shade of a small *kórna*, when my people informed me that they had discovered, on the slope of the hills, a spring of living water, and I was easily induced, by the novelty of the phenomenon in this region, to accompany them to the spot.

The whole slope is about five hundred feet high, and the view from this point across the river is extensive, but towards the south-east it is obstructed by the hills rising in that direction to a greater elevation. This culminating point of the ridge we ascended the next morning, when we found that the highest level expanded to an open plain, well clad with bush and grass and a rich supply of corn, although the crops did not exhibit here the same luxuriant growth as on the slope of the hills. Proceeding then for a mile along this level, we reached a small village, in the courtyards of which, besides *sesamum*, a little *mekka*, as it is here called, or *ghafúh-másr*, was cultivated. Here I, together with my horsemen, started in advance of my train, in order to prepare our quarters in the town of Say, as we had a good day's march before us. The country here became adorned with *gonda* bush, of which we had entirely lost sight during our whole journey along the upper course of the Niger. Having passed the larger village Dógo, where with some difficulty we obtained a drop of milk, and having traversed a richly cultivated district, we descended into the valley of Say, along the

rugged cliffs which bounded it on the west. But the greater part of the valley was covered with water to such a degree that we became entangled every moment in a swamp, and therefore preferred again ascending the cliffs and keeping along the higher border. In this northerly part the rocky slope attained in general a height of one hundred and fifty feet, but gradually began to decrease in elevation. About half an hour before noon we changed our direction, and made across the swampy bottom of the valley, traversing two more considerable sheets of water, the first of three, and the second of two and a half feet in depth.

Thus we approached the town of Say, which was scarcely visible owing to the exuberant vegetation which surrounded its wall on every side, and which exhibited a most remarkable contrast to that dryness and monotony, which characterised the place on my former visit. The town itself was at present intersected by a broad sheet of water, which seemed almost to separate it into two distinct quarters. I at length reached the house of the governor, where I, as well as my horse, were cheerfully recognised as old acquaintances. I was quartered in the same little hut in which I had resided more than a year previously, but a considerable change had been made in its arrangement. The comfortable little sleeping place of matting had been restored, and was very acceptable in the rainy season, more especially as it did not entirely preclude a current of air, while it enabled me to put away all my small treasures in security.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SECOND RESIDENCE IN SAY.—JOURNEY THROUGH DÉNDINA AND KEBBI.

HAVING rested awhile in my hut, I, with my companions, obeyed the summons of the governor, and found our poor old friend, Abú-Bakr, in the very same room where we had left him more than a year previously. He was now quite lame in consequence of his disease of *señi*, but looked a little better than on the former occasion, and I soon had an opportunity of admiring his accurate knowledge of the country; for, when Ahmed el Wádáwi, had read to him the *kasáid* or poems addressed by my friend El Bakáy to the emír Ahmedu, and began to relate some of the more remarkable incidents of our journey, he was corrected every moment in the nomenclature of the places by the governor, who appeared to possess the most accurate philological knowledge of all the spots along the river as far as Tóndibi, where he had been obliged to turn his back on his voyage up the Niger. He apparently took great interest in the endeavour of the Sheikh to open a communication with the Fúlbe of Gando and Sókoto, and expressed his deep sorrow that on his former voyage, he was prevented by the hostile behaviour of the chief El Khadír from reaching Timbúktu, when my companions assured

him, that the Sheikh, on the first news of his approach, had sent a messenger in order to insure his safety from the Tuarek.

Even if we do not take into account this attempt of his, there is no doubt that the governor of Say-is of the utmost importance in the endeavour to ascend this river, and it is only to be lamented that he has not greater means, pecuniary and military, at his disposal, in order to draw from the favourable position of his province all the results possible. Altogether his circumstances at this moment, especially in consequence of the rebellion of the province of Dédina, were rather poor. At the same time his own debilitated condition prevents him from exerting his power, and can only tend to increase his political weakness. The rather inhospitable treatment which we received may thus be explained. Nevertheless, I made him this time a considerable present, including a red bernús of inferior quality, which I had kept back for the occasion. However I was so fortunate, in acknowledgment for some medicines with which I endeavoured to alleviate his complaint, as to receive from him a small piece of sugar, which was a great treat to me, as I had long been deprived of this luxury, there being none in the market, and when we left the place, after a stay of three days, he was generous enough to make my companions a present of a camel, of which they stood much in need.

The market was, in many respects, better provided than on our outward journey; but with this advantage was coupled the great disadvantage to me personally that a large troop of Háusa traders having recently arrived and richly supplied the market with the manufactures of that region, the prices at present ranged much lower, and for the very best indigo-dyed shirt, I obtained only 6,000 shells, while two others did not fetch more than 2,000 each. Millet was plentiful, although by no means cheap, the third part of a suniye, or twenty-four measures of Timbúktu, being sold for 4,000 shells, consequently twice or thrice as dear as in the latter place; but there was hardly any rice. There was not a single sheep in the market, nor any horned cattle, either for slaughtering or for carrying burdens; nor were there any dodówa cakes or tamarinds, nay, even the fruit of the monkey-bread tree, or kúka, was wanting, the only small luxury which was to be found in the market, besides the fruit of the dúm-palm, consisting of fresh onions, certainly a great comfort in these regions.

Such is the miserable character of this market, which, in such a position, situated on the shore of this magnificent river, and on the principal highroad between Eastern and Western Negroland, ought to be of primary importance. It was with great delight that the feeble but well-meaning governor listened to my discourse, when, on taking leave, I led him to hope that an English steamer would, please God, soon come to ascend the river, and supplying his place of residence with all kinds of European articles, would raise it to a market-place of great importance; and he was the more agreeably affected by such prospects, as my friendly relation with the Sheikh El Bakáy had convinced him of the peaceable intentions of the Europeans.

Wednesday, Aug 2.—It was in the afternoon that we left our

narrow quarters in the town of Say, which had appeared to us the more inconvenient, as we had experienced several thunderstorms, which had obliged us to take refuge in the interior of our narrow huts. Before reaching the bank of the river, we had to cross a large sheet of water which here likewise intersected the town, filling out the whole hollow bordered by the *dúm-palms*, and causing a serious interruption in the communication of the different quarters of the town. Nevertheless, the level of the river at present seemed only about five feet higher than it had been the previous year, a little earlier in the season, and the inconvenience must be greatly increased when the water reaches a higher level. It is a wonder that the town is not sometimes entirely swamped, although we must not forget that the river, the preceding year, had attained an unusual height, so that the water this year could scarcely have sunk to its average level before it had again commenced rising. The rocky cliff which obstructs the river about the middle of its course, at present only emerged from the water about a foot and a half. According to all appearances it must sometimes be entirely submerged, so that vessels must be upon their guard in navigating this part of the river, especially as it is not improbable that there are more sunken rocks hereabouts.

It was with a deep feeling of satisfaction that I again crossed this magnificent river, on whose banks I had lived for so long a time, and the course of which I had followed for so many hundred miles. It would have been of no small importance, if I had been able to follow its banks as far as Yaúri, and thus to connect by my own inspection the middle course of this noble river with the lower part, as far as it has been visited by the Landers, and partly, at least, by various distinguished English officers. But such an undertaking was entirely out of the question, on account of the exhausted state of my means, the weak condition of my health, and the advanced stage of the rainy season, which made it absolutely necessary for me to reach Sókoto as soon as possible, and, what was still more, in consequence of the rebellious state of the province of Déndina, which at the time made any intercourse along the river impossible for so small a troop as I had then under my command. At this season of the year, moreover, it would be impracticable, even if the country were in a tranquil state, to keep close along the banks of the river.

This time also I had succeeded in crossing the river without any accident, with the single exception, that a camel which belonged to one of my companions was so obstinate, that it was found impossible to induce it to enter the boats, which were not of the same size as those of the preceding year. It was thus forced to cross the river by swimming alongside, and arrived in the most exhausted state, the river being about nine hundred yards across. The nearest village being too far off, we were obliged to encamp for the night on the gentle grassy slope of the bank, which, a little above and below the place of embarkation, forms steep cliffs of about eighty feet elevation. The evening was beautiful, and the scenery of the river, with the feathery *dúm-palms* on the opposite shore, was lovely in the extreme, and well adapted to leave on

my mind a lasting impression of the magnificent watery highroad which Nature has opened into the heart of this continent. Thus I took leave of the Niger.

Thursday, Aug 3—We now commenced our journey along our former well-known path, which, however, in the richer garment of vegetable life in which Nature has decked herself out, presented now a very different aspect, and after a march of six miles, we reached the village of Tóndifú, surrounded by fine crops of millet, which were almost ripe, and of the very remarkable height of fifteen to twenty feet. In order to protect their property from the attacks of the numberless swarms of birds, almost the whole population was scattered through this forest-like plantation, and kept up such a continual noise and clamour, that it had quite an alarming effect, more especially as the people were concealed from view.

Having then kept along the faddama as far as the village of Tanna, we left our former route, for a more northerly direction, and after a march of five miles reached the miserable remains of a hamlet called Jidder, which the preceding year had been ransacked and entirely destroyed by the Jermábe, as the inhabitants of Zerma, or Zabérma, are called by the Fúlbe. But the fine crops around testified to the natural fertility of the soil. In this village, which has a well surrounded by dúm-palms, it had been our intention to halt, but through a ridiculous misunderstanding of my Méjérbí companion, who never could shorten the march sufficiently, but who this time was punished for his troublesome conduct, we continued on, and leaving the village of Hari-bango at some distance on our right, did not reach another hamlet till after a march of about five miles more. This place, which is called Minge, had been likewise ransacked by the enemy in the turbulent state of the country, and exhibited a most miserable appearance; but here also there was a good deal of cultivation, and I was not a little astonished at finding, in such a desolate place, a man who was retailing meat in his hut, but on further inquiry, it proved to be the flesh of a sick animal, a few head of cattle having remained in the possession of the inhabitants.

In order to avoid sleeping in the dirty huts, I had pitched my tent on the grassy ground, but was so much persecuted by a species of hairy ant, such as I had not observed before, that I obtained almost less sleep than the preceding night on the banks of the Niger, where mosquitoes had swarmed.

Friday, Aug. 4.—This day brought me to Támkala; my camels pursuing a shorter and I a more circuitous route, but both arriving at the same time at the gate of this town. It had been my intention, from the beginning, to visit this place; but the turbulent state of the country had induced me the year before to follow a more direct road, and I did not learn until now, that on that occasion Abú el Hassan, as soon as he heard of my approach, had sent four horsemen to Gárbo, in order to conduct me to his presence; but they did not arrive till after I had left that place. The town of Támkala, which gives great celebrity to this region, had suffered considerably during the revolution of Zabérma,

and if the bulky crops of native corn (which were just ripe) had not hid the greater part of the town from view, it would most probably have presented even a more dilapidated appearance, for not only was the wall which surrounded the place in a great state of decay; but even the house of the governor himself was reduced almost to a heap of ruins. It was rather remarkable that, as I approached the building, a female slave, of rather light yellowish colour, saluted me, the white man, in a familiar manner, as if I had been a countryman and coreligionist of hers. She belonged, I think, to a tribe to the south of Adamawa.

Having then paid our respects to the governor, we returned to our quarters, which, although not so objectionable in themselves, were so closely surrounded by the crops that we could scarcely find a spot to tie up our horses, and the huts were so full of all sorts of vermin that I scarcely got a moment's repose during my stay here. Besides the common plague of different species of ants and numberless swarms of mosquitoes, to my great surprise I found the place also full of fleas,—an insect which I had not seen since I had left Kúkawa, and which formerly was believed to be entirely wanting in Negroland. Thus I had sufficient reason to lament that I had here been obliged to take up my quarters inside the town; the place being situated at the brink of a swampy valley, the dallul Bosso filled at present with water and dùm-palms, and the crops surrounding the wall so closely that no space was left to pitch a tent.

It was just market-day, but besides meat, sour milk, tobacco, and pepper, nothing was to be got. Millet was very dear, indeed, the poor state of the market was well adapted to confirm the report that the greater part of the inhabitants were subsisting on the fruit of the dùm-palm. However, I had no affairs to transact in this town besides paying my compliments to the governor, and therefore was not compelled to make a long stay. But my business with the latter was of rather a peculiar character, the people assuring me that he was very angry with me for not having paid him a visit the previous year. My companions, the followers of the Sheikh, even wanted to make me believe that he objected to see me at all, but I entertained a strong suspicion that this was only a petty trick played by them to further their own interest; for, being supplied by the Sheikh with a present for this governor, they wanted to claim for themselves all the merit of the visit. Having declared that if the governor did not want to see me, he should certainly not obtain a present from me, I very speedily obtained an audience, and was so graciously received, that I could scarcely believe that he had entertained any hostile feeling towards me, for on my entrance he rose from his seat, or divan, made of reed, and met me at the door.

Responding to his cordiality in the most friendly manner, I told him that only the most urgent circumstances and the advice of my own guide, the messenger of Khalilu, had induced me the preceding year to act contrary to my own well-determined principle, which was, to make friendship with all governors possessed of power and authority

along my road, and that, in consequence of his warlike disposition and straightforward and chivalrous character, he had become known to me long before, and occupied the first rank among those whom I intended to visit. My speech, backed by a tolerable present, made a very favourable impression upon the governor, especially when he understood that it was I who had induced the Sheikh to honour him with a mission; and he entered into a very friendly conversation, admitting that the Jermábe, or the inhabitants of Zerma, had really pressed him very severely the last year, till he had at last succeeded in vanquishing their host and killing a great number of them.

We then read to him the letter of the Sheikh, who bestowed great praise upon my character, and recommended me in the most favourable terms. Sidi Ahmed made a most eloquent speech, especially as regarded the sanctity and learning of his master, who, he said, was very anxious to establish peaceable intercourse along the Niger, and wanted *Ábú el Hassan* to prevent the Berber tribe of the *Kél-gerés* and *Dinnik* from continuing their predatory expeditions upon the territory and against the people of *Alkúttabu*. The energetic governor, feeling flattered by these compliments, took very graciously the hints which my eloquent friend threw out, that, besides his other noble efforts, the Sheikh had no objection to having homage paid to his exalted position by a small number of decent presents, and two of the pupils of the Sheikh, *Mohammed ben Mukhtár* and *Málekí*, were pointed out to him as the persons who would remain here, in order to receive at his hand the presents destined for the Sheikh at the earliest possible opportunity. This whole business having been transacted in the presence of only one or two of his most confidential friends, the governor had all his courtiers again called in, when Sidi Ahmed read to them the poem in which the Sheikh had satirised the chief of *Hamda-Alláhi*, *Áhmedu ben Áhmedu*, on account of his not being able to catch me, which caused a great deal of merriment, but of course could only be appreciated by those who had a very good knowledge of Arabic, of which the greater part of the audience probably did not understand a single word. It was rather a curious circumstance that these people should express their satisfaction at the failure of an undertaking of their own countrymen.

Altogether *Ábú el Hassan* made a favourable impression upon me. He was by no means a man of stately appearance, or of commanding manners, and his features wanted the expressive cast which in general characterises the *Fúlbe*, and being destitute of any beard, he looked much younger than he really was, as his age can certainly not be much under sixty. His skin was very fair, and his dress of great simplicity, consisting of a shirt and turban of white colour, the red *bernús* which my companions had presented to him only hanging loosely from his shoulders. He is a native of the island of *Ansóngho* where his forefathers were settled from ancient times; and it is entirely owing to his personal courage and his learning that he has reached the position he now occupies. *Ábú el Hassan*, seems fully to deserve to be under the orders of a more energetic liege lord than the monkish and lazy *Khalflu*,

who allows his kingdom to be shattered to pieces ; and in any attempt to ascend the Niger, the governor of Tâmkala is of considerable importance. The principal weakness of his position consists in his want of horses, as he is thus prevented from following up the partial successes which he at times obtains over his enemies.

Having thus met with full success in our transactions with the governor, we left the audience hall, (which struck me by its simple mode of architecture,) consisting of a long narrow room covered with a gabled roof thatched with reed, such as are common in Yôruba. On returning to my quarters I distributed my last presents among those of my companions who were to remain here, and handed them a letter for the Sheikh, wherein I again assured him of my attachment to his family, and expressed the hope that, even at a great distance, we might not cease to cultivate our mutual friendship.

It had been our intention this time to choose the road by Junju, the place which I have mentioned before as lying on the northern part of the course of the dallul Máuri ; but the governor advised us urgently to avoid this place, which, being only of small size, and not strong enough to follow a certain line of policy, was open to the intrigues of friends as well as enemies.

Sunday, Aug. 6—Before we started, the governor sent me a camel as a present, but I gave it to my companions, although my own animals were in a very reduced state. There was a good deal of cultivation along the track which we pursued, but the irregular way in which the crops had sprung up, did not seem to testify to any considerable degree of care and industry ; but my people argued that famished men, like the distressed inhabitants of this town, did not possess sufficient energy for cultivating the ground.

Following a southerly direction we approached nearer the border of the dallul, or ráfi, the surface of which alternately presented higher or lower ground, the depressions being of a swampy character. Towards the east the valley was bordered by a chain of hills, rising to a considerable elevation, on the top of which an isolated baobab tree indicated the site of a place called Gáwó, by which the road leads from Tâmkala to Junju. Gradually the cultivation decreased, and was for a while succeeded by dùm-bush, from which a very fine but solitary gamji tree started forth. However, the country further on improved and began to exhibit an appearance of greater industry, consisting of corn-fields and small villages, half of which indicated by their names their origin from the Songhay, others pointed to Háusa. All of them were surrounded by fine crops, and one called Bommo-hógu was furnished with a small market-place. It was a cheering incident that an inhabitant of the village of Gátara, which we passed further on, gave vent to his generous feelings by presenting me with a gift of fifty shells, which I could not refuse, although I handed them to my companions. It was here also that we met the only horsemen whom we had seen in the province. They had rather an energetic and stately appearance. Having passed a small market-place situated in the midst of the corn-fields, and at present empty, we reached the village of Báshi, where we expected to

find quarters prepared for us, but were only able, after a great deal of delay, to procure a rather indifferent place.

We were glad to meet here a native traveller, or *mai-falke*, from Wurno, who communicated to us the most recent news from Háusa and Kebbi although very little was to be told of the chivalrous deeds of the two great Féllan chiefs 'Alíyu and Khalílu, both of whom were accelerating the ruin of their nation. About an hour after our arrival, we were joined by a native duke, who, according to the arrangement of the governor of Támkala, was to perform the journey through the unsafe wilderness of Fógba in our company. This man was 'Abdú serkí-n-Chíko, lord of Chíko, or, to speak correctly, lord of the wilderness, his title, or "*ráwani*" (properly shawl or turban), being just as empty and vain as many others in Europe, the town of Chíko having many years previously been destroyed by the enemy. But, whatever the hollowness of his title might be, he himself was of noble birth, being the son of 'Abd e' Salám,* who was well known as being once the independent master of the important and wealthy town of Jéga, which had made so long and successful resistance against 'Othmán, the Jihádí; Bokhán, the present ruler of that place, was 'Abdú's brother. Besides his noble descent, the company of this man proved to be interesting, for he displayed all the pomp peculiar to the petty Háusa chiefs, marching to the sound of drums and horns. He was richly decked out with a green *bernús*, and mounted on a sprightly charger, although his whole military force numbered only three horsemen and six archers; and his retinue had by no means a princely appearance, consisting of a motley assemblage of slaves, cattle, sheep, and all sorts of encumbrances. But, notwithstanding this empty show, he was a welcome companion on the infested road before me, and when he paid me a visit in my hut, I at once presented him with a fine black *ráwani*, thus confirming on my part the whole of his titles. He at once proceeded to give me a proof of his knowledge of the world and of his intelligence, and I found sundry points of resemblance between him and Mohammed-Bóró, my noble friend of Ágades. Having been joined here also by two attendants of 'Abd el Káderi, a younger brother of Khalílu, there seemed to be a sufficient guarantee for the safety of our march. The village where I fell in with these people was rather poorly supplied with provisions, and neither milk nor anything else was to be got, and, owing to the number of mosquitoes, repose was quite out of the question.

Monday, Aug. 7—A moderate rain which came on in the morning, delayed us for some time. Our route lay through a rich country, at times exhibiting traces of careful cultivation, at others left to its own wild luxuriant growth. Having passed the village of Belánde, which was adorned by numbers of *dúm-palms*, and the extensive hamlet called *Úro-emfiro*, we entered more properly the bottom of the valley or *ráfi*, being already at this season for a great part covered with swamps, which, a month later, rendered the communication extremely difficult, although at times, the ground rises a few feet higher than the

* The original residence of 'Abd el Salám had been Kóri, from whence he had carried on war with 'Othmán for five years

ordinary level. But although this low ground is extremely well adapted for the cultivation of rice, very little was at present actually to be seen.

At length we thought that we had entirely left the swampy ground behind us, but about a mile and a half beyond the village Gerlájé, which we left on one side, we had to cross a very deep and broad swamp, in which one of the last of my camels fell down and died. Three miles beyond, we reached the village of Gárbo, which was already familiar to me from my outward journey, although I was scarcely able to recognise it, so great was the change produced by the rich vegetation, and the crops of millet and sorghum which had sprung up through the influence of the rainy season. But the inhabitants also, elated by the hope which the prospect of a rich harvest held out to them, exhibited a far more cheerful temperament than on my former visit, and immediately led me through the narrow lanes to the house of the emir, who received me in a hearty manner as an old friend. On entering into conversation with him, I was not a little astonished to find that he was acquainted with all the incidents of my stay in Timbúktu. He quartered me in the same small but neatly arranged hut where I had been lodged during my former stay, and from which I felt rather sorry to drive away the industrious landlady. The governor treated me in an extremely hospitable manner, sending me, besides milk and corn, even a small heifer, although I had made him only a very trifling present. His name is 'Abd el Wabáb, and he is a brother of Abú el Hassan by his father's side. With such cheerful treatment we enjoyed our stay here very much, the weather having cleared up, and a rainy morning being succeeded by a fine afternoon.

The friendly disposition of the governor was the more agreeable as we were delayed here the following day, several of my companions being disabled by sickness, and the Serki-n-Chíko wanting to lay in a supply of corn for the road. I spent a great deal of my leisure time, thus involuntarily obtained, in the company of the latter, who detailed to me the incidents of the struggle of his family with the Jihádi, and dilated on the importance of the town of Jéga, which is a market place of great consequence, especially for rough silk, with which it supplies the whole of Zánfara, and even the distant market of Alóri, or Ilóri. In fact, I am quite sure that the silk which has been obtained from the missionary station in Yóruba, is nothing but the selfsame article introduced into this country from Tripoli, and again exported from thence to Háusa. In my conversation with this man, he mentioned a circumstance which struck me as peculiar, that the Háusa people have no general name for the Songhay. Their only designation for them is Yammátáwa, meaning the western people, a term which is only used in opposition to Gabbes-táwa, the "eastern people," without any regard to nationality.

Wednesday, Aug. 9—On leaving the village of Gárbo, we were induced to follow the traces of our Háusa companion, and to ascend directly the steep rocky passage which we had turned on our former journey; but we found that this time also the proverb was confirmed, that "the more haste the less speed," for the passage proved so difficult

that all the luggage fell from the backs of the camels, and caused us a great deal of delay. However, as soon as we reached the flat level of the forest, we proceeded onward without interruption till we had passed our former place of encampment. Finding no water here we pushed on, but, unfortunately, on account of part of our caravan having gone on in advance, we were prevented from encamping before the storm, which had gathered over our heads during the afternoon, broke forth, when the whole ground was in a moment so deeply covered with water that it was impossible to encamp. Thus, although drenched to the skin, we were obliged to keep on, in the most uncomfortable manner, till we found a little higher ground, where the branches of a sylvan encampment supplied us with the means of protecting our luggage against the extreme humidity of the ground. It is such encampments as these which are the cause of so much unhealthiness to travellers, and I did not feel at all comfortable until, with great difficulty, I had lighted a fire inside my wet tent, the rain continuing outside with increased violence. But the weather affected my people, who were less protected than myself, in such a manner, that they were shivering with wet and cold in the morning, and we did not get off until a late hour.

Having met some energetic and warlike-looking horsemen from Fôgha, and passing several small ponds, we descended a little, and then proceeding over the hilly ground, which was more scantily timbered, we gradually approached the remarkable valley of Fôgha. As I had decided upon visiting the town of Kalliyul, I was obliged to change here my direction to the south-west, keeping along the side of the valley. The narrow footpath was now overgrown with rank grass, and the numerous salt-manufacturing hamlets were destitute of life and animation, and overgrown with vegetation. We were also glad, for the sake of the famished inhabitants of this district, to see the fields waving with tolerably rich crops, and a few cattle grazing about. Some animation was caused by an encampment of native traders which we passed, consisting of light sheds built of reed.

Proceeding thus onwards we reached the town of Kalliyul, and were here received outside the gate by two horsemen, when I was without delay quartered in a large and clean hut built of clay, and about thirty feet in diameter. I had scarcely made myself comfortable, when Señina, and the most respectable of the inhabitants, came to pay their compliments to me in the most cheerful manner, saluting me as an old acquaintance and as an enterprising and successful traveller, while I, in my turn, complimented them on account of their having retrieved some of their losses by capturing a fine herd of cattle from the enemy. I was glad to see that they were not in such a famished condition as when I was here a year previously, and I gratefully acknowledged the moderate proof of hospitality which they were able to bestow upon me, consisting of a little tûwo, a large quantity of milk, and a few kôla nuts. I rewarded their kindness as well as I was able under my present reduced circumstances.

It was here that I learnt with certainty the death of my friend the vizier of Bôrnu; for although the governor of Say, when we read to him

the general letter of recommendation which the Sheikh el Bakáy had written for me, had remarked that 'Omár was no longer ruler of Bórnu, and had thrown out some hints respecting the death of the vizier, those indications were too vague to be relied on ; but now circumstances were mentioned in such a positive manner that I could no longer entertain a doubt as to the truth of the report, and it was with some anxiety that I thought of Mr Vogel and his companions, and my own affairs in the country of Bórnu.

Towards evening I wandered about a little, and found the town only scantily inhabited, although, as I have said before, the hamlets for manufacturing salt are almost deserted at this time of year, as no salt can be obtained as long as the bottom of the valley is covered with water. The situation of the place is of considerable strength, being defended not only by the wall on the east side, but also by a swamp on the west side, at least during part of the year, and it is this circumstance which renders it more intelligible how the inhabitants have been able to defend themselves against the repeated attacks of the revolted Déndi.

The greatest object of interest for me, and which would alone have rewarded a visit to the place, was a specimen of an oil-palm, *Elaeis Guineensis*, quite isolated, but, together with some palm bushes of the same species, serving to prove that this palm can thrive, even in the interior, in localities where the soil is impregnated with salt, as is here the case, although in general it is assumed, and seems to be proved by experience, that it cannot grow at any great distance from the ocean.

We had taken up our quarters inside the town, in consequence of the statement of 'Abdú that we should be able to cross the valley at this spot, but to my great disappointment I learned that I should have to retrace my steps for some miles, as far as the spot where I had crossed the valley on my outward journey. In order therefore not to lose more time than was necessary, I left the place in the afternoon of the next day, intending to encamp beyond the valley at the entrance of the forest. After a good deal of opposition from my companions, I effected my purpose, being escorted out of the town by Señina, with two mounted archers, and followed by all the people who wanted to take the same road, for as soon as they saw me marching out with confidence, they all followed, one after the other, and encamped close round my tent, which I had pitched on the eminence above the valley near the dúm-palms, as if it were a talisman to protect them against any attack, and midnight had scarcely passed, when the drum of 'Abdú was heard in the distance, indicating that he also did not tarry. But in consequence of the laziness of my people, whom the numbers of mosquitoes had scarcely allowed to close their eyes, he arrived before we had prepared our luggage, so that we did not get off until three o'clock in the morning, and, owing to a pack-ox belonging to 'Abdú having fallen down in the narrow path in the forest, we lost another hour before we could fairly proceed.

Marching then onwards without further delay, we reached, half an hour before noon, the site of Débe, in the dense thicket of the forest,

which was inundated with water, and made a short halt, without dismounting, in order to allow the Háusa people to drink their furá. There were about one hundred fatáki or native traders, most of them bearing their little merchandise on pack-oxen or asses, but some of them carrying it on their heads as dan-garúfu. Having refreshed ourselves, we continued our march, but, frightened by a thunderstorm which was gathering over our heads, encamped near a shallow pond of water. However, there was but little rain, and we had a tolerably quiet evening. Here also we suffered greatly from the mosquitoes, which, together with the extreme insecurity of the communication, are the great drawback to the full enjoyment of a journey through Kebbi.

Sunday, Aug. 13.—About two miles from our starting-point, having slightly ascended, we had again to descend the steep rocky passage, the rising ground before us, with its dense timber, appearing like a chain of mountains. Having then ascended again, we reached the tebki, or pond, which I have mentioned on my outward journey, and being thirsty, we all went to drink, but found the water so abominable, that all my companions from Timbúktu were attacked with serious illness, especially Sidi Áhmed, who was seized suddenly with such a severe attack of fever that he declared the water to have been poisoned. But although it is not totally impossible that the enemy might have poisoned the pond—from which they knew that all the passers-by supplied themselves with water—with some herb or other, I think that its unwholesome character was caused in the same manner as the water of the brook near Úro Béleng, which had made one of my companions and myself ill on a former occasion.

Having again descended a rocky passage, we passed the site of a former encampment of Sultan Bello, which he used as his head-quarters when he destroyed the towns of Débe and Kúka. The sight of this place, together with the remembrance of the ruinous warfare which had proceeded from thence, gave my companions an opportunity of expatiating on the great strength of Kebbi in former times, when the whole of Gúrma, with all the Songhay places as far as Téra, were subject to them, but I never heard that the dominion of this country, or of any province of Háusa, had ever extended as far as Timbúktu. Proceeding then cheerfully on, we reached the first monkey-bread trees at the border of the forest, and were greatly delighted at the sight of the fine herds of cattle belonging to the inhabitants of Tilli, with the rich crops, part of which was already cut in order to satisfy the most urgent wants of the population. The whole district, together with its fine timber, which had now put forth its utmost exuberance of foliage, left a very pleasing impression.

Thus we reached the town of Tilli, but the western gate being very narrow, we had to turn round half the circumference of the wall in order to reach the eastern entrance; but having at length penetrated into the interior, we were lodged close to the western gate, where we had arrived an hour previously. I had thus the advantage of getting a good insight into the relations of the population of this place, and found the town to be much better off and more densely inhabited than

Zogirma. But while the governor of the latter town ranks like a petty sultan, and has some cavalry under his command, that of Tilli is a mere mavor, without rank or authority. The present governor, whose name is Búba-Sadiki, enjoyed still less authority from personal reasons, as he was prostrated with the same illness which had lamed the governor of Say. This "señi," or rheumatism, as I have stated on former occasions, is a kind of disease of which every African traveller who exposes himself a great deal during the rainy season, particularly along swampy regions and in leaky boats, is very susceptible. I suffered dreadfully from it after my return to Bórnu.

While the *télamid* of the Sheikh went in person to the governor in order to alleviate, if possible, his enfeebled state by means of their prayers and blessing, I made him a small present, and he sent me some rice in acknowledgment. The little market was tolerably well supplied, and I was very glad to find here, besides sorghum, the large wholesome onions of Gando, and some *dodówa*, sour milk also being in considerable abundance, and it was interesting to observe how much more cheerful all the inhabitants were under the present circumstances, than they had been the previous year. I should have liked very much to have paid my compliments to my friend of Zogirma, in order to see how he was going on after being relieved from a great part of the anxiety which appeared to oppress him the year before; but fearing the delay, I resolved to make direct from here to Birni-n-Kebbi.

Monday, Aug. 14.—We had heard already on our journey that we had arrived at the very latest time in order to cross, with any degree of safety, the swampy *fáddama* of the *gúlbi-n-Sókoto*, which a little later in the season is extremely difficult to pass. At all events it was very fortunate that no rain had fallen for the last few days, or we should have experienced considerable difficulty in crossing this swampy ground: even as it was, we had to traverse three sheets of water, the first of which was about three feet deep and of considerable breadth, the second forming the real bed of the river, running with a south-westerly bend towards the *Kwára*, although not so wide as the former, and the third forming a stagnant creek. Having passed some ricefields, we at length, after a march of a little more than three miles, emerged from the swampy bottom of the valley, and ascended rising ground covered with the fine crops belonging to the inhabitants of *Diggi*, and soon after left the town itself on our right, which from our former journey had remained in our remembrance, as we had here been met by the chivalrous sons of the governor of Zogirma. Here *dukhn* and *durra* were grown promiscuously in the same field, affording a proof that this ground is well adapted for both kinds of cultivation.

Having here fallen into our former road, I hastened on in advance along the well-known path towards Birni-n-Kebbi, which however now exhibited a different character, on account of the whole country being covered with tall crops, and turning round the walls of *Kóla*, we reached the gate of Birni-n-Kebbi. The aspect of this town had likewise undergone an entire change, but not to its advantage, the town, which of itself is narrow, being still more hemmed in by the crops. For the

moment, the place had certainly a rather desolate appearance, the greater part of the inhabitants being engaged in an expedition led on by 'Abd el Káderi, or as he is commonly called, 'Abd el Káderi-ay, a younger brother of Khalilu. As I rode up to the house of the *mágaji* or governor, Mohammed Lowel, he was just sitting in his parlour with a few of his people, when he, or rather his attendants, having recognised me as his old acquaintance 'Abd el Kerim, came out to salute me in a very cheerful manner. However, the expedition being expected to return the same evening, there was no room for us inside the town, and we were obliged to seek shelter outside, descending the steep and rugged slope to the border of the *fáddama*, where we obtained, with difficulty, quarters for myself, in an isolated farm. The hut was extremely small, and full of ants; but the door was provided with a peculiar kind of curtain, made of the leaves of the *deleb-palm*, which, while admitting access, entirely excluded the mosquitoes, which infested this place in enormous quantities. We were well treated by the owner, or *maigida*, of the farm, in conformance with the orders which he received from the *mágaji*, to whom I sent a small present, reminding him of the larger gift which I had given him the preceding year. His hospitality was the more acceptable, as the market was very badly supplied, neither millet nor rice being procurable; sour milk also was extremely dear, as on account of the crops, and the quantity of water covering the valley, the cattle had been all sent off to a great distance, into the neighbourhood of Gando.

Late in the evening the expedition returned, bringing about one hundred head of cattle and thirty slaves, whom they had captured from the enemy. But although the commander of the expedition was to return to Gando himself, I did not like to wait for him, and started early the next morning along our old path, which was only distinguished at present by the quantity of water with which it was covered, especially near the village *Háusáwa*, where the whole shallow bed of the valley formed one sheet of water three feet deep. A good deal of cultivation of rice was at present to be seen. Thus we reached *Gúlumbé*, where, this time, in consequence of the quantity of rain that had fallen, inundating the ground outside close up to the wall, I took up my quarters inside the town, and obtained tolerably good lodgings, the courtyard being surrounded by a most exuberant growth of vegetation, and the finest timber, but the mayor did not treat us quite so well as I expected, although I made him a present of a black shawl. The market here also being badly provided, I had great difficulty in obtaining a sufficient supply of corn for my horse.

We had scarcely left the narrow lanes of the town with its extraordinary exuberance of vegetation, when the rain set in, so that we were wet both from above and below, the path either leading through tall crops, or through pools of stagnant water. The path further on, according to the information which we collected from people whom we met on the road, being entirely inundated, when we reached that western branch of the *fáddama* near the village of *Badda-badda*, we followed a more southerly direction to the large open village *Kóchi*, where we

intended passing the night. But it was with the utmost difficulty that we obtained lodgings, nor did we experience the least sign of hospitality, and while an immense quantity of rain fell outside, I was greatly tormented by the number of mosquitoes, which were insufficiently excluded from my hut by a stiff piece of leather hung before the door.

Thursday, Aug. 17.—As soon as the weather allowed us we left this inhospitable village, and soon afterwards entered forest, to which succeeded fine crops of corn. Four miles beyond Kóchi, we had to cross a large faddama full of water, and intersected in the middle by a running stream, bordered by great numbers of water-lilies, and giving us altogether a fair idea of the difficulties attending travelling through this country at the present season of the year. A month later it would be entirely impassable for a European traveller encumbered with any amount of luggage. But the road was tolerably well frequented, and we were met by a long train of broad-shouldered square-built Núpe females, each with a load of from six to eight enormous calabashes on her head, journeying to the Friday market of Jéga.

This is the important place, which, under the command of 'Abd e' Salám, had made a long and successful resistance against the author of the reformatory movement of the Fúlbe, and which, on account of its mercantile importance, had attracted attention in Europe a good many years ago, and although it has declined at present from its former importance, it was still of sufficient consequence to make me desirous of visiting it; but the great quantity of rain which fell at this time by rendering the communication very difficult for loaded camels, prevented me from executing my design. A little further on I met with one of those incidents which, although simple and unimportant in their character, yet often serve to cheer the solitary traveller in foreign countries, more than the most brilliant reception. After having crossed a valley, we were ascending the last rocky passage before coming to Gando, when we met here a troop of men, and as soon as one of them saw me in the distance, he broke out into the cheering exclamation, "Márhaba, márhaba, 'Abd el Kerím." It was highly gratifying to me when returning after a long absence to a place where I had resided for so short a time, to be recognised immediately and saluted in so hearty a manner, although my stay in Gando was connected with many a melancholy reminiscence.

Here, on the top of the rocky eminence, we obtained a view of the valley of Gando, and, descending, soon reached the gate of the town, and straightway rode to the house of the monkish prince, where we were soon surrounded by a number of people, who congratulated me on my fortunate return. After a while, there appeared also my tormentor, El Bakáy, which name now appeared to me as a mere satire, associating as it did this vilest of Arabs with that noble man who had showed me so much disinterested friendship. But when he again commenced his old tactics, I immediately made a serious protest, declaring at once, that the only thing which it was in my power to give him this time, was a black robe and a red cap; and this I assured him he should not get until the very moment when I was about to leave the place.

The dismal clay-house, where I had been lodged during my former stay in the place, had since fallen in, and other quarters were assigned to me, consisting of a courtyard and two huts.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

SECOND STAY IN GANDO, SÓKOTO, AND WURNÓ.

THE quarters which had been allotted to me this time were at least a little more airy than my former ones. My former guide, Dahóme, here paid me a visit. Upon asking him whether he had faithfully delivered to the *mállém* 'Abd el Káder, in Sókoto, the parcel I had given him on his taking leave of me at Dóre, he put on a rather sullen look, took from his cap a small leather case, opened it, and drawing forth a dirty piece of paper, to my utmost surprise and disappointment, exclaimed, "Here is your letter!" I then learned, that in consequence of the violent rains through which he had had to make his way, and the many rivers and swamps which he had to cross, the whole envelope of the letter, containing the lines addressed to my friend in Sókoto, had been destroyed, so that the latter, receiving only the English letter, and not knowing what to do with this hieroglyphic, at length returned it to the bearer, who had since used it as a charm. Besides this mishap, which had delayed this letter so long, instead of its being forwarded directly to Europe in order to inform my friends of my proceedings, there was another disagreeable piece of information for me here; viz, that nearly the half of the huts composing the town had been consumed during my absence by a conflagration, and that all my books which I had left behind had in consequence been destroyed.

I stayed four days in Gando, endeavouring once more, in vain, to obtain an audience from the prince, and to persuade my companions, the *télamíd*, to give up their hopes of a handsome present from this niggardly man, who sent me, if I may attribute the proceedings of his slaves to himself, in return for all the presents I had made him, a common black robe and three thousand shells, although my supplies were totally exhausted, and the two camels which I still possessed were more or less worn out, so that I stood greatly in need of generous aid. But not wanting anything besides from the governor, I was thankful that I had passed unmolested through his extensive dominions, on my outward as well as on my home journey, and even protected, as far as his feeble power was able to grant protection.

The town was no better off now than it had been a year before, the expedition against Argúngo, of which I had heard on the road as being undertaken by 'Alíyu, having turned out a mere sham, and in consequence the pagan rebels being stronger and more daring than ever; and, just as was the case during my former residence, there was an expedition on a small scale every Tuesday and Thursday, made by the

old people and the women, in order to collect wood with some degree of security. On the whole, there was nothing of interest to record, except the remarkable quantity of rain which fell during my stay, and which was said to have fallen before my arrival, confirming the impression already previously received in my mind, that Gando was one of those places most abundantly supplied with the watery element, and it was highly interesting for me to learn from the people on this occasion, that, as a general rule, they reckon upon ninety-two rainy days annually. I am quite sure that the average rainfall in this place is certainly not less than sixty inches; but it is probably more than eighty, and perhaps even one hundred.

Wednesday, Aug. 23—I was heartily glad when I left this town, where I had experienced a great deal of trouble, although I could not but acknowledge, that if I had not succeeded in some degree in securing the friendship of the ruling men in this place, it would not have fallen to my lot to have reached even the banks of the Niger.

It is to be hoped that Khalilu will soon be succeeded by a more energetic prince, who will restore peace and security to the extensive dominions of which Gando is the capital. Under such circumstances, this town, on account of its mercantile connections with the provinces along the Niger, could hardly fail to become a place of the greatest interest.

A great many sweet potatoes, or *dánkahi*, were cultivated in the district through which I passed, although the aspect of the crops was far from being satisfactory. The monkey-bread, or baobab trees, on the other hand, were now in the full exuberance of their foliage. Leaving our former route a little to the north, we took the southerly road to the town of Dógo-n-dáji, which was enlivened by passengers proceeding to visit the market held at that place, which proved to be much more important than that of Gando—cattle, sheep, salt, and beads constituting the chief articles for sale. But, just at the moment we arrived, a thunderstorm broke out, which dispersed all the customers in the market, and left us in a difficult position to supply our wants. The town itself, although the clay wall was in a state of great decay, presented an interesting aspect, being full of gonda, or *Erica Papaya*, and date trees, which were just loaded with fruit, a rather rare sight in Negroland.

Thursday, Aug. 24.—When we left the town of Dógo-n-dáji, we crossed the market-place, which is adorned by five monkey-bread trees, but being empty at the time, it looked somewhat desolate.

At the present day, at the outskirts of almost all the larger towns of Negroland, Fúlbe families are established, who rear cattle for the express purpose of supplying milk for the daily wants of the inhabitants; and these people gladly provide travellers with that most desirable article when they are well paid for it, but having degenerated to mere tradesmen, they, of course, possess little hospitable feeling. Leaving, then, the town of Sála at about two miles' distance to the north, and passing through a populous district, rich in pastures and the cultivation of rice and sorghum, and exhibiting near the town of Kusáda a good

many düm- and deleb-palms, we ascended at length along a difficult passage, rendered almost impassable by the quantity of rain which had fallen, until we reached Shagári, the place where we had slept on our outward journey, and where a market was just being held. We were fortunate enough, this time, to obtain tolerable quarters, and to be well treated.

The whole country which we traversed on our next day's march, was clothed with the richest vegetation, the crops being almost ripe, but cattle and horses being very scanty. Thus, after a good march, we reached the town of Bodinga, having lost another of our camels on the road, which, in crossing one of the swampy valleys in which this part of Negroland abounds, had fallen backwards with his load, and died on the spot. But the quantity of water that we had to sustain from above and below, was not only destructive to animals, but likewise to men, and I myself felt most cheerless, weak, and without appetite, bearing already within me the germs of dysentery, which soon were to develop themselves, and undermine my health in the most serious way. My companions were not much better off, and of the messengers of the Sheikh El Bakáy, none but Sidi Áhmed was able to keep up with us.

A large and well-frequented market was held before the western gate of the town of Bodinga, exhibiting a great number of horned cattle and asses; but the more desolate appeared the extensive and at present useless area of the town itself, which was now covered with rank grass, or laid out in kitchen gardens, while only a few straggling cottages were to be seen. Although I again preferred taking up my quarters outside in my old place, I entered the town expressly in order to pay my compliments to the governor, and was here most hospitably treated by my friend, who manifested the greatest delight at my safe return to his province from my dangerous journey westward. But I had great need of the assistance of a powerful friend, as my camels were not able to carry my little luggage any further; and the good-tempered son of my old friend Múdibo 'Alí, not only assisted me with camels, but also himself mounted the following morning on a stately charger, and escorted me several miles on my road to Sókoto.

I reached the old residence of the Áhel Fódíye in a very exhausted state, having been delayed on the road by falling in, in the midst of a swampy fáddama, with a numerous caravan of asses, which entirely obstructed the winding watery path. But notwithstanding my sickness, I took extreme delight in the varied aspect which the country at present exhibited, in comparison with the almost total nakedness which it had displayed when I set out from Sókoto sixteen months previously; and I felt extremely grateful when I again found myself in this town, having accomplished more than I ever thought I should be able to do.

The whole town, suburbs, wall, cottages, and gardens, were now enveloped in one dense mass of vegetation, through which it was difficult to make one's way, and recognise places well known from former visits. Scarcely had I been quartered in a comfortable hut, when my friend 'Abd el Káder Dan-Taffa, sent his compliments to me, and shortly after made his appearance himself, expressing the liveliest

satisfaction at seeing me again, and sincere compassion for the reduced state of my health. Not less encouraging was the reception I met with from my old friend Mòdibo 'Alì. When I made him a small present, regretting that after the long time I had been without supplies I was not able to make him a better one, he was so kind as to express his astonishment that I had anything left at all. He also begged me not to go on at once to Wurnó, but to stay a day in this place, and to write to 'Alìyù, informing him of my safe return, and how much I stood in need of his aid. I made use of this opportunity of at once requesting the emir El Múmenín to forward me with as little delay as possible on my journey, hinting, at the same time, that I should feel very grateful to him, if he would assist me with horses and camels. I intimated also, that as I myself, on account of the reduced state of my health, was anxious to reach home by the most direct road, I had to beg for permission for a countryman of mine, who had just come to Bórnu, meaning Mr Vogel, to visit the south-eastern provinces of his kingdom. The following evening, a messenger arrived from the vizier 'Abdú, son of Gedado, informing me that we were to start on the succeeding day, and that we should find camels on the other side of the river. The river, as I had already learned, was very much swollen, and extremely difficult to cross.

While my Mohammedan and black friends thus behaved towards me in the kindest and most hospitable manner, the way in which I felt myself treated by my friends in Europe, was not at all encouraging, and little adapted to raise my failing spirits, for it was only by accident, through a liberated female slave from Stambúl, who called upon me soon after my arrival, that I obtained information of the important fact, that five Christians had arrived in Kúkawa, with a train of forty camels. While I endeavoured to identify the individuals of whom this person gave me some account from a very selfish point of view, with the particulars contained in Lord Russell's despatch, which I had received near Timbúktu, about the members of an auxiliary expedition to be sent out to join me, I was greatly astonished that, for myself, there was not a single line from those gentlemen, although I felt still authorised to consider myself the director of the African Expedition, and I could only conclude from all this, that something was wrong. I had not yet any direct intimation of the rumour which was spread abroad with regard to my death: and taking everything into consideration, it was certainly a want of circumspection in Mr. Vogel, notwithstanding the rumours which were current in Bórnu, not to endeavour to place himself in communication with me in the event of my being still alive.

Tuesday, Aug. 29—Having arranged my luggage at an early hour, and waited some time for my people to get ready, I set out. Winding down the slope of the hill on which Sókoto is situated, and which was now covered with crops, we reached the border of the stream, which, from having been an insignificant brook at the time of my first arrival in the place, was now changed into a powerful torrent, about two hundred yards broad, and rushing along with the most impetuous violence, undermining the banks, and leaving in its course small patches

of grassy islands, which made the passage extremely difficult. The view opposite will give an idea of the scenery. Having at length crossed this stream in frail barks, dragging our horses and beasts of burden alongside of them, we had to wait a good while on the opposite shore till the camels sent from Sôkoto came to meet us, when we proceeded about eight miles, and having been caught in a heavy shower, took up our quarters in Achi-da-lafia, a large straggling farming village. Here I felt extremely weak and exhausted, my case assuming more distinctly the character of dysentery.

Wednesday, Aug. 30.—After an agreeable march of about six miles, it being a fine clear day, we reached Wurnô, the residence of 'Aliyu. Here we were lodged in our old quarters, where, however, the frail building of the hut had disappeared, and nothing remained but the clay house. I was received by the court of the emir El Mûmenîn also with great kindness, and, curious as it may appear to Europeans, my hostile relation with the Fûlbe of Hamda-Allâhi seemed only to have increased my esteem in the eyes of these people. 'Aliyu had even heard of the ungenerous conduct of the Sheikh el Bakây's younger brother towards me, and while he greatly praised the straightforward behaviour of the former he did not fail to reproach Sîdi Âlawâte with meanness. He treated me very hospitably, although I was not able to enjoy greatly the more luxurious kind of food which was here offered to me, for luxurious it seemed after my poor diet in the famished and distracted region near the Niger. It was only by the strictest diet, especially by keeping to sour milk, together with repose, that I succeeded, after a great deal of suffering, in keeping under the disease. However, my recovery in the beginning was only temporary, and on the 13th of the following month dysentery broke out with considerable violence, and caused me a total loss of strength; but, after a severe crisis, it was overcome by the use of Dover's powders, although even then a simple diet was the most effectual remedy, my food consisting of nothing but pounded rice, mixed with curdled milk, and the seeds of the *Mimosa Nilotica*. At length, on September 22nd, I was again enabled to move about a little on horseback, and from that day forward, my health continued to improve.

Finding that my segifa excluded every draught of air, I built myself a shed of matting in front of the door of the clay house, where I spent my time pleasantly enough, until the great humidity of the ground, in consequence of the rains that began to fall, drove me back into my hall. The whole breadth of the valley to the very foot of the rocky border was now under water to a considerable depth, and covered with water-lilies. Scarcely a small footpath remained. A great deal of rice was to be seen in the low ground, while the cultivation on the higher ground consisted entirely of sorghum. But the richness of the country around was scarcely of any avail, for greater insecurity prevailed than on my former visit, even at the distance of a few miles from the capital. A small host of the enemy had succeeded in carrying into slavery from a distance of less than ten miles from the capital, a considerable number of people and cattle. Another predatory expedition of the Bûgaje from

Alakkos, a few days later, drove away two herds of cattle from the very village of Gíyáwa, and on October 2nd a small foray of Tagáma plundered the village of Saláma together with a neighbouring hamlet, carrying away a good number of people.

A great dearth of provisions prevailed, not only with regard to meat, but even corn, which was the more surprising to us, as we had been accustomed in Timbúktu to very low prices, although provisions are there brought from so great a distance. We were able in that town to buy a sheep for 500 or 600 kurdi, but we could here find none under 3,000, the best fetching as much as 5,000, and as for corn, the suniye, which we bought in Timbúktu for 3,000 to 4,000, we should have been glad to buy here with 10,000, if such large quantities had been brought into the market at all. It was, besides, extremely difficult for me to find shells. I was thus obliged to sell five dollars for 11,000 shells, while in Timbúktu they would have fetched 15,000. I also sold the corals which I had left at a low price, in order to be enabled to keep up my establishment. Cotton stripes, which are liked better in the country places, were still dearer in proportion than shells.

The horse which I rode myself being incapable of any further exertion, and my camels having either died or become totally exhausted, I was thus thrown, much against my inclination, upon the generosity of the prince, and in order to stimulate his good will, besides the present which I offered to him at my first interview, I gave him in a second audience ten dollars, silver being always an article much esteemed by these people. I had made it a point of reserving the last bernús I possessed for the governor of Kanó, who, in the present state of anarchy into which Bórnu seemed to be plunged, might be a person of great importance to me. But, nevertheless, I could not induce this not very high-spirited and noble-minded prince to make a sacrifice of a handsome horse, and he gave me an animal which, although it did not prove to be a bad travelling horse, was of small size, had a very bad walk, was not able to gallop at all, and altogether, was more like an ass than a horse. Besides a horse, 'Aliyu was kind enough to send me a large loaf of English sugar,—a rather uncommon article in this country. I felt very grateful for this present, as I was entirely destitute of sugar.

I had a good deal of trouble with my companions, who did not like to leave this place so soon as it was my intention to do. This extended not only to the messengers of the Sheikh, all of whom suffered a great deal from illness, but still more to my headman, 'Alí el Ágeren, whom I would have sent away long before if I had been able to pay him off; for this man, who found it very convenient to trade at my expense, while he had nothing to do except to receive a good salary, entered into all sorts of intrigues to keep me in this place, just as he had done in Timbúktu.

Notwithstanding the reiterated delays, I succeeded in fixing my departure for October 7th, and as I afterwards convinced myself from my own experience, the state of the roads which we had to cross would scarcely have allowed us to commence our journey before that time, but the rainy season was now almost over, and while the noxious insect

called *tumún-ragaye*, which towards the end of the rainy season infests the whole ground, increased in numbers, the quantity of rain decreased. Being now rather better and feeling stronger, I began again to move about a little on horseback, although the swampy character of the valley which surrounds *Wurnó* on almost every side, together with the rocky character of the remaining part of the district, prevented me from making long excursions.

During this my second stay in the capital of this extensive empire, I had again full opportunity of observing the extreme weakness and want of energy which prevails in its very centre, although I could not but acknowledge the feeling of justice which animates the ruler himself, notwithstanding his want of spirit. In proof of this I may relate that being informed one day that five young sons of his had committed acts of injustice in the market, he became greatly enraged, and immediately sent his two chief courtiers, 'Abdu and the *ghaladima*, with positive orders to seize and imprison the offenders, and when the young outlaws succeeded in escaping and hiding themselves for a day or two, he had the chief slave, who had been with them, executed. But the cowardice of his people, and their oppression of the weak and unprotected, became fully apparent. A most disgraceful affair happened at this time. A caravan of inoffensive traders who had encamped in *Gáwasú*, were surprised by them, and after considerable havoc had been made among them, were deprived of almost all their property. These people had been reported to be hostile pagans, or *Ázena*, from the district of *Sáje* in *Góber*, and dependent on the protection of the *Kél-gerés* and the *Awelimmiden-wuén-Bodhál*, and were represented as having been trading with the inhabitants of *Tléta*, which was hostile to the *Féllani*, but after this cruel act of injustice had been committed, it was ascertained that they were peaceable traders on their way to *Kanó*, and that among them there were even several inhabitants of *Wurnó*.

But it almost seemed as if the prospects of this part of *Negroland* were to darken more and more, for the rumours which I had heard on the *Niger* of the ancient feud between the *Kél-owí* and *Kél-gerés* having again broken out in a sanguinary struggle, were entirely confined here. The *Kél-owí* had undertaken this year an expedition on a large scale, consisting of 5,000 men mounted on horses and camels, and, according to report, with as many as 1,000 muskets, against the *Kél-gerés* and the *Awelimmiden*, and had penetrated almost as far as *Sáje*, which place they destroyed by fire. The *Kél-gerés* having taken part in the expedition of the *Góberáwa* against the empire of *Sókoto*, the relation of the *Kél-owí* with the latter had assumed a much more friendly character, and our old friend *Annur* had paid a visit to the town of *Kátsena*. My friend 'Abd el *Káder*, the Sultan of *Ágades*, who, as I have mentioned on my outward journey, had been deposed, and had been succeeded by *Hámed e' Rúfáy*, had now turned merchant on a grand scale, endeavouring at the same time to attach the *Fúlbe* to his cause. His usual residence was now in *Kátsena*, but he had paid a visit the previous year, in company with the governor of that place, to the emir *El*

Múmenín, taking him, besides a quantity of bernúses and other valuable articles, a present of thirteen horses of Tuarek breed, and receiving from the latter, besides a number of tobés, 3,000,000 shells, and 260 slaves. Having remained about two months in Wurnó, and having been treated altogether in the most distinguished manner, the ex-king of Agadés had been forwarded with a numerous escort, for, notwithstanding the extreme weakness of this empire, if viewed from a European point of view, it even now is not quite destitute of means. During my stay, the messengers arrived from Záriya, with a bi-monthly tribute of 300,000 shells, 85 slaves and 100 tobés.

Having at length overcome the laziness of my companions, I had the satisfaction of seeing my departure finally arranged for October 5th. The ghaladima, in whose company on my outward journey I had come from Katsena, was again to be my fellow-traveller on my return eastward. I therefore completed my preparations, and, on October 4th, I had my final leave-taking, or, as the Háusa people say, the babank-wána, when I took the opportunity of excusing myself to 'Aliyu for having been this year a little troublesome, after the fashion of those Arab sherifs who used to visit him, stating at the same time, that if my means had not been almost exhausted, I should have preferred buying a horse for myself. Having made this prelude, I endeavoured to impress upon him the dangerous state of the road, when he made use of the expression common in Háusa, "Alla shibúdeta!" ("God may open it!"), but I protested against such an excess of reliance upon the Divine intervention, and exhorted him to employ his own strength and power for such a purpose, for without security of roads, I assured him there could be no intercourse nor traffic. He either was, or seemed to be, very desirous that the English should open trading relations with him, and I even touched on the circumstance, that in order to facilitate such an intercourse, it would be best to blow up certain rocks, which most obstructed the navigation between Yáuri and Búsa, but of such an undertaking I convinced myself that it was better not to say too much at once, as that ought to be an affair of time.

Altogether, 'Aliyu had entered into the most cheerful conversation with me on all occasions, and had questioned me upon every subject without reserve. He also furnished me with four letters of recommendation, one to the governor of Kanó, one to that of Bauchi, one to that of Adamáwa, and one in a more general sense, addressed to all the governors of the different provinces in his empire. Thus I took leave of him and his court, probably never to see that region again, and lamenting that this extensive empire, which is so advantageously situated for a steady intercourse with Europeans, was not in the hands of an energetic chieftain, who would be able to give stability to conquest, and to organise the government of these provinces, so richly endowed by nature, with a strong hand.

Thursday, Oct 5—It was about three o'clock in the afternoon when I took my final leave of Wurnó. I had twice resided in this capital for some length of time, experiencing, on the whole, much kindness. On my outward journey I had been furnished on my dangerous

undertaking with a strong and powerful recommendation, and on my return, although I had come into hostile contact with another section of the same tribe to which the inhabitants of this country belong, I had been again received without the least suspicion, had been treated with great regard, notwithstanding the exhausted state of my finances, and allowed to pursue my home journey as soon as the season re-opened the communication with the neighbouring province.

Following now quite a different and more southerly road from that which we had pursued on our outward journey, we encamped this day in Dan-Sháura, a walled town, strengthened by three moats, tolerably well inhabited, and adorned with fine groups of trees, among which some large gonda trees, or *Erica Papaya*, were distinguished. The town belongs to the district of Rába, which forms the title of its governor, who is called Serki-n-Rába. He was a decent sort of man, and treated us hospitably, a dish of fish proving a great luxury to me in this inland region, and bearing testimony to the considerable size of a large pond which borders the town on the east side, being apparently in connection with the gulbi-n-Rába, or Bugga. The evening was clear, and I enjoyed for a long time the scenery of the place in the fine moonlight, but the governor would not honour me with his company, being greatly afraid of the bad influence of the moon, the effect of which he thought far more injurious than that of the sun.

Friday, Oct 6—After a night greatly disturbed first by mosquitoes, and then by a heavy gale, we pursued our journey, entering a fine open country, which was intersected further on by a broad faddama, and beyond that, presented several ponds half-dried up. But, after a march of about ten miles, we had a large valley full of water on our right; and three miles further on, had to cross it at a spot where the sheet of water was at present narrowed to about one hundred yards in width and three feet in depth, and notwithstanding a considerable current afforded an easier passage than the other part of the rainy season bed, which at present exhibited swampy ground, partly overgrown with rank grass, but was very difficult to cross, and a few days previously had been totally impracticable for horses or camels.

Four miles and a half beyond this river, through a country adorned with fine trees, but without any trace of cultivation, we reached a large river about two hundred and fifty yards broad, and more than five feet deep, running here in a north-easterly direction, and no doubt identical with the river which we had lately crossed. How it is that the river here contains so much more water than it does lower down, I cannot state with certainty; but my opinion is, that a greater portion of it is withdrawn towards the north, where the forest seems gradually to slope down towards the desert region of the centre of Gündumi, where, in a sort of mould, or hollow, a large lake-like pond is formed. It is rather unfortunate that I had not an opportunity of asking information on this subject from one of the followers of the ghaladima, who, instead of crossing the first sheet of water, kept along its northern bank, and thus with a longer circuit, but without the necessity of embarking in a boat, reached the town of Gandi. Having then crossed another small faddama

in a wide open country, where sorghum and cotton were cultivated together in the same fields, we reached the town of Gandi. It is surrounded by a wall (in a state of decay), and by two moats, and is of considerable size, but half-deserted.

We traversed with some difficulty the entrance of the town, which was adorned on the outside with three very tall bombax, or silk-cotton trees, and was almost entirely obstructed by a wooden gate, and then made our way through the desolate area of the town, overgrown with tall herbage, dým-palms, and kórna, until we reached the house of the mágaji, who is one of the five rulers of this vast and desolate place. But we had a great deal of trouble in procuring quarters in an empty courtyard, where we were glad to obtain some rest, as, owing to my long illness, and my entire want of any strengthening food, I felt extremely exhausted by our day's march. I had, moreover, the dissatisfaction to find that one of my people, a liberated slave from Núpe, had remained behind and could not be found. As for myself, I was not able to stir much about to inquire after him, for I wanted rest the more, as we had a long day's march before us, and had to rise at a very early hour.

It was three o'clock the following morning when we all assembled round the courtyard of the ghaladima, but on account of the guide who had promised to conduct us through the wilderness not daring to trust himself with these people without receiving his reward beforehand, we did not get off till half-past five o'clock, after we were quite tired out and ill prepared for a long march. The forest was overgrown with rank grass, and in the beginning exhibited some large ponds. The dorówa formed the principal tree, only now and then a dým-palm giving some variety to the vegetation. Through this dense forest we marched at such a rate, that it rather resembled a flight than anything else, rendering it impossible for me to lay down this road with the same degree of accuracy to which I had adhered with the greatest perseverance throughout the whole extent of my long wanderings. At length, after a march of more than twenty miles, we reached the beginning of the large pond Subúbu, which, however, at present was almost dried up, presenting nothing but small pools of water; but I was sadly disappointed in my hopes of obtaining here some rest, the locality being regarded as too insecure to make a long halt, although on account of this sheet of water we had evidently given to our course a direction greatly diverging from that of our main route, which was to the north-east. I felt so much exhausted, that I was obliged shortly after to remain secretly behind, protected only by my faithful servant El Gatróni, when I lay down flat on the ground for a few moments, and then, refreshed a little, hastily followed the troop. Thus we proceeded onward, and the day passed by without there appearing any vestige of a town. After many disappointments, dragging myself along in the most desperate state of exhaustion, about an hour after midnight we at length reached cultivated fields and encamped at some distance from the town of Danfáwa or Dan-Fáwa, on an open piece of ground. Not being able to wait till the tent was pitched, I fell fast asleep as soon as I dismounted. A very heavy dew fell during the night.

Sunday, Oct. 8—Having obtained some water and a couple of fowls from some farming people in our neighbourhood, we succeeded in finding our camels (which on account of the exhausted condition of my people had wandered away), and set out a little after noon, passing close by the town, where a tolerable market was held, and where I provided myself with corn for the next few days. The town of Dan-Fáwa is tolerably populous, and there are even a good many huts outside the walls; but I was astonished at observing the filthy condition of the pond from which the inhabitants procure their supply of water. It could not fail to confirm my former conjecture, that most of the diseases of the inhabitants, especially the guinea-worm, are due to this dirt and filth, which they swallow at certain seasons of the year in this sort of water.

Having lost some time in the market, I overtook my people as they were winding along the steep bank of a considerable river, which, taking a northerly course, and evidently identical with the watercourse at Katúru, joins the great valley of Góber, a few miles to the north-west of Sansáñne 'Aisa. At the place where we crossed, it was about two hundred yards broad, but very shallow at the time, being only a foot deep and full of sandbanks; but I was not a little astonished to find that it contained a very great quantity of fish, numbers of people being employed in catching them by the beating of drums. Although the bank was so steep, there were evident signs that a short time before, it had been covered by the water, and part of the crops, even beyond its border, had been damaged by the inundation.

The country appeared to be well inhabited. A little further on we passed on our left a populous walled town called Dóle, and an apparently larger place became visible on the other side, the pasture-grounds being covered with extremely fine cattle. After we had crossed the river, I found that the highest stalks of Indian corn, which was fast ripening, measured not less than twenty-eight feet. Besides sorghum, sweet potatoes, or dánkali, were also cultivated here to a great extent. Having then crossed a stony tract, we again reached the town of Moríkí, where the river approaches to within a few hundred yards. On the high ground close to the border of the town, a market-place spreads out. Having observed the narrowness of the lanes, I preferred encamping a considerable distance beyond the town near a hamlet, surrounded by a thick fence, and inhabited by Fúlbe, of the tribes of the Jakabáwa and Kukodáwa. The neighbourhood of Moríkí was said to be infested by the inhabitants of the town of Tléta, who were reported to make nightly forays, carrying away horses and cattle, but notwithstanding this information, we had an undisturbed night's rest, although I thought it prudent to fire several shots.

Monday, Oct. 9.—Having dried our tent a little from the extremely heavy dew which had fallen during the night, we set out to join our companions. Traversing the same rocky district through which we had passed on our outward journey, we reached again the well-known place of Dúchi, and entering with difficulty the obstructed lanes of the village where we lost another of our camels, pitched our tent on a small open square opposite the house where the ghaladíma had taken up his quarters.

Some tamarind-trees on the slope of a rocky eminence, which rose close behind our resting-place, afforded us a tolerable shelter during the hot hours of the day.

Tuesday, Oct. 10—Our day's march carried us as far as Búnka, with the loss of another of our camels, and we encamped this time inside the town in a tolerably spacious courtyard, the surrounding fields being now covered with tall crops, and not affording sufficient ground for encamping. Altogether the country presented a very different aspect from what it had done on our outward journey, and the watercourse near Zýrmi, with its steep banks, offered a difficult passage, although the water was not more than a foot and a half deep. My camels being either knocked up or having entirely succumbed, I endeavoured in vain to procure a good ox of burden, the principal reason of my difficulty being, that I was not provided with shells, and, in consequence, I had some trouble the next day in reaching the town of Kámmané, where the ghaladima took up his quarters. Already on the road, I had observed a good deal of indigo and cotton cultivated between the sorghum. Even here close to the town, we found the grounds divided between the cultivation of rice and indigo, and I soon learnt that the whole industry of the inhabitants consisted in weaving and dyeing. They have very little millet of any kind, so that their food is chiefly limited to ground-nuts or kolche. They have no cattle, but their cotton is celebrated on account of its strength, and the shirts which they dye here, are distinguished for the peculiar lustre which they know how to give to them. Although the inhabitants have only about twenty horses, they are able, according to their own statement, to bring into the field not less than five thousand archers. However exaggerated this statement may be, they had not found it very difficult, the preceding year, to drive back the expedition of the Góberáwa, for they keep their wall in excellent repair, and even at present only one gate was passable at all for laden animals, the others being only accessible by a kadárku or narrow drawbridge. The whole interior of the town presented an interesting aspect, tall dým-palms shooting up between the several granite mounds which rise to a considerable elevation,* while the courtyards exhibited a great deal of industry, the people being busy with their labours till late in the evening. The proprietor of the courtyard where I had taken up my quarters treated me with the favourite drink of furá soon after my arrival, and with túwo in the evening. I was also fortunate enough to obtain some milk from the villagers outside.

Thursday, Oct. 12.—It was rather late when we left this place for another long forced march, a dense fog enveloping the country, but it was still much too early for my noble friend the ghaladima, who was busy installing a new governor, for which he received a present of a horse and large heaps of shells, so that it was almost ten o'clock before we had fairly entered upon our march. This district being very

* Kámmané is one of those places which are distinguished on account of their granite mounds, and which extend from Áyo and Mágaré to Chábané, Ajja, and the fifteen rocky mounds of Kotórkoshé, where the Sultan of Sókoto had the preceding year directed his expedition.

dangerous, we proceeded on with great haste, and I really conjectured that it was in truth the unsafe state of the road which had caused the delay of our departure, the people being anxious to disappoint the enemy, who, if they had heard the news of our arrival in this place, would of course expect that we should set out in the morning. Having made our way for about six hours through a dense forest, we left a granite mound and the ivy-mantled wall of Rúbo on one side, with a fine rim and abundance of fresh grass of tall growth. The forest then became clearer, and we reached a considerable *tebki*, or pond, which being regarded as the end of the dangerous tract, my companions came to congratulate me upon having now at length escaped the dangers of the road. However, our day's march was still tolerably long, extending altogether to twelve hours, and being rather unwell that day, I had considerable difficulty in keeping up with the troop. In consequence of our late departure, we had to traverse the most difficult part of our route, that nearest to Úmmadaw, which is intersected by granite blocks, in the dark, so that our march was frequently obstructed, especially at a spot where two mighty granitic masses left only a narrow passage. A good deal of indigo is here cultivated between the millet; and the town itself is very spacious; but arriving at so late an hour, we had great difficulty in obtaining quarters, all the open grounds being covered with corn, and we were glad to find at length an open square where we might pitch our tent.

Friday, Oct. 13 — Here my route separated from that of the ghaladíma, as I was going to Kanó, while he, again, along this roundabout way (the direct route having been almost entirely broken up by the enemy), directed his steps towards Kátsena. After satisfying our appetites, for which we had not been able to provide the preceding night, I took a small present with me, and went to bid farewell to the ghaladíma and those of his suite who had been particularly kind to me; and I hope that they will long remember me. Having fulfilled this duty, I proceeded with my people, in order to continue my march alone. The country was tolerably open, broken only here and there by granite rocks, while the vegetation was enlivened now and then by *dúm*-palms. Cultivation was limited to certain tracts; but, notwithstanding the unsafe state of the country, the pasture-grounds were not quite destitute of cattle; and being at length able to travel according to my own inclinations, I enjoyed the scenery extremely. It had been my original intention to pursue the road to Korófi; but, by mistake, after leaving Wurmó, I had got into the track leading to Birchi. I reached this latter town after a march of altogether about twelve miles, having crossed my former route from Kúrayé to Kúrrefi. I found that almost all the male inhabitants of the place had joined the expedition against Káura; and I pitched my tent in front of the house of the ghaladíma, but was invited by the people who were left as guardians to pass the hot hours of the day in the cool entrance-hall of his courtyard. Although the place does not exhibit any great signs of wealth or comfort, I was glad to find that the corn here was much cheaper than in Ummadaw. I was also enabled to buy some butter. Moreover, the absence of the

governor exercised no unfavourable influence upon my treatment, which was very kind. an old *mállem* especially evinced a friendly disposition towards me.

Saturday, Oct 14—After a march of about fourteen miles, passing by the town of Raveó, where a small market was held, and traversing the suburb of Sakássar, with its beautiful “*ngáboré*,” or fig-trees, we reached the town of Máje, which had been represented to us as rich in cattle and milk, but which I found half deserted, the town having greatly declined about twelve years previously, when the whole country, including the places Takabáwa, Matázu, Korófi, and Kúrkojángo, revolted, and gave free passage to an army of the Góberáwa. I was glad to buy a good sheep for 1,500 shells. The governor of the place was absent in Kátsena, where he generally resides. We had pitched our tent in the shade of a beautiful fig-tree, and passed the afternoon very pleasantly, but were greatly troubled during the night by the numbers of mosquitoes.

Rising at an early hour, and traversing a fine country, I reached the large town of Kusáda in the afternoon, and encamped here, outside, not far from the market-place, which at the time of my arrival was quite untenanted; but the following night it became well frequented by a number of travellers who sought quarters there. On this march I observed a specimen of industry on a small scale, exercised by the inhabitants of the town of Máje, who buy sour milk in a place called Kánkia, at a considerable distance, and supply the town of Korófi with it. Numerous villages were lying on either side of our path, cultivated and uncultivated ground succeeding alternately; Indian millet being here the chief product besides cotton. The pasture-grounds also were enlivened by a good number of horses.

Pursuing from this point my old road through the fine province of Kanó, rich in all kinds of produce, and well stocked with cattle, and encamping the next night close beyond the town of Bichi, I reached the town of Kanó in the afternoon of the 17th, having sent one of my people in advance.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

SECOND RESIDENCE IN KANÓ, UNDER UNFAVOURABLE CIRCUMSTANCES. —MARCH TO KÚKAWA.

ON my arrival in Kanó, I found everything prepared, and took up my quarters in a house provided for me, but I was greatly disappointed in finding neither letters nor supplies; being entirely destitute of means, and having several debts to pay in this place,—amongst others, the money due to my servants, to whom I had paid nothing during the whole journey from Kúkawa to Timbúktu, and back. I was scarcely able to explain how all this could have happened; having fully relied upon finding here everything I wanted, together with satisfactory information with regard to the proceedings of Mr. Vogel and his

companions, whose arrival in Kúkawa I had as yet only accidentally learned from a liberated slave in Sókoto. But fortunately, without relying much upon Sídí Ráshíd, the man whom I knew to be at the time the agent of Her Majesty's Vice-Consul in Múrzuk, I had given my confidence at once to Sídí 'Alí, the merchant whom I have mentioned already in the account of my former stay in this place, as a tolerably trustworthy person, and whose good-will I endeavoured at once to secure, by sacrificing to him almost everything I had left of value, including a small six-barrelled pistol. In return, he promised to supply my wants till I should be put in possession of the money and merchandise which I had deposited in Zínder.

The first thing, therefore, which I had to do the next morning, after having paid my compliments to the ghaladima and the governor, and made to each of them a handsome present, such as my means would allow, was to send my servant Mohammed el Gatróni, upon whom I could fully rely, to Zínder, giving him full instructions, and promising him a handsome present, if he should succeed in bringing away all my effects, both those which had been deposited on a former occasion, and the merchandise which had been forwarded on my account at a later period, and a smaller one in case he should only find the latter portion; for, after all, I was by no means sure that the box of ironware and the four hundred dollars had remained safe during the severe civil struggles which had agitated Bórnu during my absence. Meanwhile, till the return of this messenger, I endeavoured to pass my time as usefully as possible, by completing a survey of the town which I had begun during my former residence, but was far from having finished. At the same time the state of my health, on account of the close quarters in which I was here lodged, after having roved about in the open air for so long a time, required uninterrupted exercise. Owing to the change in my mode of living, severe fits of fever attacked me repeatedly.

Kanó will always remain one of the most unfavourable localities for Europeans in this region, and it was well that Mr Vogel, for the first year after his arrival in Negroland, purposely avoided this spot. Even my animals did not escape the malignant effect of the climate. Three of my horses were seized, one after the other, with a contagious disease, commencing with a swelling of the thighs, and from thence spreading to the breast and the head, and generally proving fatal in six or eight days. In this way I lost two out of my three horses, including my old companion, who had carried me through so many dangerous campaigns, and who had shared all my fatigues and sufferings for nearly three years; but the small and ugly, but strong horse which the Sultan of Sókoto had made me a present of, escaped with its life. This disease which attacked my horses, of course, interfered greatly with my excursions, and took away almost all the pleasure which they would otherwise have afforded, as I was reduced to the necessity of making use of very indifferent animals. Nevertheless, I enjoyed greatly the open country which extended outside the gates of this picturesque but extremely dirty town, dotted with large villages at no great distance; and I followed up especially, with great interest, the easterly of the

three roads which diverge from the Kófa-n-kúra, and which leads to the small rivulet known as the Kógi-n-Kanó. Occasionally also I went to visit some cattle-pens, in order to get a little fresh milk, which I was unable to procure in the town; for inside the place I succeeded only after great exertion in obtaining a little goat's milk. The pools produced by the rainy season had now dried up almost everywhere, and that peculiar kind of sorghum called "maiwa" had been harvested, and a few days afterwards, while making another excursion, to the south, I met the servants of the governor gathering the corn for their master.

Besides my own private concerns, and the anxiety produced by the urgency of my debts and the uncertainty with regard to the property left by me in Zinder, there were two objects which attracted my whole attention and caused me a good deal of perplexity and hesitation. The first of these was the expedition sent by the English government up the river Bénouwé, of which I had not the slightest idea at the time when it was carried out, for the despatches which I had received in Timbúktu, after so much delay, did not contain a word about such a proceeding, and the letters which were forwarded afterwards to my address, informing me that such an expedition was to be undertaken, remained in Kúkawa, and I did not get them until my arrival in that place at the end of December. Thus it was not until October 29th that, just in the same manner as I had heard accidentally in Sókoto of the arrival of Mr. Vogel in Kúkawa, I was informed here, by the report of the natives, of such an expedition having taken place. I at first thought that it was undertaken by Captain M'Leod, of whose proposal to ascend the Niger I had accidentally gleaned some information through a number of the *Galignani*, and it was not until November 13th that I succeeded in meeting the person who had seen the expedition with his own eyes. This man informed me that the expedition consisted of one large boat, he did not know whether of iron or of wood, and two smaller ones, containing altogether seven gentlemen and seventy slaves, he of course taking the Kroomen for slaves. Moreover, I learned from him that the members of this expedition had not gone as far as Yóla, the capital of Adamáwa, as the governor of Hamárruwa had warned them not to go up to that place with their steamer, on account of the narrow passage between the mountains. He also informed me, that they had commenced their home journey earlier than had been expected, and that he himself, having proceeded to Yákoba in order to procure more ivory for them, had found them gone on his return.

The other circumstance which greatly occupied my mind at this time, was the state of affairs in Kúkawa. For in the beginning, on the first news of the revolution in Bórnu, and of the Sheikh 'Omár being de-throned and his vizier slain, I had given up my project of returning by Bórnu, intending to try again the difficult road by Áfr. At a later season, however, when I heard on the road that 'Omár was again installed, I cherished the hope that it might be possible to take the safer route by the Tebu country, especially as I received the news of a most sanguinary struggle having taken place between the Kél-owí and the Kélgerés. In this struggle a great many of the noblest men

of the former were said to have fallen, together with several hundred of the common people on both sides. I was sorry to hear that in this struggle my best friends had succumbed.

Meanwhile the news from Kúkawa remained very unsatisfactory, and false rumours were continually brought from thence. Thus it was reported on November 1st that the Sugúrti had vanquished 'Omár, who had made his escape accompanied only by a couple of horsemen, and it was not until the 9th that we received trustworthy news that he was holding his position steadily against the intrigues of the party of his brother, whom he kept in prison. It was with great satisfaction, that I saw messengers from 'Omár arrive, in the course of a few days, in order to present his compliments to the governor of this place. I at once had them called to my house, and made them a few presents, in order to express my satisfaction at their master having recovered his kingdom, and still holding his position, for it was a most important point with me to see my road to Bórnu clear, and to meet there with Mr Vogel and his party, in order to give him my advice and assistance with respect to the countries which it was most desirable that he should explore. But in the situation in which I was thus placed, it proved most difficult to obtain the means of reaching Kúkawa, as I had no money at my disposal. For, to my great disappointment, the servant whom I had sent to Zinder on the 18th, in order to bring from thence the property which I had deposited there, as well as the merchandise which had arrived afterwards, returned on November 4th empty-handed, bringing nothing but a few letters. It was now that I heard that the news of my death had been everywhere believed, and that a servant of Mr Vogel's, together with a slave of 'Abd e' Rahmán's, had arrived in Zinder from Kúkawa, and had taken away all the merchandise that had reached that place on my account, the box with the four hundred dollars and the cutlery having been stolen long before, immediately after the assassination of the sherif.

Thus, then, I was left destitute also from this side, and I felt the want of supplies the more, as my headman, 'Alí el Ágeren, supported by the wording of the contract which I had entered into with him, had claimed here peremptorily the payment of the rest of his salary, which amounted to one hundred and eleven dollars, and I had been obliged to request Sidi 'Alí to pay him this sum on my account. This man had cost me very dear, and if I had possessed sufficient means I should have discharged him in Timbúktu, as he there threw off all allegiance and obedience to me as soon as he became aware of the dangers which surrounded me. He was likewise of very little service to me on my return journey; but of course he was now anxious to excuse himself for his conduct on the road, and even laid claim to the present which I had promised him in the event of his conduct proving quite to my satisfaction. This, however, I refused with good reason, and I was glad to find that my other servants, whose salaries amounted altogether to nearly two hundred dollars, were willing to wait for their payment until we reached Kúkawa.

However, the parcel which my servant brought me from Zinder was

not quite devoid of subjects of gratification, as, besides a few letters from Europe, including a map of South Africa by Mr. Cooley, ~~it con-~~ tained two beautifully written Arabic letters, one addressed to 'Aliyu, the emír of Sókoto, and the other, a general letter of recommendation addressed by Her Majesty's consul in Tripoli to the chiefs of the Fúlbe. These letters I had expressly written for, and if I had received them two years earlier, they would have been of great service to me. As it was, I sent the letter destined for 'Aliyu to the governor, who was so pleased with it that he forwarded it by a special messenger, accompanied by a letter from myself, wherein I expressed my regret that I had not been able to present this letter to him on my personal visit, while at the same time I excused myself for not being able at the time to send him a small present, not having found here any supplies, and being entirely destitute of means. Having heard a report, which afterwards proved to be false, that the governor of Hamárruwa had formed the intention of attacking the people in the English steamer with a large force, I took the opportunity of protesting, in this letter, against such proceedings, giving the chief a plain statement of the peaceable intentions of the expedition.

The parcel which my servant had brought me from Zinder seemed also to hold out the prospect of material aid, for the letter from Mr. Dickson, dated the latter part of 1853, wherein he at the same time informed me, to my great disappointment, that he was about to leave his post for the Crimea, contained two letters of recommendation to a couple of Ghadámsí merchants, of the names of Háj Áhmed ben Slimán and Mohammed ben Músa, who, as he informed me, had property of his own in their hands, in order to assist me in case I should be in want of money. But when I sent these letters to their destination they were very coldly received, and it was intimated to me that I could not be accommodated. The disappointment which the awkwardness of my pecuniary circumstances caused me, was soothed in some degree by the offer which the Fezzání merchant Khweldí, whose kindness to me I have mentioned on a previous occasion, made me at the same time, of lending me two hundred dollars in cash. In the afternoon of the 14th, a servant of his arrived with the money, which, however, did not suffice for my actual wants, as I had to return to Sídí 'Alí the hundred and eleven dollars which he had paid to my servant 'Alí el 'Ageren. After having made a suitable present to the messenger, I had therefore only a very small sum remaining, and the disappointment which I had experienced with regard to my luggage, made me reluctant to forego the project which I had formed of taking home with me specimens of the manufactures of this place. I had also to buy two horses and a couple of camels, together with sundry other articles, and I was therefore obliged to procure further means, however difficult it might be. I had even a great deal of trouble with Sídí 'Alí, who put off his promise to accommodate me from day to day.

At length, having, on November 10th, written an energetic letter to this merchant, it was agreed that the affair between myself and the Ghadámsí merchants who refused to lend me money, although they had

English property in their hands, should be referred to the ghaladíma, who granted me a public interview for the purpose. In this audience, in which a great number of other people were present, the merchants founded their refusal to comply with my request on the old date of the letter in which they were ordered to attend to my wishes, and it was not until the ghaladíma had ordered them to bring into his presence all that they possessed of the British agent's property that they agreed the following day to lend me a sum of money, at the usual rate of 100 per cent. Being obliged to agree to this condition, as it had never been my intention to oblige them by force to grant me a loan without allowing them their usual profit, I stipulated to receive from them 500,000 shells, equal in this place to 200 dollars, on the condition that 400 should be repaid in Tripoli, at four months' date. This loan, which would not have been necessary at all if I had found my supplies, enabled me, on the other hand, to send off my despatches with the greatest ease and security, as it was, of course, the interest of these merchants to have these letters forwarded to Tripoli by the safest and shortest route. A courier was therefore despatched immediately, who being an experienced and well-known person, would be able to make his way through the country of Áír, which in its temporarily disturbed state was closed to any one else. The only thing which caused me some displeasure in this transaction, was the circumstance that these merchants from Ghadámes had the insolence, although half of the money with which they trade is Christian money, to call the Christians, in the presence of the ghaladíma, by the offensive name of "Káfaráwa," ("the infidels,") and I made a serious protest against such a term being employed in official transactions.

The difficulty which I had in supplying my wants, and purchasing the articles that in my opinion were necessary for my outfit, was the greater, as everything was very dear at the time, the merchants being of opinion, on account of the turbulent state of the road, that no caravan from the north would arrive that year. Camels especially were exceedingly dear, seven fine animals which Khweldi had sent from Zinder, being sold for 60,000 shells each, a very high price for a camel. I deemed myself therefore very fortunate in being able to purchase a she-camel of inferior quality for 45,000. I also was so lucky as to buy an excellent mare for 70,000 shells, or less than thirty dollars. Having thus at length provided for all my wants, I got everything ready for starting on the 21st; and heartily glad I was when I was fairly embarked on this the last stage of my journeying in Negroland, with the prospect before me, that, in six months or so, I might again breathe the invigorating air of the north.

I therefore cheerfully took leave of my friends from the far west, who were to follow as soon as possible to Kúkawa, for although they were not likely to be of any further assistance to me, they wanted to lay the chief of that country under some contribution for their own benefit and that of their master. I then pursued my journey with great cheerfulness; and although the general character of the country was not new to me, yet the route which I was obliged to take, had not been travelled

by me before. The road, although perhaps less populous, seemed to possess the advantage of richer vegetation, and deléb-palms especially formed the ornament of many a hamlet, or of the open scenery. Fine cattle also were to be seen in considerable numbers, and altogether it was a pleasant ride. Thus, after a march of about eleven miles, we reached the town of Wáse, or Wása, and here took up our quarters. But, as usual, we found the gate so narrow, that we were obliged to take most of the luggage off the camels, and this was the reason that we always preferred encamping outside, although here it was deemed too unsafe. Even inside the place, the people were very much afraid of thieves. The town was tolerably populous, and the courtyards were fenced with hedges of living trees, almost in the same way as Úba, and the one where we lodged was well shaded. Although, in the present disturbed state of the country, and with the prospect of another expedition of Bokhári, the inhabitants did not feel much at their ease, we were nevertheless tolerably well treated.

Friday, Nov 24.—We had the same difficulty in getting out of the town, as we had in entering it, so that I was quite sick of these places, and resolved if possible never to enter one again. The sorghum, or Indian corn, had just been cut, but was lying on the ground unthrashed, or rather unbeaten. The dorówa-tree, or *Bassia Parkii*, which seemed to be the prevailing tree in this district, appeared in great numbers a little further on, and even date-trees were seen, close to a hamlet. Having then passed through a more open country, the scenery became exceedingly fine, and continued so as far as the town of Sabó-n-gari, which we passed at some distance on our left. The market-place, enlivened by two beautiful baúre-trees, remained close at the side of our track. It was here that the governor of Kanó intended to collect his troops in order to oppose Bokhári; but it was not very likely, taking into account his own want of energy, and the cowardly disposition of his host, that he would offer serious resistance to that energetic and enterprising chief, with his warlike bands, elated by victory and pillage.

Twelve miles beyond Sabó-n-gari, through a less favoured district, we reached the town of Yerimari, surrounded with a keffi, while on its outer side a market was just being held. But there being here no food for the camels, we proceeded on, through a district covered with under-wood, until we reached, about two miles beyond, a village called "Gídan-Alla," ("the house of God,") which, besides being surrounded with a keffi, was so completely hidden behind a dense covert of trees, which form a natural defence, that we could scarcely discover it. But inside this covert there was a fine open field, whereon we pitched our tent, and were soon visited by the mayor and the chief inhabitants, who behaved in a very friendly manner towards us, and provided us with everything we wanted, the place being rich in small millet and Indian corn. The village was, however, very badly supplied with water, the well being at a great distance. The camping-ground was extremely pleasant, the open green being varied by dense groups of trees, and the vegetation being moreover enlivened by a good many deléb-palms.

The road which we pursued the following day was more beset by thorny bushes, but here also deléb-palms were numerous, and dorówa and tamarind-trees contributed to enliven more favoured spots. Thus we reached the place where this northern route is joined by a more southerly one which passes by Gezáwa, but not the same track which I had pursued on my former journey. Here we continued on, at an accelerated pace, as all the people whom we met were flying in haste before Bokhári. Thus we passed Dúkawa, a considerable village, fortified with a keffi, and surrounded with numbers of monkey-bread trees, which at present were destitute of foliage, although the fruit was just ripening. As the heat became rather oppressive, especially as we were not provided with water, all the ponds being now dried up, I rode in advance to Hóbiri, fortified, like most of the hamlets hereabouts, with a stockade, and adorned outside by large tamarind and monkey-bread trees, and, while watering the horses, refreshed myself with a little sour-milk. Passing then through a dense forest, I reached the well in front of the town of Gérki. My people had already arrived, but had not yet succeeded in obtaining the smallest quantity of water, the well, although not very deep, being rather poor, considering the number of people which it had to supply. I had, in consequence, to pay 300 shells for supplying the wants of myself and my animals. Not feeling any greater inclination this time to encamp inside Gérki than I had done on my former journey, I chose my own camping-ground on the north side of the town. It was a pleasant spot; but, unfortunately, it was too near a large monkey-bread tree, which in the course of the night afforded to an audacious thief an excellent cover, under which to proceed twice to a very clever performance of his art. I would strongly advise any future traveller in these districts, the inhabitants of which are very expert thieves, to take care not to pitch his tent too near a large tree. As it was, to my great disgust, the fellow succeeded in carrying away, first the robe, and then the trousers, belonging to one of my servants; but I strongly suspected one of the inhabitants of Hóbiri, from whom I had bought, the previous evening, an ox of burden for 9,000 shells, to be the culprit. Gérki is famous on account of the many thefts which are committed in its neighbourhood.

Although I had not paid my respects to the governor of the town, he accompanied me the next morning with ten horsemen, four of whom were his own sons. He himself was quite a stately person and well mounted. Having then taken leave of him at the frontier of the territory of Kanó and Bórnu, I reached the town of Birmenáwa, the small frontier town of Bórnu, which I have mentioned on my former journey, but which, at present, had assumed more remarkable political importance, as it had not made its subjection to Shéri, the present ruler of Gúmmel, but still adhered to his opponent and rival, the governor of Týmbi. On this account, the inhabitants of this town endeavoured to cut off the peaceable intercourse between Gúmmel and Kanó, and I thought it necessary, in order to prevent any unpleasantness, to pay my respects to the petty chief, and to procure his good will by a small present, while my camels pursued the direct track. Thus we reached

Gummel, and encamped outside at some distance from the wall to the north-east.

I had left this town on my former journey in the enjoyment of a considerable degree of wealth and comfort, under the rule of the old Dan Tanóma. But civil war, which cuts short the finest germs of human prosperity, had been raging here, the person appointed by Bórnu as the successor of the former governor having been vanquished by his rival Shéri, who, having taken possession of the town after much serious fighting, had again been driven out by the governor of Zinder sent against him by the Sheikh of Bórnu. Having taken refuge in the territory of Kanó, and collected there fresh strength, the rebellious governor had reconquered his seat, where he was now tacitly acknowledged by his liege lord, in the weak state to which the kingdom of Bórnu had been reduced by the civil war. The town was almost desolate, while the palace had been ransacked, pillaged, and destroyed by fire, and the new governor himself, who, after a long struggle with his rival and near kinsman, had at length succeeded in taking possession of this government, was residing amidst the towering ruins of the royal residence, blackened by fire, and exhibiting altogether the saddest spectacle. It was with a melancholy feeling, that I remembered the beautiful tamarind-tree, which spread its shade over the whole courtyard of the palace, where, on my former visit, I had witnessed the pompous ceremonies of this petty court. All now presented an appearance of poverty and misery. The governor himself, a man of about thirty-five years of age, and with features void of expression, was dressed in a very shabby manner, wearing nothing but a black robe, and having his head uncovered. There was, however, another man sitting by his side, whose exterior was more imposing; but I soon recognised him as my old friend Mohammed e' Sfáksi, who had accompanied us on our outset from Múrzuk, and who, from being an agent of Mr. Gagluffi, had become, through successful trading and speculation, a wealthy merchant himself. He was now speculating upon the successful issue of an expedition of his protector against the town of Birmenáwa, the inhabitants of which braved the authority of the governor. But fortunately the debt which Mr. Richardson had contracted with him had at length been paid, and he expressed nothing but kindly feelings towards me, and congratulated me, as it appeared sincerely, upon my safe return from my dangerous undertaking, praising my courage and perseverance in the highest terms before his friend the governor. Presenting to the latter a small gift, consisting of a red cap and turban, together with a flask of rose-oil, I requested him to furnish me with a guide, in order to accompany me to the governor of Máshena. He consented to do so, although, perhaps, he never intended to perform his promise; and I myself at the time had no idea of the difficulties with which such a proceeding would be accompanied, as the road to Malám, where the governor of Máshena at present resided, led close to the territory of Týmbi, the residence of Shéri's rival.

Having returned to my tent outside the town, I was visited by several of my former acquaintances, and among others by Mohammed Abeakúta,

the remarkable freed slave from Yóruba, whom I have mentioned on a former occasion. But the most interesting visit was that of E' Sfáks in the evening, who brought me a quantity of sweetmeats from his well supplied household, and spent several hours with me, giving me the first authentic account of the state of affairs in Bórnu, as well as of the English expedition which had arrived there. As a reward for his friendly feeling and for his information, I presented him with a young heifer, which the governor of the town had sent me as a present.

My camels having proved insufficient for the journey before them, I was looking out for fresh ones, but in the present reduced state of the place was not able to procure any, a circumstance which caused me afterwards a great deal of delay on my journey.

Monday, Nov. 27.—After losing much time awaiting the coming of the guide who had been promised me, I started after my people whom I had allowed to go on with the camels. The road, in consequence of the civil war which had raged between Shéri and his rival, had become quite desolate. The inhabitants had deserted their native villages, leaving the crops standing ripe in the fields, and forsaking everything which had been dear to them. Not a single human being was to be seen for a stretch of more than twenty-five miles, when at length we fell in with a party of native travellers, or fatáki, who were going to Kanó. We soon after reached the small town of Fányakangwa, surrounded by a wall and stockade, and encamped on the stubble-fields which were covered with small dūm-bush, not far from a deep well, and we were glad to find that we had at length reached a land of tolerable plenty, the corn being just half the price it was in Gúmmel. There were also a great number of cattle, and I had a plentiful supply of milk, but water was at the present season very scanty, and I could scarcely imagine what the people would do in the dry season.

A march of a little more than two miles brought us to Malám, consisting of two villages, the eastern one being encompassed by a clay wall which was being repaired, while the western one, where the present governor resided, was just being surrounded with a stockade. Between the two villages lies the market-place where a market is held every Sunday and Thursday. The present governor of Máshena, whose father I had visited on my former journey, is a young and inexperienced man, who may have some difficulty in protecting his province in the turbulent state into which the empire of Bórnu has been plunged, in consequence of the civil war raging between the Sheikh 'Omár and his brother 'Abd e' Rahmán.

While staying here during the hot hours, I was visited by several Arab traders, one of whom informed me that Mr. Vogel had gone on a journey to Mándará, but without taking with him any of his companions. I left in the afternoon as early as the heat of the midday hours allowed me, in order to continue my journey towards the town of Máshena. We encamped this evening at the well belonging to a village called Allamáibe, a name not unfrequent in this region, and we were most hospitably treated by the inhabitants who, enjoying themselves with

music and dancing, celebrated also my own arrival with a song, they moreover sent me several dishes of native food.

Wednesday, Nov. 29.—The whole tract which we traversed in pursuing our road from hence to the town of Máshena, was chiefly adorned with dùm-palms, which did not cease till just before we reached Demánmária, and the country was tolerably well inhabited and exhibited some signs of industry. Cattle also were not wanting, and I observed that at a village which we passed near the town of Marimája, although it was then nearly half-past nine o'clock in the morning, the cattle had not yet been driven out. Here the water did not seem to be at any great depth below the surface, some of the wells measuring not more than four fathoms. Having then traversed a district where the tamarind-tree was the greatest ornament, we reached the town of Máshena, with its rocky eminences scattered about the landscape, and encamped a few hundred yards to the west of the town. I have made a few observations with regard to this place on my former journey, but neither then nor at this time did I visit the interior. I will only add, that it was in this place that the sherif Mohammed el Fási, the agent of the vizier of Bórnu in Zinder, with whom my supplies had been deposited, was slain in the revolution of the preceding year. Not long after I had pitched my tent, I received a visit from an Arab, of the name of 'Abd Alláhi Shén, who had assisted the usurper 'Abd e' Rahmán as a sort of broker, and who, in consequence, had been exiled by the Sheikh 'Omár as soon as the latter again recovered possession of the supreme power, and it was in order to beg me to solicit his pardon at the hands of the Sheikh, that he addressed himself to me. He also informed me, that the road was at present by no means safe, being greatly infested by the people of Bédde, who were taking advantage of the weak state to which the Bórnu kingdom had been reduced by the civil war. Corn was here exceedingly dear, or rather not to be had at all, and beans was the only thing I could procure.

From hence I followed at first my former track, till I came to the place where on that occasion I had lost my road, and here I took a more southerly direction, and passed the hot hours in Lamíso, a middle-sized town surrounded with a low rampart of earth. Outside the town there was a market-place, where a market was just being held, tolerably well supplied, not only with corn, but also with cotton, besides these, beans, dodówa, the dùm-fruit, dried fish, and indigo, formed the chief articles for sale; and I bought here a pack-ox for 10,000 shells. As soon as the bargain was concluded, I again pursued my journey, and, after some time, fell into my old track. Having thus reached the town of Allamáy, I pitched my tent inside the thick fence of thorny bushes. I had passed this town also on my former journey, and had then been greatly pleased at the sight of a numerous herd of cattle; but in the present ruinous condition of the country, not a single cow was to be seen; the whole place being entirely desolate. Even the water, which it was very difficult to obtain, was of bad quality.

The next morning I reached Búndi, after a short march, proceeding in advance of my camels, in order to pay my compliments to the

governor, and to obtain from him an escort through the unsafe district which intervened between this town and Zurrikulo. After a little tergiversation, my old friend, the ghaladima 'Omár, acceded to my request, giving me a guide who, he assured me, would procure an escort for me in the village of Sheshén, where a squadron of horse was stationed for the greater security of the road. I had experienced the inhospitable disposition of this officer during my former stay here, and felt therefore little inclination to be his guest a second time; but if I had had any foreboding that Mr. Vogel was so near at hand, I would gladly have made some stay.

Having rejoined my camels, I set out, without delay, through the forest, taking the lead with my head servant, but I had scarcely proceeded three miles when I saw advancing towards me a person of strange aspect,—a young man of very fair complexion, dressed in a robe like the one I wore myself, and with a white turban wound thickly round his head. He was accompanied by two or three blacks, likewise on horseback. One of them I recognised as my servant Mádi, whom, on setting out from Kúkawa, I had left in the house as a guardian. As soon as he saw me, he told the young man that I was 'Abd el Kerím, in consequence of which, Mr Vogel (for he it was) rushed forward, and, taken by surprise as both of us were, we gave each other a hearty reception from horseback. As for myself, I had not the remotest idea of meeting him, and he, on his part, had only a short time before received the intelligence of my safe return from the west. Not having the slightest notion that I was alive, and judging from its Arab address that the letter which I forwarded to him from Kanó was a letter from some Arab, he had put it by without opening it, waiting till he might meet with a person who should be able to read it.

In the midst of this inhospitable forest, we dismounted and sat down together on the ground; and my camels having arrived, I took out my small bag of provisions, and had some coffee boiled, so that we were quite at home. It was with great amazement that I heard from my young friend that there were no supplies in Kúkawa; that what he had brought with him had been spent; and that the usurper 'Abd e' Rahmán had treated him very badly, having even taken possession of the property which I had left in Zinder. He moreover informed me that he himself was on his way to that place, in order to see whether fresh supplies had not arrived, being also anxious to determine the position of that important town by an astronomical observation, and thus to give a firmer basis to my own labours. But the news of the want of pecuniary supplies did not cause me so much surprise as the report which I received from him, that he did not possess a single bottle of wine. For having now been for more than three years without a drop of any stimulant except coffee, and having suffered severely from frequent attacks of fever and dysentery, I had an insuperable longing for the juice of the grape, of which former experience had taught me the benefit. On my former journey through Asia Minor, I had contracted a serious fever in the swamps of Lycia, and quickly regained my strength by the use of good French wine. I could not help reproaching my friend for having too hastily

believed the news of my death before he had made all possible inquiries; but as he was a new comer into this country, and did not possess a knowledge of the language, I could easily perceive that he had no means of ascertaining the truth or falsehood of those reports.

I also learned from him, that there were despatches for me in Kúkawa, informing me of the expedition sent up the river Tsadda, or Bénéuwé. With regard to his own proceedings, he informed me that his sole object in going to Mándára had been to join that expedition, having been misled by the opinion of my friends in Europe, who thought that I had gone to Adamáwa by way of Mándará, and that when once in Morá he had become aware of the mistake he had committed when too late, and had endeavoured in vain to retrieve his error by going from that place to Ujé, from whence the overthrow of the usurper 'Abd e' Rahmán, and the return of his brother 'Omar to power, had obliged him to return to Kúkawa.

While we were thus conversing together, the other members of the caravan in whose company Mr Vogel was travelling arrived, and expressed their astonishment and surprise at my sitting quietly here in the midst of the forest, talking with my friend, while the whole district was infested by hostile men. But these Arab traders are great cowards; and I learned from my countryman that he had found a great number of these merchants assembled in Borzári, and afraid of a few robbers who infested the road beyond that place, and it was only after he had joined them with his companions that they had decided upon advancing.

After about two hours' conversation, we had to separate, and while Mr. Vogel pursued his journey to Zínder (whence he promised to join me before the end of the month), I hastened to overtake my people, whom I had ordered to wait for me in Kálemrí. I have described this place on my outward journey as a cheerful and industrious village, consisting of two straggling groups, full of cattle and animation, but here also desolation had supplanted human happiness, and a few scattered huts were all that was at present to be seen. Having rested here for about an hour with my people, who had unloaded the animals at a short distance from the well, I started again at three o'clock in the afternoon, and reached Shechéri, where I was to receive my escort, thus being the reason why I had been obliged to deviate from the main direction of my route. This time we encamped on the open square inside the village, where we were exposed to the dust and dirt raised by a numerous herd of cattle on their return from their pasture-grounds. This was a sign of some sort of comfort remaining, but we were disturbed in the night by a shrill cry raised, on account of a report having been just received that a party of native traders, or "fatáki," had been attacked by the Tuarek. In the morning, I had great difficulty in obtaining two horsemen for an escort; but I at last set out, taking a southerly détour instead of the direct road to Zurrikulo, and thus reached the town of Keri-zemán, situated two miles and a half south-west from the former, along a track ornamented by a dense grove of dúm-palms.

Thus I reached Zurrikulo for the third time during my travels in Negroland; but found it in a much worse condition than when I had

I first visited it in 1851, and the wall, although it had been considerably contracted, was still much too large for the small number of inhabitants. The governor, Kashélla Sâid, who paid me a visit in the evening, when I had pitched my tent at a short distance from his residence, requested urgently that, on my arrival in the capital, I would employ my influence with the Sheikh in order to induce him either to send him sufficient succours, or to recall him from this dangerous post, otherwise he should take to flight with the rest of the inhabitants. There were here some Arabs who were scarcely able to conceive how I could pursue these difficult roads quite by myself, without a caravan.

In order to lessen the danger, I decided upon travelling at night, and set out about two o'clock in the morning, entering now a region consisting of high sandy downs and irregular hollows, full of dùm-palms, and occasionally forming the receptacle for a swampy sheet of water, where the wild hog appears to find a pleasant home. After a march of nearly ten hours, which greatly fatigued my camels, on account of the numerous sandy slopes which we had to go up and down, we reached the little hamlet of Gabóre, situated in a rather commanding position, bordered towards the north by a hollow dell. Here I encamped on the eastern side of the village, and was glad to treat my people with a sheep and a few fowls. From the presence of these articles of luxury I was led to conclude that the inhabitants were tolerably well off, but I was not a little astonished to learn that they pay a certain tribute to the Tuarek, in order not to be exposed to their predatory incursions.

Monday, Dec 4.—It was not yet four o'clock when I was again *en route*. I thought it remarkable that all this time, although not the slightest quantity of rain or moisture was perceptible, the sky was always overcast before sunrise. I was greatly pleased when I crossed my former path at the neat little village Káluwa, the aspect of which had made so deep an impression upon me at that time. Further on I kept to the south of my former track, through a well cultivated district, where all the fields were provided with those raised platforms intended as stations for the guardians, of which I have spoken on a former occasion. Thus passing a good many villages, we made halt during the hot hours at the village Dimísugá, under a group of fine hájlíj, the inhabitants treating us hospitably. Having then continued our journey at an early hour in the afternoon, we soon passed a village which in other respects presents nothing interesting, but the name of which is remarkable as showing the facetious turn of the natives. It is called "Búne kayérde Sâid," meaning, "Sleep, and rely upon Sâid," the hamlet having evidently received this name from the native traders proceeding from the side of Bórnu, who thus evinced the confidence they felt in entering the province of the energetic Kashélla Sâid, who they knew kept it in such a state of security that there was no danger from robbers.

While we were proceeding through an uninhabited hilly tract, my guide suddenly left me, so that being misled by the greater width of the path, and passing the village of Jíngerí, animated at the time by a

group of lively females in their best attire, and just performing a marriage ceremony, I reached the town of Wádi, which I had touched at on my outward journey, and at length by a roundabout way arrived at Borzári, where I expected my people to join me. But I looked for them in vain the whole night. They had taken the road to Grémari. The governor treated me hospitably; but his object was to induce me to speak a word in favour of him to his liege lord.

In consequence of my people having taken another road, I lost the whole forenoon of the following day, and encamped about seven miles beyond Grémari, near the village called Mariámari. During this encampment I again heard the unusual sound of a lion during the night. But it must be taken into consideration that a branch of the komádugu passes at a short distance to the south of this place, and I therefore think myself right in supposing that, in Bórnu at least, lions are scarcely ever met with, except in this entangled net of water-courses which I had here reached. The next day I marched for a considerable time along the northern border of this channel, girt by fine tamarind and fig-trees, and occasionally by a group of dúm-palms, till having passed the village of Dámen, and traversed a wide swampy tract, we crossed the first branch, which formed a fine sheet of water about a hundred yards broad, but only three feet deep, the only difficulty being in the steepness of the opposite shore.

Having passed the heat of the day under a neighbouring tamarind-tree, we continued our march in a south-easterly direction to the village Dáway. Here we pitched our tent in the neat little square near the "msíð," all the matting fences surrounding the cottages being new and having a very clean appearance. My object in staying here was to confer with the "billama" as to the best means of crossing the larger branch of the komádugu, which runs at a short distance beyond this village, and the passage of which was said to be very difficult at the time, encumbered as we were with animals and luggage. But it was very extraordinary that the people here contended that the river then was higher than it had been ten days previously, although I did not find this statement confirmed on our actually crossing it the following morning, the water exhibiting evident signs of having decreased, an observation which exactly corresponds with what I have remarked on a former occasion with regard to the nature of this komádugu. The river here spread out to a considerable extent, and we had some difficulty in crossing it. The greatest depth was more than four feet, but the spreading out of the water was the reason that it was here passable at all, although it had become too shallow to employ the native craft, while lower down, between this place and Zéngiri, it could not be forded. Having then crossed three smaller channels and passed the village Kinjéberí, once a large town and encompassed by a wide clay wall, we took up our quarters in a poor hamlet called Margwa Sheriferi, from a sheriff who had settled here many years ago, for, in order to procure myself a good reception from the ruler of Bórnu, after the great political disturbances which had taken place, I thought it prudent to send a messenger to him to announce my arrival. I only

needed to give full expression to my real feelings in order to render my letter acceptable to my former protector, for my delight had been extreme, after the news which I had received of 'Abd e' Rahmán having usurped the supreme power, on hearing that the just and lawful Sheikh 'Omár had once more regained possession of the royal authority. The consequence was, that when, after having traversed the district of Koyám, with its straggling villages, its fine herds of camels, and its deep wells, some of them more than forty fathoms in depth, I approached the town on December 11th, I found 'Abd e' Nebí, the chief eunuch of the Sheikh, with thirty horsemen posted at the village of Kaliluwá, where a market was just held, in order to give me an honourable reception. Thus I re-entered the town of Kúkawa, whence I had set out on my dangerous journey to the west, in stately procession. On entering my quarters I was agreeably surprised at finding the two sappers, Corporal Church and Private Macguire, who had been sent out from England to accompany Mr. Vogel, and to join me, if possible, in my proceedings.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

LAST RESIDENCE IN KÚKAWA.—BENEFIT OF EUROPEAN SOCIETY.

ON reaching safely the town of Kúkawa, which had been my headquarters for so long a period, and from whence I had first commenced my journeys of exploration in Negroland, it might seem that I had overcome all the difficulties in the way of complete success, and that I could now enjoy a short stay in the same place before traversing the last stage of my homeward journey. Such however was not the case, and it was my lot to pass four months in this town under rather unpleasant circumstances. I had expected to find sufficient means here, and had in consequence agreed to repay the sum of two hundred dollars lent me by the Fezzám merchant Khweldi, in Kanó; but there were only a few dollars in cash left of the supplies taken out by Mr. Vogel, those deposited by myself in Zínder in the hands of the Sheríf el Fási, viz, four hundred dollars in cash and a box containing a considerable amount of ironware, having been plundered during the turbulent state of the country produced by the revolution. Even of the merchandise which had been lately despatched to Zínder, and from thence, in consequence of Mr. Vogel's arrangements, transported to Kúkawa, a very considerable proportion was found, on a close examination, to have been abstracted. Being therefore in want of money, and convinced that if such an outrage were allowed to pass by unnoticed no peaceable intercourse could ever be carried on between this country and Europeans, I explained these circumstances in the first audience which I had of the Sheikh, to whom I made a present worth about eight pounds sterling.

While therefore once more assuring him of my unbounded satisfaction at finding him reinstated in his former power, I requested him not to suffer me to be treated in this manner by thieves and robbers, and to exert his influence for the restoration of my property. This proceeding of mine, as responsible to the government under whose auspices I was travelling, involved me in a series of difficulties, and excited against me Diggama, one of the most influential courtiers at the time, and a man of mean character, as it was his servant, or more probably himself, who had obtained possession of the greater part of the plunder. In order to counteract the intrigues of this man I endeavoured to secure the friendship of Yusuf, the Sheikh's next eldest brother, an intelligent and straightforward man, by making him a handsome present and explaining to him, in unequivocal terms, how a friendly intercourse between themselves and the English could only exist if they acted in a conscientious manner. Another circumstance which contributed to render my situation in this place still more uncomfortable, was the relation which existed between Mr. Vogel and Corporal Church, one of the sappers who had come with him from England; and I was sorry that the praiseworthy and generous intention of the Government in sending out these two useful persons, should not be carried out to the fullest extent, but, on the contrary, should be baffled by private animosity. In this respect I had already been greatly disappointed and grieved, on hearing from Mr. Vogel, when I met him on the road, that he had gone alone to Mándará, without making any use of the services of his companions. I did all in my power to convince the two sappers that under the circumstances in which they were placed, they ought to forget petty jealousies, as it was only by a mutual good understanding that complete success in such undertakings could be secured. I succeeded in convincing Maguire, although I was less successful with Corporal Church.

Meanwhile I spent my time in a tolerably useful manner, looking over some of the books which Mr. Vogel had brought with him, especially M. Jomard's introduction to the translation of the "*Voyage au Waday*," by M. Perron, and the "*Flora Nigritia*" of Sir William Hooker. I was also considerably interested by the perusal of a packet of letters which had been conveyed in the very box that had been plundered, and which, although dating back as late as December 1851, afforded me a great deal of pleasure. Partly in order to fulfil a vow which I had made, and partly to obtain a more secure hold upon the friendly dispositions of the natives, I made a present to the inhabitants of the capital, on Christmas Day, of fourteen oxen, not forgetting either rich or poor, blind or fókara, nor even the Arab strangers.

My residence in the town became infinitely more cheerful, in consequence of the arrival of Mr. Vogel, on December 29th, when I spent a period of twenty days most pleasantly in the company of this enterprising and courageous young traveller, who, with surprising facility, accustomed himself to all the relations of this strange life. But while borne away by the impulse of his own enthusiasm, and giving up all pretensions to the comforts of life, he unfortunately committed the mistake of expecting that his companions, recently arrived from Europe,

and whose ideas were less elevated, should do the same, and this had given rise to a lamentable quarrel, which frustrated in a great measure the intentions of the Government who had sent out the party. Exchanging opinions with regard to countries which we had both of us traversed, and planning schemes as to the future course which Mr. Vogel was to pursue, and especially as to the next journey which he was to undertake towards Yákoba and Adamáwa, we passed our time very agreeably. I communicated to him, as far as it was possible in so short a space of time, all the information which I had collected during my extensive wanderings, and called his attention to various points which I begged him to clear up, especially with regard to some remarkable specimens of the vegetable kingdom, and the famous mermaid of the Bénywé, the "ayú." It was rather unfortunate that no copy of the map which had been constructed from the materials which I had sent home had reached him, so that he remained in the dark with regard to many points which I had already cleared up. I also delivered to Mr. Vogel those letters of introduction which I had received from the ruler of Sókoto, addressed to the various governors of the provinces in this part of his empire, so that he had a fair prospect before him of being well received. We, moreover, lost no time in obtaining the Sheikh's consent to his journey, and at the same time caused to be imprisoned Mesaúf, that servant of the mission who, by his connivance, had facilitated the theft committed upon my effects. In consequence of this energetic proceeding, several of the stolen articles came to light, even of those which had formed the contents of the box sent from England.

Thus we began cheerfully the year 1855, in which I was to return to Europe, from my long career of hardships and privations, and in which my young friend was to endeavour to complete my discoveries and researches, first in a south-westerly direction, towards the Bénywé, and then eastwards, in the direction of the Nile. We likewise indulged in the hope that he might succeed, after having explored the provinces of Baúchi and Adamáwa, in penetrating eastward along that highly interesting route which leads from Saráwu to Lógoné, round the southern border of the mountainous country of Mándará.

Meanwhile some interesting excursions to the shore of the Tsád, formed a pleasant interruption in our course of studies and scientific communications, and these little trips were especially interesting, on account of the extraordinary manner in which the shores of the lake had been changed since I last saw them, on my return from Bagírmi, the water having destroyed almost the whole of the town of Ngórnu, and extending as far as the village of Kúkía, where we had encamped the first night on our expedition to Músgu. There were two subjects which caused me some degree of anxiety with regard to the prospects of this enterprising young traveller,—the first being his want of experience, which could not be otherwise expected in a young man fresh from Europe; and the other, the weakness of his stomach, which made it impossible for him to eat any meat at all. The very sight of a dish of meat made him sick. I observed that Macguire was affected in the same manner.

Having obtained, with some difficulty, the letter of recommendation from the Sheikh, and prepared everything that Mr Vogel wanted to take with him, forming a sufficient supply to maintain him for a whole year, I accompanied my young friend out of the town, in the afternoon of January 20th. But our start was rather unlucky, several things having been left behind, and it was after some delay and uncertainty that we joined the people who had gone on in advance with the camels, at a late hour, at the village of Diggigi. Here we passed a cheerful evening, and drank with spirit to the success of the enterprise upon which my companion was then about to engage. Mr Vogel had also taken with him all his meteorological instruments, and his luggage being of a manifold description and rather heavy, I foresaw that he would have great trouble in transporting it through the difficult country beyond Yákoba, especially during the rainy season, and indeed it is evident, from the knowledge which we possess of his further proceedings, that he either left his instruments behind in the capital of Baúchi, or that he lost them in crossing a river between that place and Zárya. As for his barometer, which he had transported with great care to Kúkawa, it went out of order the moment it was taken from the wall.

Having borne him company during the following day's march, I left him with the best wishes for his success. I had taken considerable pains in instructing his companion, Corporal Macguire, in the use of the compass, as the accurate laying down of the configuration of the ground seemed to me of the highest importance in a mountainous country like Baúchi and Adamáwa. For Mr Vogel himself could not be induced to undertake such a task, as it would have interfered greatly with the collecting of plants, which, besides making astronomical observations, was his chief object, and besides being an extremely tedious business, it required a degree of patience which my young friend did not possess. However, I am afraid that even Macguire did not follow up my instructions for any length of time. At all events, as he did not accompany Mr. Vogel beyond Yákoba, it seems evident that even if his journal should be saved, we should probably not find all the information with regard to the particulars of his route which we might desire in such a country; for during all the journeys which he has pursued, as far as we have any knowledge of them, he relied entirely upon his astronomical observations. I will say nothing here with regard to the results of this journey, as we may entertain the hope that his journals may still be saved, and that we may thus learn something more of him than the little which has as yet come to our knowledge.

- It may be easily imagined, that on returning to Kúkawa I felt rather desolate and lonely, but I had other reasons for feeling uncomfortable, for having exposed myself to the cold the preceding night, I was seized with a violent attack of rheumatism, which laid me up for a long time, and which, causing me many sleepless nights, reduced me to an extraordinary degree of weakness, from which I did not recover for the greater part of the month. Nevertheless, I did not desist from requesting the Sheikh, in the most urgent terms, to send me on my way, and to supply me at least with camels, in compensation for the loss which

I had sustained through the insurrection I had hopes that he would allow me to set out at the beginning of the next Mohammedan month, and I was therefore extremely delighted when two respectable Arabs came forward and offered to accompany me on my journey to Fezzán, although I did not much rely on the expectations which they raised. Meanwhile, on February 3rd, the pupils of the Sheikh el Bakáy, who had stayed so long behind in Kanó, reached Kúkawa, and their arrival was not at all disagreeable to me, although they put me to fresh expense, for, by their authority, as being the followers of a highly venerated Mohammedan chief, they increased the probability of my safely entering upon my home journey. I therefore went with my friends to pay a visit to Zén el Ábidín, the son-in-law of the Sheikh el Bakáy, who, having been formerly employed by the Sheikh 'Omár as a messenger to the emír of Sókoto, was now again to return eastward; for having in the beginning been treated rather unkindly by his wife Zéna, "The Ornament," El Bakáy's daughter, he had thought it better to console himself with a pilgrimage to Mekka, and did not now appear willing to listen to the solicitations of his repentant wife, who sincerely wished him to return to bear her company. I found him a simple and decent-looking man, whose manners pleased me the more as he abstained entirely from begging, and I testified the obligation which I bore to his family by sending him an ox for slaughtering, a sheep, and some smaller articles. I had also the pleasure of meeting here the sherif 'Abd e' Rahmán, the same man whom we had met four years previously in the country of Áír, and who had lately returned from Adamáwa. He brought me the latest information of the state of that country, and as he was to return again in that direction, at a later period when I had received fresh supplies, I thought it prudent to give him a small parcel to deliver to Mr. Vogel wherever he should fall in with him, especially a few türkedis and some sugar, of which he had taken with him only a small supply.

Having hired a guide and protested repeatedly to the Sheikh that I could not wait any longer, my health having suffered considerably from my five years' stay in these countries, I left the town on February 20th, and pitched my tent on the high ground at Dárwerghú, just above the pool or swamp, round the southern border of which sorghum is cultivated to a considerable extent, and which in the daytime formed the watering-place for numerous herds of cattle. During the night it was visited by a great number of water-fowl. On the whole, I felt extremely happy in having at length left behind me a town of which I had become excessively tired.

But it was not my destiny to get off so easily, and leave this country so soon, for I had had repeated and very serious consultations, not only with the Sheikh, but especially with his brother, Abba Yusuf, who was distinguished by his learning and his love of justice, about the parcel sent by Her Majesty's Government, together with the four hundred dollars which I had left behind in Zinder, and which had been stolen in consequence of the revolutionary outbreak. After a great deal of discussion, the Sheikh promised me that he would restore what I had lost. But, know-

ing from experience that with these people time is of no value, and finding my health rapidly declining, I had come to the resolution of not waiting any longer, and the Sheikh, seeing that I was determined, according to all appearance gave his full approval to my departure by sending me, on the morning of the 21st, five camels, which, although of very inferior quality, yet held out to me a slight hope of proceeding on my journey. But in the afternoon of the 22nd he sent to me to my old friend Háj Edris, in order to induce me to return into the town, and the latter made me all sorts of promises as to the manner in which the Sheikh wanted to grant me redress for all the claims which I had upon him. In order to show the ruler of the country that I had no fault to find with his own conduct, and to entreat him once more to send me off without further delay, I went into the town in the course of the afternoon and paid my respects to him. He desired me to return with all my effects to my old quarters, but I told him that was impossible, as my state of health rendered it essential for me to return home without further delay, whereas by taking up my quarters once more inside the town, according to their own slow mode of proceeding, I was sure not to get away before a couple of months had elapsed; but I said that I would gladly wait outside some days longer, and that if he wished I would come into the town every day in order to ascertain if there was anything he wished to say to me. To this the Sheikh seemed to agree at the time, and thus I took leave of him in the most quiet and satisfactory manner, and it appeared as if everything was arranged and that he would in no way interfere with my departure. I therefore bought two more camels the following day, out of a large number which had been brought into the town by the Tebu, nom the Dahhr el Ghazál, and on the 25th, through the mediation of a respectable Tebu merchant, of the name of Háj el Biggela, made an agreement with a guide, paying him half of his salary in advance. The same evening the Sheikh sent me some more provisions.

Thus, all seemed ready for my departure, although I had not many people at my disposal; but when it had only been delayed one day by accident, there appeared suddenly, in the afternoon of the 28th, 'Alí Zintelma, that same servant of Diggelma who had stolen part of the merchandise which he was bringing from Zinder to Kúkawa, at the head of four horsemen armed with muskets, bringing me an order from the Sheikh to return to the town. Feeling convinced, from the character of the messenger, that if I did not obey the order I should expose myself to all sorts of insults from this contemptible villain, if I did not rid myself of him in a violent and unlawful manner, I thought it prudent, heartrending though it was, to resign myself in obedience to the tyrannical will of these people. It happened rather fortunately for me that Sidi Ahmed, the chief of Sidi el Bakáy's messengers, was staying with me at the time in my encampment. Having therefore sent my people in advance to my old quarters, I went to see the Sheikh. I then protested against such a proceeding, but he himself did not speak, a younger brother of his, of the name of Abba 'Othmán, taking the lead in the conversation, and stating that the Sheikh could not allow me to

depart in this manner, and from all that I could learn, I concluded that it was especially this man who had persuaded his elder brother that it was not prudent to allow me to go unsatisfied as I was, and without having settled my claims, the dangers of the road also being very great. But the principal reason was, that a Tebu messenger had arrived with letters from the north, although I did not hear what the letters addressed to the Sheikh himself contained, but I afterwards learned that this man had brought the news of the approach of a caravan, and it was but natural that the Sheikh should wish to await its arrival. This messenger brought nothing for me except a copy of a despatch of Lord Clarendon's, dated June 10th, 1853, and consequently more than twenty months old. The news of my death seemed to be fully accredited in Tripoli and Fezzán, my letter, forwarded from Kanó, of course not having arrived in the latter place when this parcel left, and the only thing which afforded me satisfaction in my unpleasant situation were a few Maltese portfolios, which gave me some information of what had been going on in Europe four months previously.

All that now remained for me under the present circumstances was, to resign myself in patience, although the delay pressed upon me with indescribable heaviness, and I had scarcely energy enough to endeavour to employ my time usefully. However, a rather pleasant intermezzo occurred, whereby at the same time one of the conditions was fulfilled upon which my own departure was dependent, by the arrival of the Arab caravan from the north, and on March 23rd, I went to see them encamped in Dáwerghú, the path being enlivened by all sorts of people going out to meet their friends, and to hear what news had been brought by the new comers. The caravan consisted of rather more than a hundred Arabs, but not more than sixty camels, the chief of the caravan being Háj Jáber, an old experienced Fezzáni merchant. There was, besides, an important personage of considerable intelligence, notwithstanding his youth, viz Abba Ahmed ben Hamma el Kanemi. These people had left Fezzán, under the impression that I was dead, and were therefore not a little surprised at finding me alive, especially that same Mohammed el 'Akerout, from whom I had received the 1,000 dollars in Zinder, and who was again come to Negroland on a little mercantile speculation. This caravan also carried 1,000 dollars for the mission, but it was not addressed to me, as I had long been consigned to the grave, but to Mr Vogel, although the chief of the caravan offered to deliver it to me. All this mismanagement, in consequence of the false news of my death, greatly enhanced the unpleasant nature of my situation, for, instead of leaving this country under honourable circumstances, I was considered as almost disgraced by those who had sent me out, the command having been taken from me and given to another. There is no doubt that such an opinion delayed my departure considerably; for, otherwise, the Sheikh would have exerted himself in quite a different manner to see me off, and would have agreed to any sacrifice in order to satisfy my claims. However, in consequence of the representations of Abba Ahmed, he sent me on the 28th through that same Diggelma, to whom I was indebted for the greater part of my

unpleasant situation, the four hundred dollars which had come along with the box of English ironware, and he offered even to indemnify me for the loss of the articles contained in the box. This however I did not feel justified in accepting, as the value of those contents had been greatly exaggerated by the agent in Mürzuk, and claims raised in consequence. Nevertheless, the amount received was a great relief to me, as without touching the sum brought by the caravan, I was thus enabled to pay back the two hundred dollars lent me by the Fezzani merchant Kweldi, and to pay my servant Mohammed el Gatroni, the only one of my free servants who was still staying with me, the greater proportion of the salary due to him, for I had succeeded in paying off my other servants from the money realized by my merchandise.

Meanwhile I endeavoured to pass my time as well as I could, studying the history of the empire of Dórnu, and entering occasionally into a longer conversation with some of the better instructed of my acquaintances, or making a short excursion, but altogether my usual energy was gone, and my health totally undermined, and the sole object which occupied my thoughts was, to convey my feeble body in safety home. My reduced state of body and mind was aggravated by the weather, as it was extremely hot during this period, the thermometer in the latter part of the month of April, at half-past two o'clock in the afternoon, rising as high as 113°.* My exhausted condition had at least this effect upon the people, that it served to hasten my departure, by convincing them that I should not be able to stand this climate any longer. From April 20th therefore onward I was made to hope that I should be allowed to proceed on my journey, in the company of a Tebu merchant of the name of Kólo. A small caravan of Tebu, proceeding to Bilma to fetch salt, having gone in advance on the 25th, I went in the afternoon of the 28th to the Sheikh, in company with Abba Áhmed who, on the whole, was extremely useful to me in my endeavours to get off, in order to make my final arrangement with Kólo. This day was certainly the happiest day or the only happy one which I passed in this place after the departure of Mr Vogel, for, in the morning, on returning from an excursion to Dáwerghú, I found a messenger with letters from my companion, one dated from Gújeba, the other from Yákoba, wherein he informed me of the progress of his journey, and how he had safely reached the latter place, which had never before been visited by a European. He had also informed me that he was just about to start for the camp, or sansánne, of the governor, who had been waging war for the last seven years against a tribe of idolaters whom he had sworn to subject. Greatly delighted at the prospect which opened to my fellow-traveller, whom I was to leave behind me, of filling up the blanks which I had left in my discoveries, I made the messenger a handsome present. Being thus considerably relieved in

* It was rather remarkable, that on April 15th, we had a few drops of rain, accompanied by repeated thunder; and altogether, as the sequel showed, the rainy season that year appeared to set in at a rather unusual and early period for Kukawa.

mind and full of hopes, I bore with patience and resignation some little disagreeable incidents which occurred before my final departure, especially the loss of two of the camels which I had recently bought.

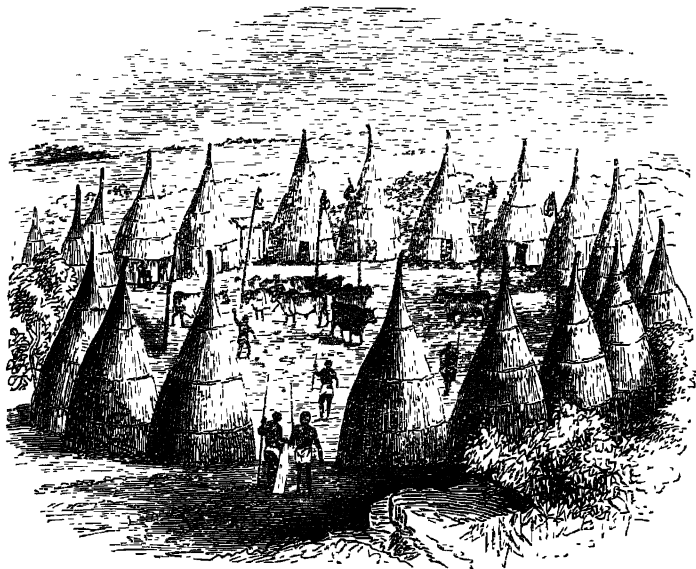
CHAPTER XL.

REAL START.—SMALL PARTY.

At length on May 4th, I left the town and encamped outside, close in front of the gate. The Sheikh had also given me another camel, and a young and rather weak horse, which did not seem very fit for such a journey, and which in the sequel proved rather a burden than otherwise to me. In this spot I remained some days, waiting for my fellow-traveller Kôlo, who was still detained in the town, so that I did not take leave of the Sheikh until the 9th of the month, when he received me with great kindness, but was by no means backward in begging for several articles to be sent to him, especially a small cannon, which was rather out of comparison with the poor present which he had bestowed upon myself. However, he promised me that I should still receive another camel from him, of which I stood greatly in need, although I had made up for one which was lost during my stay before the gate of the town, through the carelessness of Ábbega, by buying a fresh camel at the last moment of my departure. It was for this purpose that I took the sum of thirty dollars from the one thousand dollars brought by the caravan, and which I was anxious to leave behind for the use of Mr. Vogel. Altogether I was extremely unfortunate with my camels, and lost a third one before I had proceeded many miles from the town, so that I was obliged to throw away several things with which my people had overladen my animals.

Our move from Dáwerghú in the afternoon of the 10th was very inauspicious; and while a heavy thunderstorm was raging, enveloping everything in impenetrable darkness, only occasionally illumined by the flashes of lightning, I lost my people, and had great difficulty in joining them again. Having then moved on by very short marches as far as Nghurútuwa, through a finely wooded valley called Hènderi Gálliram, we pitched our tents on May 14th near the town of Yó, where, to my utmost disappointment, we had to stay the five following days, during which the interesting character of the komádugu, which at present did not contain a drop of water, with its border of vegetation, afforded me but insufficient entertainment. It would, however, have been curious for any European, who had adhered to the theory of the great eastern branch of the Niger flowing along this bed from the Tsád, to see us encamped in the dry bottom of this valley. At all events, oppressed as I had been all the time by the apprehension that something might still occur to frustrate my departure, I deemed it one of the happiest moments of my life, when in the afternoon of Saturday the 19th, we at

length left our station at this northern frontier of Bórnu, in the present reduced state of that kingdom, and I turned my back with great satisfaction upon these countries where I had spent full five years in incessant toil and exertion. On retracing my steps northwards, I was filled with the hope that a Merciful Providence would allow me to reach home in safety, in order to give a full account of my labours and discoveries, and, if possible, to follow up the connections which I had established with the interior, for opening regular intercourse with that continent.



Our first day's march from here, however, was far from being auspicious; for, having met with frequent delays and stoppages, such as are common at the commencement of a journey, and darkness having set in, the three monkeys which I wished to take with me, by their noise and cries, frightened the camels so much that they started off at a gallop, breaking several things—amongst others a strong musket. I saw, therefore, that nothing was to be done but to let loose these malicious little creatures, which, instead of remaining quiet, continually amused themselves with loosening all the ropes with which the luggage was tied on the backs of the animals. Having encamped this night at a late hour, we reached, the following morning, the town of Bárruwa, and remained here the whole day, in order to provide ourselves with the dried fish which is here prepared in large quantities, and which

constitutes the most useful article for procuring the necessary supplies in the Tebu country. The Dáza, or Búlgudá, who were to join us on the march, had been encamped in this spot since the previous day. From here we pursued our road to Ngégimi, but the aspect of the country had greatly changed since I last traversed it on my return from Kanem, the whole of the road which I had at that time followed being now covered with water, the great inundation of the Tsád not having yet retired within its ordinary boundaries. The whole shore seemed to have given way and sunk a few feet. Besides this changed aspect of the country, several hamlets of Kánembú cattle-breeders, such as represented in the accompanying woodcut, caused great relief and animation.

It was also interesting to observe the Búdduma, the pirate inhabitants of the islands of the lagoon, busily employed in their peculiar occupation of obtaining salt from the ashes of the "sivak," or the *Capparis sodata*. Having rested during the hot hours of the day, we took up our quarters in the evening just beyond a temporary hamlet of these islanders, for although watchfulness, even here, was very necessary in order to guard against any thievish attempt, yet, in general, the Búdduma seem to be on good terms with the Tebu, with whom they appear to have stood in intimate political connection from ancient times.

Tuesday, May 22—At the distance of only a mile from our encampment we passed, close on our left, the site of Wúdi, enlivened by a few date-palms, the whole open grassy plain to the right, over which our former road to Kánem had lain, being enveloped in a wider or narrower strip of water. Having halted again, at the beginning of the hot hours, in a well-wooded tract, we observed in the afternoon a herd of elephants, which passed the heat of the day comfortably in the midst of the water, and among the number a female with her young. Further on, we were met by a troop of five buffaloes, an animal which, during my former journey I had not observed near the lake.

Thus we reached the new village of Ngégimi, which was built on the slope of the hills, the former town having been entirely swept away by the inundation. Here we remained the forenoon of the following day, the encampment being enlivened by a great number of women from the village, offering for sale fish, in a fresh and dried state, besides a few fowls, milk, and "témmani," the seed of the cotton plant. But with the exception of a few beads for adorning their own sable persons, they were scarcely willing to receive anything besides corn. I was glad to see, instead of the ugly Bórnu females, these more symmetrical figures of the Kánembú ladies, the glossy blackness of whose skin was agreeably relieved by their white teeth as well as by their beads of the same colour. Our friends, the Dáza, who, five weeks previously had been driven back by the Tuarek, had recovered here their luggage, which on that occasion they had hastily deposited with the villagers, when making an attempt to cross the desert. They were here to separate from us for a time, as, for some reason or other, they wanted to pursue a more westerly track, leading by the Bír el Hammám, or Metémmi,

which is mentioned by the former expedition, while our friend Kôlo was bent upon keeping nearest the shores of the lagune, by way of Kibbo.

After a short conversation with the chief of the place, the May-Ngégimibe, we set out in the afternoon, and proceeding at a slow rate, as the camels were very heavily laden, we passed, after a march of about eight miles, along a large open creek of the lagune, and, having met some solitary travellers coming from Kârem, encamped, about eight in the evening, on rather uneven ground, and kept alternate watch during the night.

Thursday, May 21—Starting at a very early hour, we soon ascended hilly ground, but, after we had proceeded some miles, were greatly frightened by the sight of people on our right, when we three horsemen pursued them till we had driven them to the border of the lake. For this whole tract is so very unsafe, that a traveller may feel certain that the few people whom he meets on the road, unless they bear distinctly the character of travellers like himself, will betray him to some predatory band. Having proceeded about nine miles, we halted near an outlying creek of the lake, the water of which was fresh, although most of these creeks contain brackish water. When we continued our march in the afternoon, we passed another creek, or rather a separate lake, and, winding along a narrow path made by the elephants, which are here very numerous, reached, after a march of a little more than ten miles, the leafy vale, or "héndér," of Kibbo, and encamped on the opposite margin. This locality is interesting, as constituting, apparently, the northern limit of the white ant. We, however, were prevented by the darkness from making use of the well, as these vales are full of wild beasts, and we were therefore obliged to remain here till the forenoon of the following day,—a circumstance which was not displeasing to me, as I did not feel at all well, and was obliged to have recourse to my favourite remedy of tamarind-water. We pursued our march before the sun had attained its greatest power, but met with frequent stoppages, the slaves of our Tebu companions, who were heavily laden and suffering from the effects of the water, being scarcely able to keep up; a big fellow even laid down never to rise again. Indeed it would seem as if the Tebu treated their slaves more cruelly than even the Arabs, making them carry all sorts of articles, especially their favourite dried fish.

After a march of not more than twelve miles, we halted some distance to the east of the well of Kufé, and were greatly excited in consequence of the approach of our fellow-travellers the Dáza, whom, at the moment, we did not at first recognise. This locality was also regarded so unsafe for a small caravan, that we started again soon after midnight, and halted after a march of about fifteen miles, when we met a courier coming from Kawár with the important news that Hassan Bashá, the governor of Fezzán, who had been suffering from severe illness for several years, had at length succumbed, and that the Éfedé, that turbulent tribe on the northern frontier of Asben, which had caused us such an immense deal of trouble in the first part of our expedition, had

undertaken a foray to Tibésti,—a piece of news which influenced our own proceedings very considerably, as we were thus exposed to the especial danger of falling in with this predatory band, besides the danger which in general attaches to the passage through this extensive desert tract, which extends from Negroland to the cultivated zone of North Africa. It was this circumstance, together with the great heat of the mid-day hours at this hottest part of the year, which obliged us, without the least regard to our own comfort, to travel the greater part of the night; so that I was unable to rectify and complete, in general, the observations of the former expedition, the route of which, being entirely changed by the new astronomical data obtained by Mr. Vogel, would be liable to some little rectification throughout.

Having rested during the hot hours of the day, we pursued our march about two o'clock in the afternoon, when, after a stretch of about two miles, we entered a fine hilly district, well adapted for pasture-grounds for camels and sheep, but untenanted in the present deserted state of the country. A mile and a half farther on, we passed the well of Mul, which was at present dry, and then winding along the fine valley, were detained a long time by the loss of another camel. Having then encamped, after a march altogether of about ten miles, we started again, an hour after midnight, and after travelling nearly thirteen miles, reached the well of Ūnghurutin, situated in a hollow surrounded with fine vegetation, and affording that most excellent fodder for camels, the "hád," besides which there was a great deal of "retem," or broom.

Monday, May 28.—Having spent the Sunday in Ūnghurutin quietly, and indulging in some little repose, we started a little after midnight, and did not encamp till after a march of about fifteen miles. It was interesting to observe, when the day began to dawn, that all along this region a considerable quantity of rain had fallen, in consequence of which "hád" and "sebód" covered the ground, although we were extremely glad to escape from that great annoyance to travellers, the feathery bristle, or "ngibbi." Another twelve miles in the afternoon, through a more open country, broken in the earlier part by a few specimens of the tree "símsim," brought us to the well Bedwáram, or Bél-kashi-fárrí, where we encamped at the foot of the eastern eminence, choosing our ground with great care, as we were to recruit here our strength by a longer stay, the well being at present frequented by a number of that section of the Gunda tribe of Tebu, which is called "Wándalá," or "Aussa." For in general the well is by no means a safe retreat, and it seems to have been at this well, or in the neighbourhood, that Corporal Macguire was slain last year, when returning home, after the report of the death of his chief, Mr. Vogel.

We had great trouble in opening the wells; for we needed a large provision of water, as, besides filling our skins, we had here to water all our camels. Only one of the wells was open at the time, and contained very little water. It is easily to be understood in what a perilous position a small caravan would be, if attacked under such circumstances by a gang of highway robbers, and I felt particularly obliged to Sheikh 'Omár for having afforded me the protection of the salt merchants, the

Dáza, who were busy the whole day long in digging out the wells. I was glad to find that the temporary inhabitants of the place behaved quietly and decently, and even brought us some camels' milk, which they bartered for small looking-glasses.

Having remained here also the 30th, we started in the afternoon of the last of May, and, after a good stretch of nearly twenty miles, encamped. We set out again after about four hours' rest, when having proceeded some six miles, we entered the open sandy waste, just beyond a fine group of símsim trees, and halted again, during the heat of the day, after a march of about six miles more. I here enjoyed again the wide expanse of the open desert, which, notwithstanding its monotony, has something very grand about it, and is well adapted to impress the human mind with the consciousness of its own littleness, although, at the present season, it presented itself in its most awful character, owing to the intense heat which prevailed.

Having a tedious march before us through the dreary desert of Tintúmna, we started for a long wearisome night's march, some time before the heat had attained its highest degree, only one hour after noon, but probably we should have acted wiser to have waited till the heat was past, as the poor slaves of my fellow-travellers were knocked up before the heat came on. Only a short rest of forty minutes was granted, at eight o'clock in the evening, for a cold supper of guinea-corn, when the caravan started again to continue its night-march over this unbounded sandy waste; but I, as well as my chief servant, being on horseback, I found myself at liberty to remain some time behind, indulging in the luxury of a cup of coffee. I remained however almost too long, and if it had not been that, contrary to my orders, which were to the effect to spare the powder as much as possible, my servants kept firing their pistols off at random, in order to cheer themselves and the poor slaves, I should have had some difficulty in following the caravan. Cheered by the firing, and perhaps impressed with the awful character of the country which we were traversing at such an hour, the slaves, forgetful of their over-fatigue, kept up an uninterrupted song, the sounds of which fell occasionally upon my ears, as I followed them at a great distance. But under the effects of this excitement, and in the cool of the evening, they marched at such a rate, that I did not overtake them till long after midnight, when freemen and slaves began to feel exhausted, and would gladly have lagged behind, and I had to urge on several of these unfortunates, and prevent them from staying behind, and falling a sacrifice to thirst and fatigue. One of my servants was not to be seen. In fact this desert is famous for people well accustomed to it losing their way, and the white sand, extending to a boundless distance, is so confounding, that people often miss their direction entirely. But the fatigue of this night's march was very great indeed, and when the day dawned, I gladly availed myself of the opportunity afforded by a little herbage of giving a slight feed to my exhausted horse to obtain a few minutes' repose.

Pursuing then our dreary march, while a heavy wind rose, which by raising the dust made the desert look still more gloomy, we gradually

discovered the rocky mountains of Ágadem ahead of us, but did not enter the peculiar valley formation till a quarter past seven o'clock. Here we chose our camping-ground in a corner surrounded by the "siwák," which form quite a little plantation, and occasionally attract temporary settlers, especially of the tribe called Bolodúwa, or Ám-wadébe. However, the sand wind made our stay here very cheerless, which was increased by the circumstance of the ground being full of camel lice, this being the usual camping-ground. The water of the well was clean and excellent, but not very plentiful, so that we had to take our supply for the road before us from a more northerly well. The servant who was missing not having been found, we waited anxiously for the arrival of the Dáza in the afternoon, when he made his appearance in their company. They had fortunately seen him at a great distance, when he had completely lost his way, and was wandering southward. I made a present to the man who had brought him back. We remained here the following day, and besides the small luxury of the wild fruit of the siwák, I was glad to be able to buy a vessel of butter from our friends the salt-traders, as my store of this article was nearly consumed.

Monday, June 4.—The poor slaves of our companions were so totally exhausted by the fatigue of the journey, that they would have preferred anything to a continuance of such suffering, and when we started at a very early hour, a poor female slave tried to make her escape, by hiding herself in the bushes, but, she was soon found out, and received a severe flogging for her pains.

Proceeding along a very peculiar basin of natron, at the foot of the rocky slope, we reached after a march of about four miles the northern well, situated in an open pleasant landscape, the mountains on the east side receding in the distance. We remained here this day and the following forenoon, keeping back the Dáza, who were anxious to pursue their journey, for animals as well as men stood in need of some repose, in order to enable them to traverse the long desert tract which separated us from the Tebu country.

Tuesday, June 5.—Just about noon, as we were packing ready to start, a thunderstorm gathered on the chain towards the east, and a few drops of rain fell while we were setting out. Having then kept along the valley for about three miles, we ascended the higher ground with an easterly direction, and obtained a sight of the eastern slope of the chain which borders the valley, which, although not so high on this side as towards the west, seemed yet to have an elevation of about three hundred feet. About three o'clock we had again a slight shower of rain. The whole of Ágadem, as I here became aware, forms a sort of wide extensive hollow, bordered on the eastern side by this rocky chain, and towards the west at the distance of about three miles, as well as towards the north by sandy downs. The higher level itself, over which our track lay, was broken by considerable depressions, running east and west, and forming such steep slopes, that Clapperton's expression of high sandhills, which he had here to cross seems well justified; and we ourselves took up our encampment after a march of a little more

than eleven miles in a hollow of this description, bordered by high sand hills towards the west. However, our halt was very short, and soon after midnight we pursued our march, the desert now becoming more level, and therefore allowing a steady progress by night. Pursuing our march with alacrity, we encamped after a stretch of about sixteen miles in a spot which was full of those remarkable crystallized tubes which are called "bargom-chidibe," by the Kanuri, and "kauchin-kassa," by the Háusa people, and the character of which has been explained in such various ways, some supposing them to be the effect of lightning, while others fancy them to be the covered walks with which the white ant had surrounded stalks of negro corn. Pursuing from here our march, a little before two in the afternoon we entered a sandy waste, which well deserved to be compared to the wide expanse of the ocean, although even here small rocky ridges protruded in some places; and after a march of about ten miles, we ourselves encamped under the protection of such a ridge.

Thursday, June 7.—Starting again from here at a very early hour in the night, we reached after a march of about six miles the well of Díb-bela, the romantic character of which, with its high sandhills, from which black rocky masses towered forth, together with its düm-palms, struck me not a little. But the water is abominable, being impregnated with an immense quantity of natron; and it was here that Mr. Henry Warrington, who had accompanied Mr. Vogel to Kúkawa, succumbed to the dysentery with which he had been seized on the road, the bad quality of the water having probably brought the disorder to a crisis. It was, moreover, a very hot day, although not hotter than usual, the thermometer at two o'clock indicating 109° in the best shade I could find, and the masses of sand all around were quite bewitching and bewildering. Starting again in the afternoon as soon as the heat had reached its greatest intensity, we ascended the sandy downs with a considerable westerly deviation, leaving just beyond this hollow another one, with some talha trees, and then keeping over the sandy level with a ridge of the same character, and passing after a march of above five miles a great quantity of *kajji*, till after a good stretch of altogether seventeen miles, we encamped on hard sandy ground. On this tedious journey, I always felt greatly delighted on our arrival at the camping-ground, to stretch myself at full length on the clean sand, the softness of which makes one feel in no want of a couch.

Friday, June 8.—Having encamped at a rather late hour, we did not start so early as usual, and halted after a march of about eight miles on a ground almost entirely destitute of herbage, but what seemed very remarkable, soaked by the rain of the previous day, and affording another and still stronger proof of the incorrectness of the opinion which had hitherto been entertained of this whole tract never being fertilized by the rains. The soil also was full of the footprints of the "bagr-el-wá-hesh," *Antelope bubalis*, which being pursued by the sportsmen of Ágadem and Díb-bela, had evidently sought a refuge in this region.

Having from hence made a stretch of about ten miles in the afternoon, and halted for nearly four hours at sunset, we started again for a

wearisome night's march, deviating very considerably from our former track, and after a march of a little more than eighteen miles, the latter part over a difficult range of sandhills, we reached in the morning the well of Zaw-kurá in a dreadfully fatigued state, and with the loss of four camels; but it was cheering to find that the locality—a vale richly adorned with siwák, or *Capparis sodata*, afforded some relief not only to the body but even to the mind. We here met with a small caravan of Tebu, natives of the very ancient village of Ágherim or Ághram, the place of which I have spoken on a former occasion, and which lies three days north-west from here by way of Yawí. Being on their road to Bórnu, they were anxious to exchange their camels for mine, the latter being accustomed to the climate of Bórnu whither they were going. Such an exchange is certainly advisable to travellers proceeding in either direction, in the event of the animals of each party being equally good, but on the one hand, I wanted too badly the few camels which had withstood the fatigue, and, on the other, those of these people were too poor to allow me to accept their offer, and in consequence, they had to load the five horses which they had with them with water-skins. These people gave us the important information that the ghazzia of the Tuarek had returned from Tibésti, having made only a small booty of forty camels and thirty slaves, on account of the Tebu having been on their guard, although they threatened to return at some future period. We remained here the following day, enjoying the repose of which we stood so much in need. A strong wind had been blowing all night; but the heat, at two o'clock in the afternoon, reached its usual elevation of 108° in the best shade.

Monday, June 11—We started again in the afternoon, winding round the south-eastern edge of the considerable mountain group to which the vale is indebted for its existence, and having on our right sandy downs. Just at the spot where we left the small oasis, known to the traders of the desert as Zaw-kanwa, on our left, we fell in with the footsteps of a small party, when, supposing them to be marauders, we followed them up for a while, till we had convinced ourselves that they were people in search of a runaway slave. Pursuing then our march altogether about sixteen miles, we halted at nine o'clock in the evening, but started again at midnight, and after a march of fourteen miles, reached Mus-kátenu, the southernmost limit of the oasis of Kawár, although nothing but an inconsiderable shallow depression, full of marl and alum.

Although the heat was greater than usual, the thermometer indicating as much as 110°, we started with great alacrity in the afternoon, as we were now approaching the seats of Tebu power and civilization in the heart of the desert, where nature has provided this little fertile spot, in order to facilitate intercourse between distant nations. However, several sandy ridges opposed themselves to our progress before we reached the real beginning of the valley, at the western foot of a large and broad-topped rocky mound; but the sand was not so deep as I had been led by the description of other people to expect. Here the scenery became highly interesting, the verdant ground—where small patches of the grass called “ghedeb” and vegetables were sown,

surrounded by slight fences of palm-bushes—being overtopped by handsome groups of palm-trees; and cheered as I felt by this spectacle, after the dreary march which we had made, I could not grudge my people a few shots of powder. But while our friends the Dáza salt-traders encamped at the very thickest grove, where the dilapidated town of Bilma is situated, we ourselves entered a dreary salt-pan, and encamped about a mile further on, near a miserable little village called Kalála, without the ornament or shade of a single tree. Moreover, the ground was so hard, that it was only with the greatest difficulty that we were able to pitch the tent, and having no wood wherewith to cook a supper, a small hospitable gift from our friend Kólo, consisting first in a dish of fresh dates, and afterwards in a mess of cooked pudding, proved very acceptable. The miserable hamlet, besides a few hovels, scarcely to be distinguished from the ground, contained only the ruins of a mosque, which had been turned into a magazine for salt.

Our stay here became the more disagreeable, as towards the morning of the following day, a heavy gale arose, against which this open tract offered not the slightest protection, but I amused myself by paying a visit to the salt-pits, in the high mounds of rubbish, a few hundred yards to the east of our encampment. I was highly interested in the very peculiar character which they presented, the pits forming small quadrangular basins, of about four or five yards in diameter, deeply cut into the rock, where all the salush substance contained in the ground collects, and is thence obtained, by pouring this water, impregnated with salt, into moulds of clay of the shape which I have described in my notice of the salt trade, in that part of my journey where I was myself travelling in the company of the salt traders of Ásben. The salt, filtering through the sides of the mound, had all the appearance of long icicles. But at present only a small quantity of prepared salt was lying here, the season for the Kél-owí to carry it away being some months later, when this tract must present a very different aspect, and exhibit a considerable degree of activity; and it would have been highly interesting if Mr Overweg had been able to visit the place at such a season, as he had intended.

It was also a circumstance of considerable interest, that about two o'clock in the afternoon, while the thermometer indicated $107^{\circ} 3'$ in the best shade I could find, we had a slight shower, although this whole region has been set down as an entirely rainless zone. My camels being greatly reduced, and several of them of little value, I exchanged the two worst among them for one belonging to the Dáza, our former fellow-travellers, who being bent upon staying here a few days, before they undertook their home journey to Bórnu, were thus enabled to wait until the animals had recruited their strength.

Friday, June 14—At an early hour in the morning, long before the dawn of day, we continued our journey northward along the Wádi Kawár, as it is called by the Arabs, or the Héneri-tegé, valley of the Tegé or Tedá, as it is called by the natives, having the steep rocky cliffs, which at times formed picturesque platforms, at about three miles' distance on our right. Meanwhile the country became beautifully

wooded at the dawn of the day, and numerous travellers attested a certain degree of industry in this curious abode of men in the heart of the desert. After a march of about twelve miles, where the valley became contracted by a lower rocky ridge crossing it, we encamped at the side of a palm-grove, with a number of draw-wells, or "kháttatir," where every kind of vegetable might be easily raised. The ground produced "aghúl," and "molukhia," or *Corchorus olitorius*, and was surrounded by high sandy downs, while at some distance eastward a village is situated, of the name of Éggir. Having halted here for about five hours, we pursued our journey, the strip of trees closely approaching the rocky cliff, and after a march of three miles, left on our right the village Em-i-máddama, and further on, that called Shemídderu, lying partly at the foot, partly on the slope of the rocky cliffs on our right. Having then left a small isolated grove of date trees on the same side, we reached the beginning of the plantation of Dirki, and traversing the grove where the fruit was just ripening, we approached the dilapidated wall of the town, which presented a very poor spectacle, and then kept between it and the offensive salt-pool on our right, and encamped on the north side. This town, which, notwithstanding its insignificance, has a name all over the desert, was of some importance to me, from the fact of its containing the only blacksmith in the whole of this oasis, whom I wanted to prepare for me a double set of strong shoes for each of my horses, as we had a very stony tract to traverse beyond this oasis. He promised to make them and to bring them up to us at Áshenúmma, but he did not keep his word, and thus was the cause of my losing one of my horses in that difficult tract. Having passed the villages of Tegimámi and Eliji, we reached the town of Áshenúmma, the residence of the chief of these Tebu, situated on a lower terrace formed by a gentle slope at the foot of the steep cliffs, and encamped in the bottom of the valley near an isolated group of sandstone rock, round which the moisture collects in large hollows, scarcely a foot below the surface of the gravel. All around, a rather thin grove of date trees spreads out; further westward, there are the two salt lakes mentioned by the members of the former expedition.

In the afternoon, I went into the town, to pay my respects to the chief whose name is Mai-Bákr. The place, which seems to have attracted the notice of Arab geographers from an early date, consists of about one hundred and twenty cottages, built with rough stones, and scattered about on the slope, besides a few yards erected with palm branches. The cottages are very low, and covered in with the stems and leaves of the palm tree. A solitary conical hut, like those of Sudan, was likewise to be seen. One of the stone houses exhibited a greater degree of industry by its whitewashing, but the residence of the chief was not distinguished in any way. The latter, who bears the title of Maina, was a man of advanced age and of respectable behaviour. At the time of our entrance he was squatted on fresh white sand in front of his "diggel," placed in the ante-chamber or segifa. He received my present (which consisted of a black tobe, two túrkedis, and a harám, worth altogether about four Spanish dollars) kindly, and expressed his

hope that I might get safely over the tract before me, if I did not lose any time by a longer delay. Meanwhile a Tebu merchant who was present gave me the very doubtful information that the people of Tavát paid to the French an annual tribute of sixty thousand dollars. The inhabitants of Áshenúmma and of the neighbouring places, are very differently situated from those of Dirki and Bilma, for the latter on account of their being the medium of communication in the salt trade, are respected by the Tuarek, for whom they prepare that article, and who, in consequence, do not plunder them even when they meet them in the desert. Nay, they even protect them, as I have described in the former part of my journey, so that merchants from Dirki and Bilma were proceeding to Háusa by way of Ásben. The inhabitants of the other places, on the contrary, such as Áshenúmma, are exposed to all sorts of oppression from the former, and even run the risk of being slain by them when met alone. With regard to the Tebu in general, I have already spoken repeatedly about their intimate connection with the Kanúri race, and have enumerated the names of the sections of their tribe, so far as I have become acquainted with them, and I shall say more on the subject of their language in a preface to my vocabularies. It was a remarkable fact, but easily to be explained, that the greatest heat which I experienced in the desert was in this valley, the thermometer at two o'clock in the afternoon rising daily to between 110° and 112° .

We remained here the following day, when I enjoyed the scenery of the locality extremely, and made a sketch of it. I also desired Corporal Church, who, as I have stated above, was in my company, and who felt assured that Captain Clapperton had indicated the mountain chain on the west by mistake, to ascend the slope of the chain above Áshenúmma, in order to convince himself that that meritorious traveller had not been misled in such a strange manner. With the aid of my small telescope, he discovered in the far distance to the west, a chain bordering the valley in that direction. This breadth of the valley is even indicated by the distance intervening between Ágherim and Fáshu on the one side, and Bilma and Dirki on the other.

It was the holiday of the 'Aid el fotr, and the inhabitants of the little town celebrated the day by a religious procession, in which there figured even as many as ten horses, and a few rounds of powder were fired. The petty chief also sent me a holiday dish, consisting of a sort of macaroni made of millet, with a porridge of beans. It is a very remarkable circumstance, and one that must not be forgotten by any traveller who pursues this road, that the inhabitants of the Tebu country esteem nothing more highly, nay, scarcely value anything at all, except dried fish, the stinking "búni," and that he may starve with all sorts of treasures in his bags, unless he be possessed of this article. I myself was even obliged to buy the grass or ghedeb (of which I stood in need for my camels) with dried fish, and I felt sorry that I had not laid in a greater supply of this article in Báruwa.

Monday, June 17—Before setting out, I thought it prudent to pay

another visit and bid farewell formally to May-Bákr, as I was anxious, unprotected as I was, to secure my rear. I then followed my camels, and having crossed two defiles, formed by projecting cliffs, which interrupt the valley, reached after a march of seven miles the town of Anikimma, situated at the side of an isolated promontory projecting from the cliffs, which form here a sort of wide recess, and encamped at the border of the palm grove, when I immediately received some hospitable treatment from my friend Kólo, who was a native of this place. This is the modern road which is taken at the present time, the town of Kısıbı or rather Gézıbı, which lies on the western side of the valley, and along which the former mission passed, being at present deserted. This road led in former times by Kısıbı to Azanéres. But although we were treated in a friendly manner in this place, I did not like to lose any time, but was anxious to proceed at once to Ánay, the northernmost town in the valley of Kawár, in order to prepare myself there, without the least delay, for that second great station of my desert journey which I had to traverse quite by myself, as my friend Kólo was to stay behind, and was not going to undertake the journey for a month or so. I recommended to him my freed slave Othmán, who had remained behind, as he was suffering from the effects of the guinea-worm. Kólo, however, accompanied me in the afternoon for a few hundred yards, together with a Tebu from Tibésti, of the name of Maina Dadakóre, who had recently been plundered of all his property by the Tuarek. The distance from Anikimma to Ánay is not very great, about two miles and a half. The site of Ánay is very peculiar, as may be seen from the description given by the former expedition*, who were greatly struck by its singular appearance, although the view which they have given of the locality is far from being correct. The first thing which I had to do here was, to endeavour by means of dollars, cloves, and the remnant of dried fish which I still had left, to procure as large a supply of ghedeb as possible, in order to carry my camels through this trying journey, as my only safety with my small band of people consisted in the greatest speed. It was very unlucky for me that the blacksmith of Dirki broke his word in not bringing up the shoes for my horses, a circumstance which would have been productive of the most serious consequences, if I had been attacked on the road, as both my horses became lame.

Tuesday, June 18.—Having prepared everything in the forenoon, we set out on our lonely and dangerous journey with a fervent prayer, and after a march of little less than two miles emerged from the valley, or hénderi, through a rocky defile. We then gradually ascended the higher level of the desert plain, and having made a stretch of about sixteen miles, we encamped. Having kept strict watch, as it was not improbable that some people might have followed us, we started again at an early hour, long before the dawn of day, and after a march of about thirteen miles reached Íggeba (Denham's Ikbár), a shallow depression at the western foot of a mountain, clothed with some herbage

* Denham and Clapperton's "Travels," p. 17.

and adorned with a rich profusion of düm-palms. The well here afforded a supply of the most delicious water. However, the locality was too unsafe for our small troop to make here a long stay, it being frequently visited by predatory expeditions. We therefore thought it prudent to start again in the afternoon along the western road, by way of Siggedim, which has been laid down very erroneously by the former expedition, they probably not having taken the accurate distances and directions of this route, as they relied upon the direct tract, which they had traced with accuracy. This road is called "Nefása seghíra," from a defile, or "thñfe," which we crossed about two miles and a half from our starting-point. About ten miles beyond we encamped, and reached the next morning, after a march of ten miles more, over a beautiful gravelly flat, and crossing the track of a small caravan of asses coming from Brábu, the beginning of the oasis of Siggedim, stretching out at the western foot of a considerable mountain group, the direction of which is from east to west, and well wooded with düm-palms, date trees, and with gerredh, or *Mimosa Nilotica*. The ground, which is richly overgrown with sebót, in several places shows an incrustation of salt. We halted, for the mid-day hours, a little more than a mile further on, near the well, as we could not afford to make any long stay here. The place was at present quite deserted, but I was told that about a month later in the season people occasionally take up their temporary residence here, and a few isolated stone dwellings on a projecting cliff, testified to the occasional presence of settlers.

From hence we reached, in an afternoon's and a long morning's march, of altogether nearly thirty-four miles, the shallow vale of Jeháya (Denham's Izhya) or Yát. We were in a sad state, as, besides being exhausted by fatigue, we were almost totally blinded by the glare of the sand in the heat of the day. A smaller strip of vegetation on the west side of the rocky eminences which dotted this country, had already some time previously led us to hope that we had reached the end of our march; but when at length we had gained the spot, we found the vale, with its rich growth of herbage, very refreshing, and men as well as animals had an opportunity of recruiting their strength a little.

Saturday, June 22—The horse which the Sheikh had given me being quite lame, I wanted to mount the only one of the camels which seemed strong enough to carry such a burden in addition to its load, but it refused to rise with me, and I was thus obliged to mount the donkey-like nag which the Sultan of Sókoto had given me, my servant going on foot. It is certainly very difficult to carry horses through this frightful desert with limited means, but it is of the utmost importance for a small party to have a horse or two with them, in order to scour the country to see whether all be right, and to make a spirited attack or to pursue the robbers in case of a theft having been committed.

Having advanced in the course of the evening a little more than eighteen miles, we traversed early the next morning a narrow defile enclosed between rocky heights on both sides, in a very stony tract of country, and halted, after a march of about twelve miles, at a little distance from the mountain group Tiggera-n-dúmma, where the boundary

is formed between Fezzân and the independent Tebu country, by a valley clothed with a good profusion of herbage and a few talha trees just in flower. From here we reached, after a march of sixteen miles more, the well of Máfaras, the southernmost well of Fezzân, in such a state of exhaustion, that we felt induced, notwithstanding the danger from the Éfadaye, to allow ourselves and the animals a day and a half's repose; I myself being particularly in want of a little rest, as I had been suffering a great deal from rheumatism for the last few days. In addition to this the well contained so little water that it required an enormous time to water the animals and to fill our skins. The vale was pleasantly adorned with a good number of fine talha trees, and there was even one isolated düm-palm, while of another one nothing but the trunk was remaining. Although we had advanced so much towards the north, we did not yet feel the slightest decrease in the temperature, and the thermometer all this time, at two o'clock in the afternoon, constantly indicated 109°.

This is the southern well of the name of Máfaras, while the northern spot of the same name, where Mr Vogel made his astronomical observation, is about nineteen miles further to the north. We did not pass the latter till early in the morning of the 26th, when, stretching over an open desert flat, a real mirror or "meraye," the exhaustion of our animals became fully apparent, so that just in the very place where a small Tebu caravan, which had preceded us a few days, had left behind one of their camels, we also were obliged to abandon the camel upon whose strength we had hitherto placed our chief reliance.

About eleven miles beyond the northern well Máfaras, we halted during the heat of the day in a spot entirely destitute of herbage, and made another stretch of fifteen miles in the afternoon, leaving the well-known mound of Fâja, along which the road leads to Tibésti, at some distance on our right. In order to recruit the strength of the camels, we gave them a good supper of dates, ground nuts, and millet, so that each of the poor animals, according to his habits and natural taste, could pick out what was most palatable to him.

Thursday, June 27—A march of about thirteen miles brought us to the well "El Áhmar," or "Máddema," in an open desert country, bounded on the west by a large imposing mountain group, and distinguished by a great profusion of kháreb, or kaye, the whole ground being overgrown with "handal," or colocynth, and strewed with bones. Here we passed an excessively hot day, the thermometer indicating 114° at two o'clock in the afternoon in the best shade I could find, and 105° at sunset, it remaining extremely hot the whole night, till after midnight, when a heavy gale arose. Nature here showed some animation, and beetles were in extraordinary numbers, we also beheld here a herd of gazelles, but no beast of prey.

At a very early hour the following morning, we started with a good supply of water, and after proceeding for about ten miles, reached a valley tolerably well provided with talha-trees, and overgrown with dry herbage. We were obliged to stay here the whole day, in order to give the camels a feed, as they were reduced to the greatest extremity:

we had also to provide ourselves with wood and water. But although we stayed here till the forenoon of the following day we had only proceeded a few miles when we lost another of our camels, and thus were obliged to halt earlier than we intended. In order to retrieve this loss, we started before midnight, and marching the whole night, a distance of about twenty-four miles, and making only a short halt during the hottest part of the day, we encamped in the evening of the 30th, close to the well "El Wár," or "Temmi," having entered the narrow-winding glen leading into the heart of the mountain-mass itself, although caravans in general encamp at its opening. We remained here the following morning, when I found shelter from the sun in the cave where the water collects, which is of a cool and pleasant character, a heavy gale which had sprung up the previous evening continuing all the while. But we had no time to tarry here, this being the worst and most fatiguing part of our journey. Taking all things into consideration there is no reason to wonder how Mr Vogel made no observation during the whole of this journey, comprising a tract of three degrees and a half.

Having filled our water-skins and watered the animals, we pursued our journey before noon, and made a stretch of about fifteen miles. Starting, then, again at midnight, and marching twenty miles, only halting about four hours at noon, we encamped at night, but halted only for a couple of hours, after which we marched about fifteen miles, and again halted for the heat of the day. On this march we passed a very rugged passage, called "Thniye e' seghíra," where the rocks were rippled in a very remarkable manner, like the water. Having been accustomed to an intense degree of heat for some time, we felt it very cold this morning at sunrise, the thermometer indicating 68°, which was certainly a great difference, it having been 81° the preceding morning.

Wednesday, July 3—Again we started, a little after midnight, and having passed, early in the morning, with considerable difficulty and long delay, the rugged sandy passage called "Thniye el kebira," we halted, after a march of eight hours and a half, having accomplished only a distance of about fifteen miles. I felt greatly exhausted, and I was the more sensible of fatigue, as I had a long march before me, the well being still distant; and after a most toilsome and wearisome stretch of more than eighteen miles, with numerous delays, and several difficult passages over the sandhills, we reached the well "Mésheru," which is notorious on account of the number of bones of the unfortunate slaves by which it is surrounded. The water of this well, which is five fathoms in depth, is generally considered of good quality, notwithstanding the remnant of human bones which are constantly driven into it by the gale; but at present it was rather dirty. The whole country around presents a very remarkable spectacle, especially the tract closely bordering on the well to the north, and which, in a rather maliciously witty manner, has been called by the Arabs "Dendal Ghaladíma" ("the Promenade of the Minister"). It would form a good study for a painter experienced in water colours, although it would be impossible to express the features in a pencil sketch.

But not even here were we enabled to grant ourselves the slightest

repose, only staying long enough to take in a sufficient supply of water, and to slaughter one of our camels, which was totally unfit to proceed. Having made this day about eighteen miles, we reached the following day, after a moderate march of from nineteen to twenty miles, the southernmost solitary date-grove of Fezzán. Here we were so fortunate as to meet a small caravan of Tebu, comprising a few very respectable men, who brought us the latest news from Murzuk, where I was glad to hear that Mr Frederick Warrington, the gentleman who had so kindly escorted me out of Tripoli more than five years previously, was awaiting me, and that the very governor who had been appointed to the government of Fezzán during our first stay here, had a few days before again been reinstalled in that office.

Saturday, July 6—This was an important day in my journey, as having performed the most dangerous part of this wearisome desert march, I reached Tegérri, or Tejérri, the first outlying inhabited place of Fezzán. The village, although very small in itself, with its towering walls, the view of which burst suddenly upon us through the date-grove, made a most pleasing impression, and I could not prevent my people from expressing their delight in having successfully accomplished the by no means contemptible feat, of traversing this desert tract with so small a band, by firing a good number of shots. In consequence of this demonstration, the whole population of the little town came out to salute and congratulate me on having traversed this infested desert track without any accident. But that was the only advantage that we reaped from having reached a place of settled habitation, and having taken up our encampment on the north-western side of the kasr, among the date-trees, we had the greatest difficulty in procuring even the slightest luxury, and I was glad when I was at length able to obtain a single fowl and a few measures of dates. There was therefore no possibility of our staying here and allowing the animals a little rest, but we were obliged to push on without delay to the village of Madrúsa. But I had the greatest difficulty in reaching that place in the evening of the 8th, having lost another camel and one of my horses; and of the animals which remained to me I was obliged to abandon in Madrúsa another, which I had to pay for the hire of a couple of camels to carry my luggage to Múrzuk.

This was the native place of my servant El Gatróni, who had served me for nearly five years, (with the exception of a year's leave of absence, which I granted him in order to see his wife and children,) with the strictest fidelity, while his conduct had proved almost unexceptionable; and of course he was delighted to see his family again. Besides a good breakfast and a couple of fowls with which he treated me, he made me also a present of a bunch of grapes, which caused me no little delight as a most unusual treat. However, being anxious to get over this desert tract, I started a little after noon the same day, and met at the village of Bakhil, about six miles beyond, a Tebu caravan, which was accompanied by a courier from Kúkawa, who had found an excuse in the state of the country to remain absent on his mission to Múrzuk nine months, instead of having retraced his steps directly to his own country.

About four miles further on we reached Gatrón, consisting of narrow groups lying closely together, and by the fringe of its date grove contrasting very prettily with the sandy waste around.

Here also we were hospitably treated by the relatives of another servant, who was glad to have reached his home; and we encamped the following day at Dekir, where we had some trouble first in finding and then in digging out the well, which was entirely filled up with sand. In two very long days' stretches from here, the first including a night's march, we reached the well, two miles and a half on this side of the village Bedán, when we heard that Mr Warrington was encamped five miles beyond, in the village of Yesé.

Saturday, July 13.—Having got ready at an early hour, we proceeded cheerfully through the poor plantation, scattered thinly over a soil deeply impregnated with salt, and fired a few shots on approaching the comfortable tent of my friend. I could not but feel deeply affected when, after so long an absence, I again found myself in friendly hands, and within the reach of European comforts. Having moved on a little in the afternoon to a more pleasant spot, we entered Múrzuk the following morning, and were most honourably received by a great many of the inhabitants, including an officer of the Bashá, who had come out a great distance to meet us.

Thus I had again reached this place, where, under ordinary circumstances, all dangers and difficulties might be supposed to have ceased. But such was not the case at the present time, for, in consequence of the oppression of the Turkish government, a very serious revolution had broken out among the more independent tribes of the regency of Tripoli extending from the Jebel over the whole of Ghurián, and spreading farther and farther, cutting off all intercourse and making my retreat very difficult. The instigator of this revolution was a chief of the name of Ghóma, who, having been made prisoner by the Turks many years before, had, through the events of the Crimean war, contrived to make his escape from confinement in Trebizond. This unforeseen circumstance caused me a little longer delay in Múrzuk than I should otherwise have allowed myself, as I was most anxious to proceed on my journey; nevertheless I stayed only six days.

Having some preparations to make for this last stage of my march, I had thus full opportunity of becoming aware of the immense difference in the prices of provisions between this outlying oasis of North Africa and Negroland, especially Kúkawa, and for the little supply which I wanted for my journey from here to Tripoli, I had to pay as much as one hundred makhbúbs. Besides procuring here my necessary supplies for the road, my chief business was in discharging some of my servants, and more particularly Mohammed el Gatróni, whose fidelity I have mentioned before. I added to the small remainder of his salary which I still owed him, the stipulated present of fifty Spanish dollars, which I would willingly have doubled if I had had the means, as he well deserved it, for it is only with the most straightforward conduct and with a generous reward that a European traveller will be able to make his way in these regions.

As for encountering the dangers of the road, the arrangement of the Bashá, that a party of soldiers whom he had discharged, and who were returning home, should travel in my company, seemed rather of doubtful effect, as such a company, while it afforded a little more security in certain tracts, could not fail to turn against myself the disposition of the native population in those districts where the revolt against the Turkish government was a popular movement, I was obliged therefore to leave it to circumstances to decide how I should make my way out of these difficulties. The Bashá for some time thought that the only safe course for me to pursue would be to turn my steps towards Ben-Gházi, in order to avoid the revolted district altogether. But such a plan seemed very objectionable, as well on account of the greater distance and expense of this road, as with regard to the disposition of the Arabs of that region, who, if the revolution should prove successful, would certainly not lose a moment in following the example of their brethren.

Saturday, July 20—I left the town of Múrzuk in the afternoon and encamped in the plantation, and the next day moved on a short distance towards Sheggwa, where Mr Warrington took leave of me. Halting then for the greater part of the following day near the village of Delém, and making a good stretch in the evening and the early part of the morning, we reached Ghodwa, with its pretty plantation and its many remains of former well-being. Starting again in the afternoon, and making a long stretch during the night, we encamped in the evening of the following day at the border of the plantation of Sebha, some twenty years ago the residence of the chief of the Welád Slímán. Here we stayed the following day in order to obtain some rest. The heat all this time was very considerable, and the thermometer at two o'clock in the afternoon, on an average, indicated from 110° to 112° .

Friday, July 26—A march from eighteen to nineteen miles brought us from Sebha to the small town of Temáhint, and we encamped a little beyond the well, where a numerous herd of camels, belonging to a camp of Arabs, was being watered. I was greatly pestered during my halt by a number of Welád Slímán, who were anxious for information with regard to their relations in Kánem, and greedy for some presents.

Making a short halt in the evening, and starting a little after midnight, we encamped the following day near Zíghen. Here I had to hire fresh camels in order to pursue my journey, and therefore did not set out again till the afternoon of the following day, when, through the barren desert tract by Óm el ábid, and by a very rugged mountainous passage, we reached the important town of Sókna in the morning of August 2nd.

Here the difficulties of my journey, in consequence of the revolutionary state of the province, increased, and, after a long consultation with some friends to whom I had been recommended, the only possible way of proceeding was found to be that of leaving the usual track by way of Bónjem altogether, and taking an entirely different road by a series of valleys lying further west, the road by Ben-Gházi also having been found impracticable. Sókna, even at the present time, is a very interesting place, as well on account of its mercantile activity and of its

fine plantations of date and other fruit trees, as owing to the peculiar character of its inhabitants, who still retain a distinct idiom of the Berber language; but at the present moment, on account of the total interruption of the communication with the coast, the price of provisions was very high, and the natives scarcely knew what political course to pursue. There was especially a merchant of the name of Beshála, who showed me an extraordinary degree of kindness and attention.

Having therefore waited until the arrival of the "rekás," or courier, in order to obtain the most recent news, and having in consequence of their unfavourable tenor been induced to increase the wages of my camel drivers, whom I had hired previously, I at length got off on August 12th Pursuing the track called Trík el Merhóma, which was never before traversed by a European, and, passing by the wells El Hammám, El Maráti, Ershidiye, and Gedafiye, and then by the narrow Wádí Ghiraz (the place once the great object of African research for Lieutenant now Admiral Smyth), with its interesting ancient sepulchres in the form of obelisks, we reached Wádí Zemzem on the 19th. Here there was a considerable encampment of Arabs, and some of the ring-leaders of the revolution residing here at the time, I found myself in a serious dilemma. But the English were too much respected by these tribes for them to oppose my passage, although they told me plainly, that if they suspected that the English were opposed to the revolution, they would cut my throat, as well as that of any European traveller who might fall into their hands. However, after some quiet explanations with them as to what was most conducive to their own interests, and about the probability of their succeeding in making themselves independent of the Turkish sway, and after having promised a handsome present to one of the more influential men among them, they allowed me to pass on. I had also great difficulty in hiring some fresh camels, the safety of which I guaranteed, to take me to Tripoli. I thus pursued my journey to Bení-Ulíd with its deep valley overtowered by the ruins of many a middle-age castle, and adorned by numbers of beautiful olive trees, besides being enlivened by many small villages consisting of stone dwellings half in decay. On approaching the place, I fell in with a messenger, sent very kindly to meet me by Mr. Reade, Her Majesty's Vice-Consul in Tripoli, who, besides a few letters, brought me what was most gratifying to me in my exhausted state, a bottle of wine, a luxury of which I had been deprived for so many years.

I had some little trouble in this place, as there was residing here at the time a brother of Ghóma, the rebel chief himself, who had sent an express messenger on my account; and difference of interest between the various chiefs of the place, caused me at the same time some difficulties, though, in other respects, they facilitated my proceedings. Altogether I was very glad when I had left this turbulent little community behind me, which appeared to be the last difficulty that opposed itself to my return home.

In the evening of the fourth day after leaving Bení-Ulíd, I reached the little oasis of 'Ain Zára, the same place where I had stayed several days preparatory to my setting out on my long African wanderings, and

was here most kindly received by Mr. Reade, who had come out of the town with his tent, and provided with sundry articles of European comfort, to receive me again at the threshold of civilization.

Having spent a cheerful evening in his company, I set out the following morning on my last march on the African soil, in order to enter the town of Tripoli, and although the impression made upon my mind by the rich vegetation of the gardens which surround the town, after the long journey through the desert waste, was very great, yet infinitely greater was the effect produced upon me by the wide expanse of the sea, which, in the bright sunshine of this intermediate zone, spread out with a tint of the darkest blue. I felt so grateful to Providence for having again reached in safety the border of this Mediterranean basin, the cradle of European civilization, which from an early period had formed the object of my earnest longings and most serious course of studies, that I would fain have alighted from my horse on the sea beach, to offer up a prayer of thanksgiving to the Almighty, who, with the most conspicuous mercy, had led me through the many dangers which surrounded my path, both from fanatical men and an unhealthy climate.

It was market day, and the open place intervening between the plantation of the Meshiah and the town was full of life and bustle. The soldiers who had recently arrived from Europe to quell the revolution, were drawn up on the beach in order to make an impression on the natives, and I observed a good many fine sturdy men among them. Amidst this busy scene, in the most dazzling sunshine, with the open sea and the ships on my right, I entered the snow-white walls of the town, and was most kindly received by all my former friends.

Having stayed four days in Tripoli, I embarked in a Turkish steamer which had brought the troops and was returning to Malta, and having made only a short stay in that island, I again embarked in a steamer for Marseilles, in order to reach England by the most direct route. Without making any stay in Paris, I arrived in London on September 6th, and was most kindly received by Lord Palmerston as well as by Lord Clarendon, who took the greatest interest in the remarkable success which had accompanied my proceedings.

Thus I closed my long and exhausting career as an African explorer, of which these volumes endeavour to incorporate the results. Having previously gained a good deal of experience of African travelling during an extensive journey through Barbary, I had embarked on this undertaking as a volunteer, under the most unfavourable circumstances for myself. The scale and the means of the mission seemed to be extremely limited; and it was only in consequence of the success which accompanied our proceedings, that a wider extent was given to the range and objects of the expedition; * and after its original leader had succumbed in his arduous task, instead of giving way to despair, I had continued in my career amid great embarrassment, carrying on the

* This greater success was especially due to the journey which I undertook to the Sultan of Agades, thus restoring confidence in our little band which had been entirely shaken by great reverses.

exploration of extensive regions almost without any means. And when the leadership of the mission, in consequence of the confidence of Her Majesty's Government, was intrusted to me, and I had been deprived of the only European companion who remained with me, I resolved upon undertaking, with a very limited supply of means, a journey to the far west, in order to endeavour to reach Timbúktu, and to explore that part of the Niger which, through the untimely fate of Mungo Park, had remained unknown to the scientific world. In this enterprise I succeeded to my utmost expectation, and not only made known the whole of that vast region, which even to the Arab merchants in general had remained more unknown than any other part of Africa*, but I succeeded also in establishing friendly relations with all the most powerful chiefs along the river up to that mysterious city itself. The whole of this was achieved, including the payment of the debts left by the former expedition, and 200*l.*, which I contributed myself, with the sum of about 1,600*l.* No doubt, even in the track which I myself pursued I have left a good deal for my successors in this career to improve upon; but I have the satisfaction to feel that I have opened to the view of the scientific public of Europe a most extensive tract of the secluded African world, and not only made it tolerably known, but rendered the opening of a regular intercourse between Europeans and those regions possible.

* "It appears singular that the country immediately to the eastward of Timbuctoo, as far as Kashna, should be more imperfectly known to the Moorish traders, than the rest of Central Africa"—*Quarterly Review*, May, 1820, p. 234. Compare what Clapperton says about the dangers of the road from Sókoto to Timbúktu. *See. Exped.*, p. 235.

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